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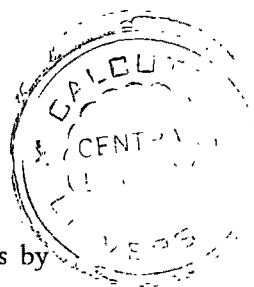
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6



I. AUTHORS

Book reviews as well as articles are included under this heading.

- Allen, Gay W. "Biblical Echoes in Whitman's Works," 302-315.
- Baker, Portia. "Walt Whitman and *The Atlantic Monthly*," 283-301.
- Bayless, Joy. "Another Rufus W. Griswold as a Critic of Poe," 69-72.
- Beach, Leonard (with Stanley T. Williams). "Washington Irving's Letters to Mary Kennedy," 44-65.
- Beatty, Richmond Croom. "Bayard Taylor and George H. Boker," 316-327.
- Bingham, Millicent Todd. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," 191-192.
- Bixler, Paul H. "Frank Norris's Literary Reputation," 109-121.
- Blodgett, Harold. Reviews: Gohdes and Baum (eds.), *Letters of William Michael Rossetti Concerning Whitman, Blake, and Shelley to Anne Gilchrist and Her Son Herbert*, 357-358.
- Brown, E. K. Reviews: Brownell, *William Crary Brownell: An Anthology of His Writings together with Biographical Notes and Impressions of the Later Years*, 223-224; Wharton, *A Backward Glance*, 474-475.
- Brown, Herbert. Review: Field, *Constantia: A Study of the Life and Works of Judith Sargent Murray, 1751-1820*, 102-103.
- Campbell, Killis. "The Evolution of Whitman as Artist," 254-263.
- Chase, Lewis. "A New Poe Letter," 66-69; "A Correction," 236.
- Cherry, Fanny N. "A Note on the Source of Hawthorne's 'Lady Eleanore's Mantle,'" 437-439.
- Chinard, Gilbert. Review: Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain: étude sur l'œuvre de Saint John de Crèvecoeur*, 210-211.
- Chittick, V. L. O. Reviews: Blair and Meine, *Mike Fink, King of Mississippi Keelboatmen*, 101-102; Rourke, *Davy Crockett; The Adventures of Davy Crockett*, 268-370.
- Clark, Harry Hayden. Reviews: Mordell, *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier*, 206-210; Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America*, 467-469.
- Coad, Oral Sumner. Reviews: Hill, *American Plays Printed 1714-1830: A Bibliographical Record*, 469-471; Chaplin, *The Life and Works of Nathaniel Deering (1791-1881)*, 479.
- Fagin, N. Bryllion. "Herman Melville and the Interior Monologue," 433-434.
- Fenn, William Purviance. "The Source of One of Willis's Sketches," 421-426.
- Gilbert, Katharine. Review: Hammond (ed.), *A Bibliography of Aesthetics and of a Philosophy of the Fine Arts from 1900 to 1932*, 472-473.
- Glicksberg, Charles I. "Walt Whitman in 1862," 264-282; "William Cullen Bryant and Fanny Wright," 427-432; "A Walt Whitman Parody," 436-437.
- Gohdes, Clarence. Reviews: Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College: In the Classes 1690-1700*, 105-106; Blodgett, *Walt Whitman in England*, 355-357; Warren, *The Elder Henry James*, 458-459. (The reviews signed C. G. are by Mr. Gohdes.)
- Hallenbeck, C. T. Review: Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development*, 473-474.
- Hatfield, James Taft. "A Reply to Mr. Thompson," 193-195.
- Herron, Ima Honaker. Review: Dunlap, *The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900*, 477-478.
- Hoeltje, H. H. Review: Carpenter (ed.), *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Representative Selections*, 480-481.
- Hoole, William Stanley. "Poe in Charleston, S. C.," 78-80; "A Note on Simms's Visits to the Southwest," 334-336.
- Hoover, M. M. Review: Howard, *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour*, 221-222.
- Hornberger, Theodore. "The Date, the Source, and the Significance of Cotton Mather's Interest in Science," 413-420.
- Hubbell, Jay B. "An Announcement," 80; 196. (The unsigned reviews are by Mr. Hubbell.)

Printed in Germany

- Jorgenson, Chester Eugene. "The Source of Benjamin Franklin's Dialogues between Philocles and Horatio (1730)," 337-339.
- Leary, Lewis Gaston, Jr. "An Unlisted Item in the Bibliography of Philip Freneau," 331-334.
- Leisy, Ernest E. "Research in Progress," 81-82; 196; 341-342; 446-447.
- Loggins, Vernon. Review: *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson*, 224-225.
- Lorch, Fred W. Review: Brashear, *Mark Twain Son of Missouri*, 460-463.
- Lovett, Robert Morss. Review: Henry, *William Vaughn Moody: A Study*, 463-464.
- Lüdeke, H. "American Literature in Germany: A Report of Recent Research and Criticism—1931-1933," 168-175.
- Mabbott, Thomas Ollive. Reviews: Heartman and Rede, *A Bibliographical Check-list of the First Editions of Edgar Allan Poe*, 92-94; Osborne, *Adelaide Crapsey*, 225-226; Westcott and Ramage, *A Checklist of United States Newspapers . . . in the General Library, Part III*, 229; Jackson, *Poe and The Southern Literary Messenger*, 364-366; Stewart, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Bret Harte in the Magazines and Newspapers of California 1857-1871*, 373-374.
- Malone, Kemp. Review: Wesceen, *A Dictionary of American Slang*; Rose, *A Thesaurus of Slang*, 471-472.
- Marchand, Ernest. "Poe as Social Critic," 28-43.
- Marckwardt, Albert H. "The Chronology and Personnel of the Bread and Cheese Club," 389-399.
- Miles, Dudley. Reviews: Briggs, Herzberg, and Bolenius (eds.), *American Literature*, 104-105; Miller, *Explorations in Literature: American Writers*, 104-105.
- Myers, Henry Alonzo. "Whitman's Conception of the Spiritual Democracy," 239-253.
- Norman, Emma Katherine. "Poe's Knowledge of Latin," 72-77.
- Paine, Gregory. Review: Cargill and Others (eds.), *American Literature: A Period Anthology*, 218-220.
- Parsons, Coleman Oscar. "Washington Irving Writes from Granada," 439-443.
- Pattee, Fred Lewis. "The British Theater in Philadelphia in 1778," 381-388. Review: Cutler, *Gilbert Patten and His Frank Merriwell Saga: A Study in Sub-literary Fiction, 1896-1913*, 476-477.
- Pochmann, Henry A. Reviews: Von Koch, *Farmertypen nach dem Amerikanischen Roman*, 96-101; Price, *The Reception of English Literature in Germany*, 211-215.
- Pollock, Thomas Clark. "Rowe's *Tamerlane* and *The Prince of Parthia*," 158-162.
- Pound, Louise. "On Poe's 'The City in the Sea'," 22-27. Review: Mathews, *A Survey of English Dictionaries*, 96-97.
- Prescott, F. C. Review: Jones, *The Life of Moses Coit Tyler*, 95-96.
- Quinn, A. H. Review: Stowe, *Saints, Sinners and Beechers*, 478.
- Richards, Irving, T. "Audubon, Joseph R. Mason, and John Neal," 122-140.
- Richardson, Lyon N. Review: Downey, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day*, 103.
- Sayles, Nathaniel L. "A Note on Whittier's *Snow-Bound*," 336-337.
- Schick, Joseph S. "The Origin of 'The Cask of Amontillado'," 18-21.
- Schinz, Albert. Review: Lauvrière, *L'Étrange vie et les étranges amours d'Edgar Poe*, 366-367.
- Silver, Rollo G. "A Note about Whitman's Essay on Poe," 435-436.
- Simon, Jean. "French Studies in American Literature and Civilization," 176-190; "Addenda," 339-340.
- Smith, Henry. Review: Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South*, 226-228.
- Spiller, Robert E. Reviews: Hicks, *The Great Tradition*, and Ward, *American Literature, 1880-1930*, 358-361.
- Starke, Aubrey. "'No Names' and 'Round Robins'," 400-412; "Irving's 'Haunted Ship'—A Correction," 444-445.

- Stewart, George R., Jr. Review: Fenn, *Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature*, 370-372.
- Thompson, Lawrance R. "Longfellow Sells *The Spanish Student*," 141-150.
- Thompson, Ralph. "Emerson and *The Offering for 1829*," 151-157; "Irving's 'Haunted Ship'," 443-444.
- Thompson, Stith. Review: *Novelle Indo-Americane con introduzione e note a cura di Paolo Bellezza*, 229.
- Voigt, G. P. "Timrod's Essays in Literary Criticism," 163-167.
- Warfel, Harry R. "George W. Cable Amends a Mark Twain Plot," 328-331. Review: Zunder, *The Early Days of Joel Barlow, A Connecticut Wit*, 465-466.
- Warren, Austin. Reviews: Meigs, *Invincible Louisa: The Story of the Author of Little Women*, 97-98; Burr (ed.), *Alice James: Her Brothers; Her Journal*, 455-458.
- Whicher, George F. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," 1-17; 192-193.
- Williams, Stanley T. "Washington Irving's Letters to Mary Kennedy," 44-65. Reviews: Langfeld, *Washington Irving: A Bibliography*, 361-364; Luccock, *Contemporary American Literature and Religion*, 373; Pochmann (ed.), *Washington Irving: Representative Selections*, 479-480.
- Winship, George Parker. Reviews: Wroth, *An American Bookshelf*, 1755; Fisher (ed.), *The Publications of Thomas Collier, Printer, 1784-1808*, 216-218.

II. ARTICLES

Under this heading is included everything except reviews. For "Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals," see pp. 83-91; 197-205; 343-354; 448-454. For "Research in Progress," see pp. 81-82; 196; 341-342; 446-447.

- "Addenda," by Jean Simon, 339-340.
- "American Literature in Germany: A Report of Recent Research and Criticism—1931-1933," by H. Lüdeke, 168-175.
- "An Announcement," by Jay B. Hubbell, 80; 196.
- Audubon, John James. "Audubon, Joseph R. Mason, and John Neal," by Irving T. Richards, 122-140.
- Boker, George H. "Bayard Taylor and George H. Boker," by Richmond Croom Beatty, 316-327.
- "Bread and Cheese Club, The Chronology and Personnel of the," by Albert H. Marckwardt, 389-399.
- "British Theater in Philadelphia in 1778, The," by Fred Lewis Pattee, 381-388.
- Bryant, William Cullen. "William Cullen Bryant and Fanny Wright," by Charles I. Glicksberg, 427-432.
- Cable, George W. "George W. Cable Amends a Mark Twain Plot," by Harry R. Warfel, 328-331.
- Clemens, S. L. "George W. Cable Amends a Mark Twain Plot," by Harry R. Warfel, 328-331.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. "The Chronology and Personnel of the Bread and Cheese Club," by Albert H. Marckwardt, 389-399.
- Dickinson, Emily. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," by George F. Whicher, 1-17; Letters to the Editors concerning "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," by George F. Whicher and Millicent Todd Bingham, 191-193.
- Emerson, R. W. "Emerson and *The Offering for 1829*," by Ralph Thompson, 151-157.
- Franklin, Benjamin. "The Source of Benjamin Franklin's Dialogues between Philocles and Horatio (1730)," by Chester Eugene Jorgenson, 337-339.
- "French Studies in American Literature and Civilization," by Jean Simon, 176-190. See "Addenda," by Jean Simon, above.
- Freneau, Philip. "An Unlisted Item in the Bibliography of Philip Freneau," by Lewis Gaston Leary, Jr., 331-334.

- Gilder, Richard Watson. "George W. Cable Amends a Mark Twain Plot," by Harry R. Warfel, 328-331.
- Godfrey, Thomas. "Rowe's *Tamerlane* and *The Prince of Parthia*," by Thomas Clark Pollock, 158-162.
- Griswold, Rufus W. "A New Poe Letter," by Lewis Chase, 66-69; "Another Rufus W. Griswold as a Critic of Poe," by Joy Bayless, 69-72.
- Hale, Edward Everett. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," by George F. Whicher, 1-17; 191-193.
- Hayne, Paul Hamilton. "Timrod's Essays in Literary Criticism," by G. P. Voigt, 163-167.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "A Note on the Source of Hawthorne's 'Lady Eleanore's Mantle'," by Fanny N. Cherry, 437-439.
- Headley, Joseph T. "The Origin of 'The Cask of Amontillado,'" by Joseph S. Schick, 18-21; note by James T. Pole, 21.
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend," by George F. Whicher, 1-17.
- Howells, W. D. "Frank Norris's Literary Reputation," by Paul H. Bixler, 109-121.
- Irving, Washington. "Washington Irving's Letters to Mary Kennedy," by Stanley T. Williams and Leonard B. Beach, 44-65; "Washington Irving Writes from Granada," by Coleman Oscar Parsons, 439-443; "Irving's 'Haunted Ship'," by Ralph Thompson, 443-444; "Irving's 'Haunted Ship'—A Correction," by Aubrey Starke, 444-445.
- Kennedy, J. P. "Washington Irving's Letters to Mary Kennedy," by Stanley T. Williams and Leonard B. Beach, 44-65.
- Longfellow, H. W. "Longfellow Sells *The Spanish Student*," by Lawrance R. Thompson, 141-150; "Professor Hatfield Replies to Mr. Thompson," 193-195.
- Mason, Joseph R. "Audubon, Joseph R. Mason, and John Neal," by Irving T. Richards, 122-140.
- Mather, Cotton. "The Date, the Source, and the Significance of Cotton Mather's Interest in Science," by Theodore Hornberger, 413-420.
- Melville, Herman. "Herman Melville and the Interior Monologue," by N. Bryllion Fagin, 433-434.
- Neal, John. "Audubon, Joseph R. Mason, and John Neal," by Irving T. Richards, 122-140. "No Names" and "Round Robins," by Aubrey Starke, 400-412.
- Norris, Frank. "Frank Norris's Literary Reputation," by Paul H. Bixler, 109-121.
- Poe, E. A. "The Origin of 'The Cask of Amontillado,'" by Joseph S. Schick, 18-21; note by James T. Pole, 21; "On Poe's 'The City in the Sea,'" by Louise Pound, 22-27; "Poe as Social Critic," by Ernest Marchand, 28-43; "A New Poe Letter," by Lewis Chase, 66-69; "Another Rufus W. Griswold as a Critic of Poe," by Joy Bayless, 69-72; "Poe's Knowledge of Latin," by Emma Katherine Norman, 72-77; "Poe in Charleston, S. C.," by William Stanley Hoole, 78-80; "Timrod's Essays in Literary Criticism," by G. P. Voigt, 163-167; "A Correction," by Lewis Chase, 236; "A Note about Whitman's Essay on Poe," by Rollo G. Silver, 435-436.
- Simms, William Gilmore. "A New Poe Letter," by Lewis Chase, 66-69; "A Note on Simms's Visits to the Southwest," by William Stanley Hoole, 334-336.
- Taylor, Bayard. "Bayard Taylor and George H. Boker," by Richmond Croom Beatty, 316-327.
- Thomas, F. W. "A New Poe Letter," by Lewis Chase, 66-69.
- Timrod, Henry. "Timrod's Essays in Literary Criticism," 163-167.
- Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley. "A New Poe Letter," by Lewis Chase, 66-69.
- Whitman, Walt. "Whitman's Conception of the Spiritual Democracy," by Henry Alonzo Myers, 239-253; "The Evolution of Whitman as Artist," by Killis Campbell, 254-263; "Walt Whitman in 1862," by Charles I. Glicksberg, 264-282; "Walt Whitman and *The Atlantic Monthly*," by Portia Baker, 283-301; "Biblical Echoes in Whitman's Works," by Gay W. Allen, 302-315; "A Note about Whitman's Essay on Poe," by Rollo G. Silver, 435-436; "A Walt Whitman Parody," by Charles I. Glicksberg, 436-437.
- Whittier, J. G. "A Note on Whittier's *Snow-Bound*," by Nathaniel L. Sayles, 336-337.

Willis, Nathaniel Parker. "The Source of One of Willis's Sketches," by William Purviance Fenn, 421-426.

III. BOOKS REVIEWED

The names of reviewers are given in parentheses. Most of the books noticed under "Brief Mention" are not included.

- Blair, Walter and Meine, Franklin J., *Mike Fink, King of Mississippi Keelboatmen* (V. L. O. Chittick), 101-102.
- Blodgett, Harold, *Walt Whitman in England* (Clarence Gohdes), 355-357.
- Briggs, Thomas H., Herzberg, Max J. and Bolenius, Emma Miller, *American Literature* (Dudley Miles), 104-105.
- Brashear, M. M., *Mark Twain Son of Missouri* (Fred W. Lorch), 460-463.
- Brooks, Van Wyck (ed.), *The Journal of Gamaliel Bradford, 1883-1932* (J. B. H.), 233-234.
- Brownell, Gertrude Hall, *William Crary Brownell: An Anthology of His Writings together with Biographical Notes and Impressions of the Later Years* (E. K. Brown), 223-224.
- Burr, Anna Robeson (ed.), *Alice James: Her Brothers; Her Journal* (Austin Warren), 455-458.
- Cargill, Oscar and Others (eds.), *American Literature: A Period Anthology* (Gregory Paine), 218-220.
- Carpenter, Frederic I. (ed.), *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Representative Selections* (H. H. Hoeltje), 480-481.
- Chaplin, Leola Bowic, *The Life and Works of Nathaniel Deering, 1791-1881* (Oral Sumner Coad), 479.
- Couch, W. T. (ed.), *Culture in the South* (Henry Smith), 226-228.
- Crockett, Davy, *The Adventures of* (V. L. O. Chittick), 368-370.
- Cutler, John Levi, *Gilbert Patten and His Frank Merriwell Saga: A Study in Sub-literary Fiction, 1896-1913* (Fred Lewis Pattee), 476-477.
- Downey, Fairfax, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day* (Lyon N. Richardson), 103.
- Dunlap, George Arthur, *The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900* (Ima Honaker Heron), 477-478.
- Fenn, William Purviance, *Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature* (George R. Stewart, Jr.), 370-372.
- Field, Vena Bernadette, *Constantia: A Study of the Life and Works of Judith Sargent Murray* (Herbert Brown), 102-103.
- Fisher, Samuel H. (ed.), *The Publications of Thomas Collier, Printer, 1784-1808* (George Parker Winship), 216-218.
- Gohdes, Clarence and Baum, Paull Franklin (eds.), *Letters of William Michael Rossetti Concerning Whitman, Blake, and Shelley to Anne Gilchrist and Her Son Herbert Gilchrist* (Harold Blodgett), 357-358.
- Hammond, William A. (ed.), *A Bibliography of Aesthetics and of a Philosophy of the Fine Arts from 1900 to 1932* (Katharine Gilbert), 472-473.
- Heartman, Charles F. and Rède, Kenneth, *A Bibliographical Check-list of the First Editions of Edgar Allan Poe*. Parts I, II, and III (Thomas Ollive Mabbott), 92-94.
- Henry, David D., *William Vaughn Moody: A Study* (Robert Morss Lovett), 463-464.
- Hicks, Granville, *The Great Tradition* (Robert E. Spiller), 358-361.
- Hill, Frank Pierce, *American Plays Printed 1714-1830: A Bibliographical Record* (Oral Sumner Coad), 469-471.
- Howard, John Tasker, *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour* (M. M. Hoover), 221-222.
- Jackson, David K., *Poe and The Southern Literary Messenger* (Thomas Ollive Mabbott), 364-366.
- Janeway, W. Ralph, *A Selected List of Ohio Authors, and Their Books* (C. G.), 230.
- Johnson, James Weldon, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of* (Vernon Loggins, 224-225.

- Jones, Howard Mumford, *The Life of Moses Coit Tyler* (F. C. Prescott), 95-96.
- Keller, Hans, *Emerson in Frankreich: wirkungen und parallelen* (C. G.), 231-232.
- Langfield, William R., *Washington Irving: A Bibliography* (Stanley T. Williams), 361-364.
- Lauvrière, Émile, *L'Étrange vie et les étranges amours d'Edgar Poe* (Albert Schinz), 366-367.
- Lowry, Howard F. and Rusk, Ralph Leslie (eds.), *Emerson-Clough Letters* (C. G.), 230.
- Luccock, Halford E., *Contemporary American Literature and Religion* (S. T. W.), 373.
- Mathews, M. M., *A Survey of English Dictionaries* (Louise Pound), 96-97.
- Meigs, Cornelia, *Invincible Louisa: The Story of the Author of Little Women* (Austin Warren), 97-98.
- Miller, Edwin L., *Explorations in Literature: American Writers* (Dudley Miles), 104-105.
- Miller, Perry, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts 1630-1650: A Genetic Study* (C. G.), 231.
- Morais, Herbert M., *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (Harry Hayden Clark), 467-469.
- Mordell, Albert, *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier* (Harry Hayden Clark), 206-210.
- Osborn, Mary Elizabeth, *Adelaide Crapsey* (T. O. Mabbott), 225-226.
- Pochmann, Henry A. (ed.), *Washington Irving: Representative Selections* (S. T. W.), 479-480.
- Price, Lawrence Marsden, *The Reception of English Literature in Germany* (Henry A. Pochmann), 211-215.
- Rice, Howard C., *Le Cultivateur américain: étude sur l'œuvre de Saint John de Crèvecoeur* (Gilbert Chinard), 210-211.
- Rose, Howard N., *A Thesaurus of Slang* (Kemp Malone), 471-472.
- Rourke, Constance, *Davy Crockett* (V. L. O. Chittick), 368-370.
- Rowe, Kenneth Wyer, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (C. T. Hallenbeck), 473-474.
- Shipton, Clifford K., *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College: In the Classes 1690-1700* (Clarence Gohdes), 105-106.
- Stewart, George R., Jr., *A Bibliography of the Writings of Bret Harte in the Magazines and Newspapers of California 1857-1871* (T. O. M.), 373-374.
- Von Koch, Sigfrid, *Farmertypen nach dem Amerikanischen Roman* (Henry A. Pochmann), 98-101.
- Ward, A. C., *American Literature, 1880-1930* (Robert E. Spiller), 358-361.
- Warren, Austin, *The Elder Henry James* (Clarence Gohdes), 458-459.
- Weseen, Maurice, H., *A Dictionary of American Slang* (Kemp Malone), 471-472.
- Westcott, Mary and Ramage, Allene, *A Checklist of United States Newspapers . . . in the General Library, Part III* (T. O. Mabbott), 229.
- Wharton, Edith, *A Backward Glance* (E. K. Brown), 474-475.
- Wroth, Lawrence C., *An American Bookshelf, 1755* (George Parker Winship), 216-218.
- Zunder, Theodore Albert, *The Early Days of Joel Barlow, A Connecticut Wit* (Harry R. Warfel), 465-466.

EMILY DICKINSON'S EARLIEST FRIEND

GEORGE F. WHICHER
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I

IN dealing with the biography of a poet as vividly personal as Emily Dickinson the temptation to make her life fit the pattern suggested by her lyrics is all but irresistible. Small wonder, therefore, that the love and renunciation of which her poems so feelingly speak should be considered central in her experience. But Emily herself, conscious that the transmutation of actual experience into works of art often involves substitutions and intensifications which deprive the product of any assured value as a record of fact, protested that she was not to be identified with the speaker in the first person of her verses. Her warning should not be lightly passed over. A sound treatment of her life will begin by seeking to understand her story as she has literally recorded it in her letters. Not until this has been done shall we be warranted in looking for a connection between her poems and her personal history.

From a careful reading of her own factual statements it is difficult to avoid two leading impressions: first, that not one man, but several men in succession were of great importance to her; and, second, that tenderly as she was attached to them all, the relationship that she demanded of each in turn was not that of lover, but of teacher. Not for nothing was she brought up in a New England college town.

Four men were explicitly recognized by Emily Dickinson as her "tutors." In her second letter to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was the fourth and last, she described her relation to the other three in words characteristically charged with pedagogical implications:

I went to school, but in your manner of the phrase had no education. When a little girl, I had a friend who taught me Immortality; but venturing too near, himself, he never returned. Soon after, my tutor died,

and for several years my lexicon was my only companion. Then I found one more, but he was not contented I be his scholar, so he left the land.¹

One looks into the two biographical studies published by Emily Dickinson's niece for an interpretation of this key to the poet's inner development, but one looks in vain. Two other biographers, Miss Josephine Pollitt and Miss Genevieve Taggard, have fully recognized the importance of the passage, but their identifications of the "one more" who "was not contented I be his scholar" are in flat contradiction to each other, and neither will stand the test of critical examination. Both Miss Pollitt and Miss Taggard agree, however, in regarding Leonard Humphrey, the principal of Amherst Academy from 1846 to 1848, as one of Emily's acknowledged masters, though they are uncertain whether to identify him as the "friend who taught me Immortality" or the "tutor" of her letter. In fact, they imply that he was both. They assume, moreover, that when in her later correspondence she referred without naming names to her "earliest friend" or her "dying tutor," Emily meant Humphrey. On the basis of these assumptions it has been possible to construct a considerable romance out of Emily's relation to the young school-master.²

Miss Pollitt and Miss Taggard were, of course, right in pointing out that Emily's mind had been profoundly stimulated by a friendship formed in her later teens, and with the evidence available in 1930 it was natural that they should conclude that Humphrey was the kindling spirit. What could be learned of his character supported the inference; he was a promising and pious young man, and he was in a position to teach Emily. But new evidence has recently come to light which identifies Emily's earliest friend and mentor beyond a shadow of doubt, and which justifies the assertion that Leonard Humphrey, though he held a place in her esteem, was not her most trusted counselor.

Early in 1854 Emily wrote to the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, then pastor of the Church of the Unity, Worcester, to ask informa-

¹ M. L. Todd, *Letters of Emily Dickinson* (New York, 1931), p. 273. Hereinafter referred to as *Letters*.

² Josephine Pollitt, *Emily Dickinson, the Human Background of her Poetry* (New York, 1930), pp. 51 ff. Genevieve Taggard, *The Life and Mind of Emily Dickinson* (New York, 1930), pp. 59 ff.

tion about the last moments of a man who was dear to her. Like others brought up in the Puritan faith she held the belief that God's elect, as the solemn moment of death approached, would reveal by hopeful signs their confidence in their soul's eternal welfare. It made a difference that they should be "willing to die." This belief in which she was nurtured, and not sentiment or morbid curiosity, was the reason for Emily's lifelong interest in deathbed details. It was for such evidences of the spiritual state of her friend that she wrote to Hale the following letter of inquiry:³

Amherst, Jan. 13th [1854].

Rev. Mr. Hale,—

Pardon the liberty, Sir, which a Stranger takes in addressing you, but I think you may be familiar with the last hours of a Friend, and I therefore transgress a courtesy which, in another circumstance, I should seek to observe. I think, Sir, you were the Pastor of Mr. B. F. Newton, who died sometime since in Worcester, and I have often hoped to know if his last hours were cheerful, and if he was willing to die. Had I his wife's acquaintance, I w'd not trouble you, Sir, but I have never met her, and do not know where she resides, nor have I a friend in Worcester who could satisfy my inquiries. You may think my desire strange, Sir, but the Dead was dear to me, and I would like to know that he sleeps peacefully.

Mr. Newton was with my Father two years, before going to Worcester, in pursuing his studies, and was much in our family. I was then but a child, yet I was old enough to admire the strength, and grace, of an intellect far surpassing my own, and it taught me many lessons, for which I thank it humbly, now that it is gone. Mr. Newton became to me a gentle, yet grave Preceptor, teaching me what to read, what authors to admire, what was most grand or beautiful in nature, and that sublime lesson, a faith in things unseen, and in a life again, nobler and much more blessed.

Of all these things he spoke—he taught me of them all, earnestly, tenderly; and when he went from us, it was as an elder brother, loved indeed very much, and mourned and remembered. During his life in Worcester he often wrote to me, and I replied to his letters. I always asked for his health, and he answered so cheerfully that, while I knew

³ Listed by Thomas F. Madigan in his catalogue, *The Autograph Album*, 1, 50 (Dec., 1933), and there quoted in part. The present owner of the letter has courteously permitted me to examine a photostat. The year of date is added, presumably by Hale. I have regularized the punctuation, but left the capitals as in the original.

he was ill, his death indeed surprised me. He often talked of God, but I do not know certainly if he was his Father in Heaven. Please, Sir, to tell me if he was willing to die, and if you think him at Home. I should love so much to know certainly that he was today in Heaven.

Once more, Sir, please forgive the audacities of a Stranger, and a few lines, Sir, from you, at a convenient hour, will be received with gratitude, most happy to requite you sh'd it have opportunity.

Yours very respectfully,

Emily E. Dickinson

P.S. Please address your reply to Emily E. Dickinson, Amherst, Mass.

In Emily Dickinson's published letters there is no mention of Mr. B. F. Newton of Worcester. His name has only once been linked with hers in any of the books written about her, and that in a purely casual connection presently to be cited. Yet her letter to Hale leaves no doubt of the importance of his influence at the most impressionable period of her life. Moreover, the friend who taught her "a faith in things unseen, and in a life again, nobler and much more blessed," can hardly be other than the "friend who taught me Immortality" of her letter to Higginson. The man to whose early instruction Emily Dickinson so warmly acknowledged her indebtedness should no longer elude the attention of her biographers. I have here brought together such facts about him as I have been able to gather.

II

Benjamin Franklin Newton (March 19, 1821-March 24, 1853), fifth child and elder son of Benjamin Newton, Jr., and Sabra (Titus) Newton, was born in Worcester, Mass., where his family had lived for three generations. On his father's side he was descended from Richard Newton, who came from England about 1638 and settled in Sudbury. His mother was presumably the daughter of Jonah and Sarah (Smith) Titus of Sutton, Mass.⁴

Of his early life and education I have been unable to find any record. His grandfather was a farmer and had been, briefly, a private soldier in the Revolution. Probably his father remained a tiller of the soil. "Benjamin F. Newton was never graduated at

⁴F. P. Rice, *Worcester Births*, etc. (Worcester, Mass., 1894). E. N. Leonard, *Newton Genealogy* (De Pere, Wis., 1915), p. 133.

college." He "came into the profession [of law] mature in years."⁵ It is a fair inference from these statements that he enjoyed few advantages and had a long struggle to win his professional status.

Newton is not known to have visited Amherst before he became a law student in the office of Dickinson & Bowdoin, probably in the autumn of 1847. That was the year when Emily was attending Mount Holyoke Seminary. She does not mention her father's new student in the long letter that she wrote to Abiah Strong describing her Thanksgiving vacation, but he must have taken part in the merrymakings of those four happy days. One is tempted to see an allusion to the beginning of their intimacy in a letter written "on a snowy Sunday morning in 1848" to Susan Gilbert:

I've found a beautiful new friend and I've told him about dear Susie and promised to let him know you so soon as you shall come.⁶

The young men in Edward Dickinson's office were always welcome at his house, where books and reading often formed a subject of conversation. Others beside Newton took an interest in the literary education of the Dickinson girls. Elbridge G. Bowdoin, the junior member of the firm, was responsible for introducing them to *Jane Eyre*. Emily told Higginson in 1870 that when she and Lavinia were "little things in short dresses" one of her father's students had expressed surprise that they were unacquainted with the works of Lydia Maria Child; he "used to bring them books and hide in a bush by the door."⁷ This student may have been Newton or another. We have Emily's word, however, that of all the young men who frequented the Dickinson house—cousins, law-students, classmates of her brother, and tutors from the college—Ben Newton became particularly dear to her. He was the guide of her taste and the awakener of her mind. The quality of his influence can be gauged by the fact that he gave her in 1849, perhaps as a parting

⁵ *Addresses before the Members of the Bar of Worcester County* (Worcester, Mass., 1879), pp. 142 and 206.

⁶ M. D. Bianchi, *Emily Dickinson Face to Face* (Boston, 1932), p. 179. I assume that this letter was written late in January or early in February when Emily was at home between terms. If it refers to Newton, it could hardly have been written as late as December, for by that time Susan Gilbert would undoubtedly have met him.

⁷ *Letters*, pp. 136 and 287. In later life Emily habitually spoke of her first twenty-five years as her "little girl" hood; Higginson's imagination may have added the short dresses.

gift, a copy of Emerson's *Poems*.⁸ This would indicate a considerable advance from the novels of Mrs. Child.

In the winter of 1849-1850 Newton returned to Worcester to complete his legal studies in the office of Benjamin F. Thomas, a grandson of Isaiah Thomas and an extremely successful lawyer, who had recently resigned as Judge of Probate to enter upon "a large and for those days lucrative practice." In the course of the year Judge Thomas's student was admitted to the bar and set up for himself.⁹

His next move appears difficult to explain. On June 4, 1851, B. F. Newton, Esq., of Worcester was married to Miss Sarah Warner Rugg "of Boston." The marriage took place in Fitchburg, and the bride, one of many daughters of Ephraim and Betsey (Warner) Rugg, was a native of the town of Lancaster, Mass.¹⁰ She was nearly twelve years older than her husband. One would like to know more of the circumstances of this marriage than can be gleaned from genealogies and old newspaper files. Newton was already an ailing man, stricken by tuberculosis. He may have taken in marriage a woman who was willing to nurse him. There were no children. His wife survived him by nearly half a century.

The newly married pair settled in Southbridge Street, Worcester, and Newton, dying by inches, kept on with his legal work. In May, 1852, upon the division of the old Southern District, he was appointed State Attorney for the Middle District (Worcester County).¹¹ Less than a year later he was dead.

The resolutions adopted by the Worcester County Bar the day following his death show that Newton, in his brief professional career, had won the full confidence and esteem of his colleagues. He was regretted as a man generally beloved.

Resolved, That the members of the Bar . . . have received with deep

⁸ Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁹ *Worcester Directory*, 1850 and 1851. W. T. Davis, *Bench and Bar of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1895), II, 448. R. Olney, "Memoir of Benjamin F. Thomas, LL.D.," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2. XVI, 297 (Oct., 1900).

¹⁰ *The Massachusetts Spy*, June 11, 1851. Leonard, *loc. cit.*, refers to a marriage of Benjamin F. Newton "of Providence, R. I." and Sarah M. Newton, intention filed at West Boylston, Oct. 8, 1841; this might conceivably be a first marriage, but is more probably a confusion. E. R. Rugg, *The Descendants of John Rugg* (New York, 1911), p. 196, gives the names correctly, but dates the marriage erroneously in 1853 and describes Newton as "a lawyer of Northboro, Mass."

¹¹ *Addresses before the Members of the Bar of Worcester County*, p. 206.

sorrow the intelligence of the death of Benjamin F. Newton, Esq., late District Attorney for the Middle District.

Resolved, That his fidelity and ability in the discharge of official duties, his legal attainments, and his honorable and manly bearing, gave promise of professional usefulness and eminence of no common order.

Resolved, That he was endeared to the members of this Bar by his kindness of heart, his uniform courtesy, and his genuine simplicity of character, while the cheerful energy with which he persevered in duty, resisting the wasting progress of a fatal disease, and the calmness with which he awaited death, commanded our highest respect.¹²

Emily Dickinson, at home in Amherst, must have seen in *The Springfield Republican* for March 26 the brief announcement of Newton's death, three sentences which spoke chiefly of an unexpired insurance policy.¹³ She was not prepared for the blow. Only a week before he had written her a letter hinting his true condition so gently that she had not understood, a letter, now like a message from Eternity, full of confidence in her extraordinary powers and of earnest hope for her future. As the shadow of her loss darkened the coming April days, she brooded over the unruly ways of death, but there was no word in her lexicon to solve that mystery. Earth could not answer, and after ten months she wrote to the Rev. Mr. Hale to know if her friend were indeed in Heaven.

III

Leonard Humphrey, for whom so much has been claimed, died on November 30, 1850; Newton twenty-eight months later. In sketching her early life for Higginson, in the passage already quoted, Emily spoke first of a friend who taught her immortality and second of her tutor, in terms that indicated that both men had died, one shortly after the other. If we assume that Emily was thinking of the actual sequence of their deaths, then Humphrey would be the friend and Newton the tutor. But the language of her letter to Hale so strongly associates Newton with lessons in immortality that it is

¹² *The Worcester Palladium*, March 30, 1853.

¹³ She may not have seen it at once. Her letter to Austin of March 27 (*Letters*, p. 109; there mistakenly dated March 28) is full of fun and high spirits; it is not the kind of letter that she could have written immediately after hearing of a dear friend's death. Compare the striking change of tone in the two letters that follow (April 16 and May 17), particularly in the latter.

not easy to accept any such conclusion. I suggest for what it may be worth a different reading. As Emily, in 1862, recalled the events of twelve years before, she probably thought first of her *parting* with Newton, a separation made doubly poignant to her by his death three years later. "When he went from us," she had written, "it was as an elder brother, loved indeed very much, and mourned and remembered." Then hardly a twelvemonth after Newton's departure came the shock of Humphrey's sudden death, a shock felt by the whole community; and Emily, who "always loved her teachers," shared the general sorrow. But her own deep personal grief, the parting so heartrending in its finality, stood foremost in her recollection, so that when she wrote to Higginson, years later, the chronology she followed was not the public one of death, but the private calendar of her losses. This led her to speak first, and as though he had died first, of the friend who taught her immortality (Newton), and then to add that her tutor (Humphrey) died "soon after," meaning soon after that friend's departure. This explanation will, I think, commend itself the more it is pondered.

There remain two other passages in the letters to Higginson which have been taken as references to Humphrey. These must next be scanned.

My dying tutor told me that he would like to live till I had been a poet, but Death was much of mob as I could master then. (June 7, 1862).

My earliest friend wrote me the week before he died, "If I live, I will go to Amherst; if I die, I certainly will." (1876).¹⁴

It will save argument to assume, as Miss Pollitt and Miss Taggard have assumed, that these two passages refer to a single person, at once tutor and friend. The question, then, is whether they refer to Humphrey or to Newton. To answer it we must examine in some detail the circumstances leading up to the deaths of each.

Humphrey was never a man of robust health, but since his graduation from Amherst in 1846 he had survived two years as principal of Amherst Academy, a year of study at Andover, and four terms as a tutor in Amherst College without a breakdown. When he left Amherst on November 20, 1850, to spend the short interval between

¹⁴ *Letters*, pp. 274 and 301.

the fall and winter terms with his parents, he had no reason to suppose that he would not return. According to an obituary notice he "died very suddenly . . . after an illness of ten hours. . . . He left town on Wednesday of last week, in his usual health. . . ." This account is confirmed by the historian of the college: "suddenly, in the midst of health and activity, he fell in the street—his heart had ceased to beat—he was not, for God took him."¹⁵

Newton, on the other hand, died of a lingering illness and had long known that he was dying. His obituary notice makes it clear that he was active to the end and was busily engaged in winding up his affairs.

He was out on Wednesday, the day previous to his decease, and called on several persons to whom he was indebted. He wished to settle his accounts now, he said, as he did not anticipate a much longer continuance of his life. He spoke calmly of his death; and seemed anxious that this event, so solemn to him, should cause no one any loss or trouble. He died peacefully, calmly, and hopefully at the early age of 32 years.¹⁶

With these facts in mind let us consider the passage in which Emily speaks of her "earliest friend" and his promise to go to Amherst. Humphrey left Amherst ten days before his death, in his usual health, and expecting as a matter of course shortly to return. According to his niece's recollection, he was "understood to be engaged" to a girl in Amherst who was certainly not Emily Dickinson. Why, then, should he have written to Emily at all within three days of his leaving town, and if he did write, what point could an expression of determination to go to Amherst alive or dead have had as coming from a man who lived there? But substitute Newton for Humphrey and all is clear. He had been away from Amherst for more than three years and was doubtful whether he would live to go there again. What more natural than that, as death closed in on him, he should express a wistful longing to see his friends once more? And finally, as the letter to Hale makes plain, he was in regular correspondence with Emily.

No long argument will be needed to show that the other passage

¹⁵ *The Hampshire and Franklin Express*, Dec. 6, 1850; quoted by Taggard, *op. cit.*, p.

81. W. S. Tyler, *History of Amherst College* (Springfield, Mass., 1873), p. 339.

¹⁶ *The Worcester Daily Spy*, March 25, 1853.

quoted is also an allusion to Newton. If Emily had used only the word "tutor," she might have meant Humphrey, but "my dying tutor told me" cannot have referred to a man who was not "dying" until he fell in the street unconscious only a few hours before his death. Newton, however, in deliberately taking leave of this world, would not have neglected to write a letter of farewell to the ardent little friend in Amherst with whom he had earnestly and tenderly spoken of books and nature and things unseen.

"My earliest friend wrote me the week before he died. . . ." "My dying tutor told me. . . ." Are not these equivalent statements, and is it not reasonably sure that both refer to a single momentous letter, the last that Newton ever wrote her? If so, that letter was one of the most decisive in shaping her destiny that Emily ever received, since it confirmed her secret intention of becoming a poet and gave her at the same time her first high moment of recognition. She never forgot that supreme clarification and concentration of her forces. When, much later, the all-powerful Colonel Higginson praised her verses, she thanked him with feeling but remarked: "Your letter gave no drunkenness, because I tasted rum before. Domingo comes but once. . . ."

Ben Newton, therefore, rather than Leonard Humphrey, should be recognized as Emily Dickinson's "earliest friend," the "preceptor" whose strength and grace of intellect stirred her to eager response; but not to the total exclusion of other friends. From her eleventh to her twentieth year Humphrey was a member of the close-knit college community, a fraternity mate of her brother Austin, and presumably a sharer in the picnics and parties, the Shakespeare readings and "Poetry of Motion" meetings of the brilliant group of young people with whom Emily then freely moved. There was an interval, after Newton had gone to Worcester, when she may have looked to the young college tutor for advice. This would explain her inclusion of him in the list of men who contributed to her education. But Humphrey's place is with the lexicon mentioned in the same passage. He was a mechanical accessory, a dim presence beside Newton and the "one more" and Higginson. Only three times in the published correspondence does Emily allude to him by name.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Letters*, pp. 20, 40, and 44.

We have, in 1846, her enthusiastic approval of his appointment as principal of the Academy, and several years later her mention of his having called on her in company with Mary Warner. Finally there is her letter to Abiah on his death, which, because so much has been made of it, deserves a moment's attention.

. . . the hour of evening is sad—it was once my study hour—my master has gone to rest, and the open leaf of the book, and the scholar at school *alone*, make the tears come, and I cannot brush them away; I would not if I could, for they are the only tribute I can pay the departed Humphrey.

You have stood by the grave before . . . but I have never laid my friends there, and forgot that they too must die; this is my first affliction, and indeed 'tis hard to bear it.¹⁸

Emily is sincere, I think, but in the manner of the very young. If her schoolmaster's death is her "first affliction," it is because she has dutifully labored to make the grief of the village her very own. In life and fact, Emily's relation to her admired young teacher was not closer than Milton's to Edward King; her girlish letter shows her trying with all her might to weep for the local Lycidas. "The departed Humphrey"!

IV

So far, we have been tracing the history of Emily Dickinson's friendship with Newton, and in lesser measure with Humphrey, without reference to her poetry. But we have now reached a point from which certain of her lyrics on the theme of deprivation and loss may have taken flight. Though we cannot hope to demonstrate that this ground affords the only possible basis for these poems, yet as one possible basis, and that the earliest suggested by the events of her life, it deserves careful consideration. Like the first rapture of recognition, the first intensity of sorrow can never be quite equalled a second time.

Her later letters make it evident that Emily was profoundly shaken by successive bereavements that occurred in her family and the circle of her intimate friends. Among the losses that touched her most nearly were those of her aunt Lavinia Norcross (1860),

¹⁸ Emily Dickinson's niece, in *The Life and Letters* (Boston, 1924), omitted this letter as of no "intrinsic importance." This ill-advised attempt to suppress an already published document resulted, of course, in placing a thoroughly misleading emphasis upon it.

Frazer Stearns (killed in action, 1862), Loring Norcross (1863), her father (1874), Samuel Bowles (1878), Dr. Holland (1881), Charles Wadsworth and her mother (1882), her nephew Gilbert (1883), Judge Lord (1884), and Helen Hunt Jackson (1885). This is by no means an exhaustive list, nor were the dead equally dear to her. Frazer Stearns, for example, was more her brother's friend than her own, and Judge Lord her father's. The grief she felt at the deaths of her aunt and uncle Norcross and of Dr. Holland was mingled with tender solicitude for those still more closely affected than herself. But the deaths of her father, and Bowles, and Wadsworth rocked her universe. These deeply personal losses, however, came relatively late in life. Long before they befell her she had known bereavement and the struggle to master the bitter fact of death.

Some memorial poems which can be dated in the early sixties were in all likelihood written with one or another of her "lost" in mind. "When I was small, a woman died" (IV, xxxiii)¹⁹ may well have been a tribute to Frazer Stearns, whose mother had died in 1855; "This was in the white of the year" (IV, cvi), sent to her Norcross cousins in 1865, probably alludes to the death of their father (in January) and of their mother (in April). There are also other poems assignable to this period which refer to no specific loss, but which imply a background of personal sorrow, "that old nail in my breast" of which Emily spoke in a letter of 1863. "They say that 'time assuages'" (IV, lxxxv) was composed before 1866; "Safe in their alabaster chambers" (IV, iv) about 1861. These poems are among the few that can be dated by external evidence. Presumably they were not the only ones written at this time and in the same vein.

Several statements from Emily's letters supply a partial clue to the emotional history implied in the poems of this period, though they do not fully explain it. In March, 1853, on hearing that her brother has been trying his hand at poetry, she wrote gayly to warn him off what she even then considered her particular province:

And Austin is a poet, Austin writes a psalm. . . . Now Brother Pegasus, I'll tell you what it is. I've been in the habit *myself* of writing some few

¹⁹ References are to *Poems*, Centenary Edition; the large and small Roman numerals indicate section and poem.

things, and it rather appears to me that you're getting away my patent, so you'd better be somewhat careful or I'll call the police.²⁰

But in 1862, speaking of this same year and of her dying tutor's wish to live to see her a poet, she added: "Death was much of mob as I could master then." Clearly her first poetic activity was interrupted by the death of the man who had fostered it. She did not altogether stop writing, for there are at least twenty poems that can be assigned to the period from 1853 to 1860.²¹ But her words seem to mean that she was struggling to grasp the significance of events rather than to express them. When after a time of bewilderment she resumed writing in earnest, in the winter of 1861-1862, it was to afford relief from the keenest suffering of her life. She had then, as her statement to Higginson shows, almost forgotten her earlier efforts or else was unwilling to acknowledge them.

I made no verse, but one or two, until this winter, Sir. I had a terror since September, I could tell to none, and so I sing, as the boy does of the burying ground, because I am afraid.²²

To understand the state of mind which, in the spring of 1862, colored all her memories and threw her previous experiences of deprivation and the death of friends into high relief, we must attempt to trace at least in part what had happened in the nine years' interval between 1853 and the date of her letter to Higginson.

Shortly after Newton's death Emily had found the "one more" who more than took the place of her first preceptor, the man of whom she was later to speak as "my dearest earthly friend." The details of their relationship are still shrouded in mystery and need not concern us here. But in the spring of 1862 Emily was facing a separation from this friend, a separation which both he and she supposed would be final so far as this life was concerned. He had removed to a distant city. An intimation of his intended departure had, I assume, reached her the previous September, overwhelming her with dread. Once before she had gone through such a parting, and it had been followed by the death of the man whom she held

²⁰ *Letters*, pp. 109-110.

²¹ See "A Chronological Grouping of Some of Emily Dickinson's Poems," by the present writer, *The Colophon*, Part 16 [1934].

²² *Letters*, p. 273.

dear. Now the inexorable nexus of circumstance seemed to be coiling back upon itself and displaying a similar pattern, even more huge and hopeless to conceive than before. Is it any wonder that her life at such a moment should have appeared to Emily one monstrous fact of loss and God himself "an eclipse"? But she had now means to keep her head above disaster. "I sing, as the boy does of the burying ground, because I am afraid."

Here are all the elements needed to supply the background for one of her best known poems, "My life closed twice before its close" (I, xcvi). I do not know when this poem was written. There were other occasions when Emily had a double grief to mourn. But every word is comprehensible if read as an expression of her mood in the spring of 1862. She had then known the anguish of two momentous partings, one with Newton, who had died, and one still more recent and painful with Newton's successor, who she believed was going away to die. The tender concern that she had felt to know if her first friend were in Heaven, the sharp torment of apprehension and realization of a second and greater loss—these two facts lay side by side in her consciousness like two figures on a tomb. Was she not discriminating one from the other with a fine inward perception when she wrote the concluding lines?

Parting is all we know of heaven,
And all we need of hell.

In another and even better known lyric she returned to the same theme, but with a difference. This time she speaks of two bereavements by death, and of a third loss which may or may not be of the same kind.

I never lost as much but twice,
And that was in the sod.²³

The ambiguity occurs in the second line, which may be read: "And that [also] was in the sod," or: "And that was in the sod, [this is not]." If we accept the second reading, then Newton's death may be one of the two losses mentioned in the first line, and the parting with her dearest earthly friend the loss which was not "in the sod."²⁴

²³ *Poems* (IV, xl), p. 174.

²⁴ Miss Pollitt, *op. cit.*, p. 297, suggests that this poem may have been written after Wadsworth's death. But by 1882 the roll of Emily's "lost" was not confined to three.

What other name would Emily have joined with Newton's? I can only suggest Humphrey's, whose memory was linked in time with the days when she had known her earliest friend and whose death she had in her inexperience of grief called an affliction. But now in the light reflected upon the past by her supreme disaster every previous loss was magnified and accentuated. Newton, who taught her immortality, had ventured too near; Humphrey, who might have taken Newton's place, had died; and now the "one more," not content that she be his scholar, had "left the land," expecting never to return. Was it a conspiracy of "the redoubtable God"? Or would God relent?

Burglar, banker, father,
I am poor once more!

sighed Emily—and wrote to Colonel Higginson, whom she did not know, to ask if he would become her instructor. And once more the banker member of her Trinity saw to it that her draft was honored.

THE ORIGIN OF "THE CASK OF AMONTILLADO"*

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ALTHOUGH many questions of literary indebtedness are open to discussion, still we can be reasonably certain that the origin of Poe's tale, "The Cask of Amontillado," was not wholly inspirational. Professor Killis Campbell has suggested that portions of the work may possibly be traced to certain incidents in *The Last Days of Pompeii* and in Balzac's "La Grande Brétèche."¹ It is true that Montresor's method of tricking Fortunato into the underground chambers is not unlike that of Bulwer-Lytton's Arbaces in leading a priest to imprisonment. But in the immurement which marks the climax of "The Cask of Amontillado" and which Poe again used in the tale of "The Black Cat," both Bulwer-Lytton and Balzac may be disregarded as possible sources. Instead, we must turn to an American contemporary of Poe, the Reverend Joel Tyler Headley (1814-1897) and to his *Letters From Italy*² (1845) in a study of the composition of "The Cask of Amontillado."³

Headley was one of the most popular writers of his day, for up to 1853 over two hundred thousand copies of his works had been sold.⁴ But Poe did not join the public in its common acclaim. In fact, the one review that he wrote of Headley, on *The Sacred Mountains*, may be regarded as typical of the *Norman Leslie* school of criticism. Poe was bitter, harsh, and ruthless. In this review he gives evidence of knowing other works by Headley, for he writes that "a book is a

* This paper was first presented to the Edgar Allan Poe Society of the University of Iowa, February 15, 1932. Since that time certain additions have been made to it.

Some time after Mr. Schick had submitted his article to the editors of *American Literature*, Mr. James T. Pole, a graduate student at Columbia University, submitted an article on the same source for Poe's tale. Certain paragraphs from Mr. Pole's manuscript article are given as a footnote at the end of Mr. Schick's article.

J. B. H.

¹ Killis Campbell, *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 170-171.

² The letters comprising this volume were written in 1844; certain of them were published in this year.

³ "The Cask of Amontillado" first appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book*, vol. XXXIII (Nov., 1846).

⁴ Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (Philadelphia, 1859), I, 812.

'funny' book and nothing but a funny book, whenever it happens to be penned by Mr. Headley."⁵ Now the only literary production of Headley that Poe could have had in mind in making this statement was the *Letters From Italy*, for it was the only publication of Headley prior to *The Sacred Mountains*.

Although there is no exact evidence to show that Poe had read the *Letters From Italy* entire, there were other possibilities which might have brought one of Headley's letters containing the germ of "The Cask of Amontillado" to his attention. The letter in question was printed separately in two publications well known to Poe under the title, "A Sketch, A Man Built in a Wall," in *The Columbian Magazine* and *The New York Evening Mirror*. The letter appeared in the former in the issue of August, 1844, which also contained Poe's article on "Mesmeric Revelation." Poe sent copies of this issue to Lowell and to Chivers, a fact which may indicate that the magazine was actually in his possession.⁶ Thus we can be reasonably certain that Headley's article came to his attention. One year later, on July 12, 1845, Headley's letter was again printed in *The New York Evening Mirror*. At this time Poe was no longer on the staff of the *Mirror*, but no Poe scholar will deny that he was in daily contact with the paper, so far as that was possible, throughout his later career. His connection with the *Mirror* was especially sympathetic in the year 1845, which marked the first appearance of "The Raven" in its columns. In view of these facts, it is not likely that Headley's letter describing an immurement was unknown to him. Nothing is more eloquent of this than his subsequent use of the material.

The letter by Headley may be summed up briefly. He and his companion enter the little town of San Giovanni, in Italy. They are shown through the church of San Lorenzo. In the wall of the church is a niche covered with "a sort of trap-door," containing an upright human skeleton. This ghastly spectacle had been discovered by workmen some years previous to Headley's visit, but it had not been disturbed. Headley describes the skeleton in detail and concludes that the victim had died of suffocation after having been

⁵ Poe, *Works*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XIII, 203.

⁶ Hervey Allen, *Israel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1927), II, 616.

walled-up alive. The history of the immurement is not known, but Headley gives an account of his retrospective view of the event: the victim was walled-up by his enemies in a spirit of revenge. He had been bound securely and the niche prepared for him. When the opening was large enough he was placed in it. The walling-up process began. Gradually, it neared completion: the last stone was fitted in and revenge was satisfied. "A stifled groan . . . and all was over."

We find more than an echo of this account in Poe's "The Cask of Amontillado." It will be recalled that here, too, the scene is laid in Italy, and the action is motivated by a spirit of revenge. Further, the characters involved in the plot are of the nobility. Headley writes, "men of rank were engaged in it [the torturing of their enemies], for none other could have got the control of a church, and none but a distinguished victim would have caused such great precaution in the murderers." Poe makes use of a similar tradition of nobility, for he speaks of the Montresors as a "great and numerous family" and describes their armorial bearings. When the actual immurement proceedings begin, the similarities in the two accounts are best observed in the following parallel passages:

Headley

In a dark night. . . . The workman began at the feet, and with his mortar and trowel built up with the same carelessness he would exhibit in filling any broken wall. The successful enemy stood leaning on his sword . . . and watched the face of the man he hated, but no longer feared. . . . At length the solid wall rose over his chest repressing its effort to lift with the breath, when a stifled groan . . . escaped the sufferer's lips, and a shudder ran through his frame that threatened to shake the solid mass, which enclosed it, to pieces. . . . With care and precision the last stone was fitted in the

Poe

With these materials [building stone and mortar] and with the aid of my trowel, I began vigorously to wall up the entrance of the niche. . . . The wall was now nearly upon a level with my breast. . . . A succession of loud and shrill screams, bursting suddenly from the throat of the chained form, seemed to thrust me violently back. For a brief moment I hesitated—I trembled. Unsheathing my rapier . . . but the thought of an instant reassured me. I placed my hand upon the solid fabric of the catacombs, and felt satisfied. . . . It was now midnight . . . there remained

narrow space—the trowel passed smoothly over it—a stifled groan, as if from the center of a rock, broke the stillness—one strong shiver, and all was over.

but a single stone to be fitted and plastered in. I struggled with its weight; I placed it partially in its destined position. But now there came from out the niche a low laugh. . . . I forced the last stone into its position; I plastered it up.

The similarities in the accounts of Poe and Headley may be summed up briefly: The scenes are laid in Italy; the characters involved are of the nobility; the deeds of murder are incited by revenge; the same method of immurement is resorted to; and there are similar descriptive details.*

A study of literary origins is important in revealing a writer's method of composition. In "The Cask of Amontillado" Poe drew from two widely different sources—Bulwer-Lytton and Headley—and combined his findings so deftly that a plot of great unity and expression was achieved.

* The identities and similarities that this sketch and Poe's tale have in common will be seen readily. The locale of both is Italy; the motive behind both crimes is revenge for some unmentioned wrong; the method of accomplishing the crime is the same in both cases; the pervading atmosphere of both is strikingly similar. The two features of Italian life that seem to have been most attractive to American writers of the middle of the last century were the church and the carnival. For the setting of his tale Poe merely substituted the one for the other. A further similarity may be seen between the references to the passage of time at the ends of both pieces, and between Headley's evangelical ending and Poe's concluding "In pace requiescat."

Provided that this sketch can be accepted as the immediate source for "The Cask of Amontillado," the light thrown on Poe's creative methods is interesting. Several details in Headley's sketch were retained as in keeping with the Poe manner and technique; notably, the romantic indefiniteness of the victim's offense and the equally romantic cold detached air of the murderer. Poe's additions to the earlier piece are chiefly, I think, the results of his desire to emphasize the atmosphere of horror. This is largely accomplished by the diabolically clever setting and springing of the trap, which Poe substituted for the prosaic beginning of Headley's sketch, and by the murderer's cat-like dalliance with his prospective victim. The originality of Poe's treatment is well illustrated by his unconventional handling of the conduct of the victim, which Headley made so tritely stoical.

JAMES T. POLE.

ON POE'S "THE CITY IN THE SEA"

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INQUIRY into the materials entering into a work of art is always of interest. Lovers and students of literature—these are not always identical—like to examine the raw stuff that a poet has transmuted. Impressions from a long period of years and from many sources, the spoils of memory carried away from wide wanderings, often flash together in the poet's creative process. When they are detected and brought in conjunction, one can watch the ordering of them into a pattern. There will always be interest in a poet's play of mind over his materials, the operation of his "shaping spirit of imagination." Yet, to follow these, there must be a survey of what the materials are, and herein lies the justification of the source-hunter—a type of scholar so often disparaged.

Poe was an original and imaginative poet, and "The City in the Sea" is one of the most original and imaginative of his poems. It owes very little to the work of his predecessors or his contemporaries. A number of scholars, however, have noted influences that should be taken into account by an interpreter of the poem. To these I wish to add one component more that went into the crucible of the poet's mind; namely, tales ancient, medieval, and modern of sunken cities.

Poe changed the title of his poem twice. When it first appeared, in the volume of 1831, it was called "The Doomed City." Reprinted in *The Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1836, it was entitled "The City of Sin." In *The American Whig Review* for April, 1845, it assumed the name that he retained, "The City in the Sea," with the sub-title "A Prophecy."

A writer signing himself "H. J.," who contributed "E. A. Poe: An Unnoticed Plagiarism" to the issue of *The Academy* for June 25, 1910, found by accident, he says, the source of the poem. Poe draws, he thinks, upon the Book of Isaiah when he suggests a city doomed for its sins. That Babylon was in his mind is shown by lines 16 and 17:

Up domes—up spires—up kingly halls—
Up fanes—up Babylon-like walls—

Almost surely, too, Poe's culminating lines—

Down, down that town shall settle hence,
Hell, rising from a thousand thrones,
Shall do it reverence.

—derive from the passage concerning Babylon in Isaiah xiv, 9:

Hell from beneath is moved up for thee to meet thee at thy coming:
it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it
hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nation.

A few touches may have come from Revelation xvi-xviii.¹ "H. J.'s" term "plagiarism" is, however, much too harsh to be used in connection with "The City in the Sea." Poe's doomed city may have been symbolically associated in his mind with Babylon, and his last lines were probably suggested by the scriptural passage quoted above; but we have to do here with poetic echoes, merely, not plagiarism.²

It is important to note, too, that Babylon was not the only scriptural city that Poe had in mind. Mr. J. H. Whitty pointed out in his edition of Poe's poems (1911) that there is a passage in *Al Aaraaf* that may be a foreshadowing of "The City in the Sea." Yet the resemblance is not very close. The second part of *Al Aaraaf* opens with a description. High on a mountain, catching the rays of the evening sun, arose a pile of gorgeous columns that flashed down on the wave below. On these as a crown sat a dome, from which a window "of one circular diamond . . . looked out above into the purple air." References follow to "each cornice," "each architrave," and to "Achæan statues." The passage ends:

¹ For Poe's citations from the Scriptures throughout his work, consult William Mentzel Forrest, *Biblical Allusions in Poe* (New York, 1928). For his reading in general, see Killis Campbell, "Poe's Reading," *The University of Texas Bulletin*, October 8, 1925. Studies in English, No. 5. Additions and Corrections, No. 7.

² Other influences on the poem have been noted in Professor Killis Campbell's scholarly edition of Poe's poems (1917). Citing W. L. Weber's *Selections from the Southern Poets*, he remarks that Poe may have been influenced by Byron's account of the end of the world in his poem "Darkness," and in a less degree by passages in Shelley's "Lines Written among the Euganean Hills," though these indebtednesses, if they exist, are slight.

Friezes from Tadmor and Persepolis—
 From Balbec, and the stilly clear abyss
 Of Beautiful Gomorrah! O, the wave
 Is now upon thee—but too late to save.³

Of especial interest is Poe's note upon the *Al Aaraaf* passage:

"O, the wave"—Ula Deguisi is the Turkish appellation; but, on its own shores, it is called Bahar Loth, or Almotanah. There were undoubtedly more than two cities engulfed in the "dead sea." In the valley of Sid-dim were five—Adrah, Zeboin, Zoar, Sodom, and Gomorrah. Stephen of Byzantium mentions eight, and Strabo thirteen, (engulfed)—but the last is out of all reason.

It is said (Tacitus, Strabo, Josephus, Daniel of St. Saba, Nau, Maundrell, Troilo, D'Arvieux) that after an excessive drought, the vestiges of columns, walls, &c. are seen above the surface. At *any* season, such remains may be discovered by looking down into the transparent lake, and such distances as would argue the existence of many settlements in the space now usurped by the 'Asphaltites.'

The *locale* of Poe's "City in the Sea" is "far down within the dim West," but his sea surely owes features to the Dead Sea, the Salt Sea of the Scriptures. Poe was interested in legends of the Dead Sea. Professor T. O. Mabbott, who has engaged in much scholarly research into the sources of Poe's allusions, reminded interpreters of the poem of Mr. Whitty's citation of the *Al Aaraaf* passage, in "A Few Notes on Poe"⁴ and he added new material concerning minor contemporary poems having something in common with Poe's.

³ Compare also from Poe's "Dreamland":

Mountains toppling evermore
 Into seas without a shore . . .
 Lakes that endlessly outspread
 Their lone waters, lone and dead.

And compare the sinking of the House of Usher into the tarn.

⁴ *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 374 (June, 1920). Professor Mabbott has examined many or most of the writers cited in the passage from *Al Aaraaf*, though his results are unpublished. He notes in Daniel of St. Saba (English translation by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. IV, London, 1896, under the title of *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, section xxxviii, p. 35) the statement that "beneath the dead sea are the torments of Hell," but he does not see how Poe could have known this work. He believes that Poe relied on some encyclopedic compilation for his citations but thinks that he might have read Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, Bk. IV. Gomorrah, he points out, could have "Babylon-like walls," which could exist only somewhere else than in Babylon.

It seems clear, however, that neither Babylon nor Gomorrah accounts adequately for Poe's phantom city. Babylon was situated along the Euphrates. It was not a city on the sea but an inland city, and Sodom and Gomorrah met their awful fate by a rain of brimstone and fire from heaven "upon those cities and all the plain" (Genesis xxiv, xxv, xxvii). Poe's city in the sea was not yet razed but still a city, with shrines, palaces, turrets, and kingly halls, when it was engulfed.

Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven:

And he overthrew those cities and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.

And so he [Abraham] looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.

The Dead Sea may later have covered the plain where were the five wicked cities of the vale of Siddim and its origin may be associated with the main legend, but their annihilation did not come from its waves but more terribly. All Poe's literary creations were composite in character. Blending with his scriptural memories of Babylon and the uprising of Hell to welcome the doomed city, and with his picture of a beautiful Gomorrah, doomed also, was surely the memory or thought of a city engulfed by water. There is a vast lore of such sunken cities, sometimes visible through the surface of the water in fair weather; and this lore is ancient, medieval, modern, but not scriptural. With some of it Poe was surely acquainted.

Probably the most celebrated sunken city of antiquity was Helike, situated in Achaia, along the coast of the Ægean sea. According to Herakleides Ponticus, a contemporary, its destruction took place in 373 B. C. The story of its sinking may be read also in Herodotus, Polybius, Pliny, Ovid, and others. Strabo merely mentions the fate of Helike, but he gives a detailed account of an earthquake and the

Poe's tastes led him to glance at many minor classical works, and he may have read passages in Josephus. But if so, he used them little. Josephus describes "Lake Alphatitus" (the modern Dead Sea) in Bk. IV, and remarks that adjacent to it is the land of Sodom, now all burnt up.

Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 80, remarks that Poe spoke of a deep Hell, the abode of demons under the sea. But it does not seem to me that Poe definitely localized Hell under the Dead Sea. His Hell in "The City in the Sea" seems to me that of the passage in Isaiah.

engulfing of a city. Ptolemy is another who described the fate of Helike. Poe's "A Descent into the Maelstrom," a story that testifies to his interest in phenomena of the sea, has in it a reference to Ptolemy, though he may not have been, as Poe terms him, a "Nubian geographer." I select for illustration the account of Helike from the *Description of Greece* of Pausanias (Book VII, 24), not because I think Poe relied especially upon this account, but because it is a full one.⁵ Helike, too, was destroyed for its sins.

Here there used to be a city Helice and here the Ionians had a most holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. . . . Homer also refers to Helice and Heliconian Poseidon. But in after time the Achæans of Helice forced some suppliants from the sanctuary and put them to death. The wrath of Poseidon did not tarry. The land was instantly visited by an earthquake, which swallowed up not only the buildings, but the very ground on which the city stood. . . . They say that the earthquake of Helice was of . . . the kind that levels with the ground; and that besides the earthquake, another disaster befell the doomed city in the winter-time. The sea advanced far over the land and submerged the whole of Helice, and in the grove of Poseidon the water was so deep that only the tops of the trees were visible. So what between the suddenness of the earthquake and the simultaneous rush of the sea, the billows sucked down Helice and every soul in the place. A like fate befell a city on Mount Sipylus; it disappeared into a chasm, and from the fissure in the mountain water gushed forth, and the chasm became a lake named Salve. The ruins of the city could still be seen in the lake until the water of the torrent covered them up. The ruins of Helice are also visible, but not so clearly as before, for they have been eaten away by the brine.

Citation of the many writers of classical antiquity who make reference to the fate of Helike may be found in the *Real Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.⁶ It would hardly be profitable, it seems to me, to canvass these to learn upon which, if any of them, Poe may have relied. Much space would be required to pass them in review, and the question is not one of borrowing of details but merely of suggestion. An obvious conjecture is that Poe had read and echoed Strabo.

Inquirers into the subject will learn that many other legends of

⁵ Translation of Sir James G. Fraser (1898).

⁶ Edited by Pauly-Wissowa.

towns sinking into the sea, stories of doomed cities, villages, castles, convents, and churches, have had currency in many lands. Especially common is lore of sinkings into lakes, like the sinking of the city on Mount Sipylus mentioned by Pausanias. They are found in all parts of the world, Greece, Italy, Germany, Abyssinia, Denmark, Wales, Ireland. Almost always, too, the disappearance under the waters is the result of a supernatural visitation, incurred through some transgression. The submerging is a judgment, divine retribution for an offense.⁷

Finally, readers of Poe's poem may be reminded of two historic engulfings of modern times, in the century preceding Poe's composition of his poem. The city of Callao in Peru was submerged in the year 1746 by an earthquake. The story was later told of it that it was still visible sometimes in the sea, like the Helike of Pausanias. The great earthquake of Lisbon came in 1755. Accounts tell that the sea came in mountainous waves, from thirty to sixty feet higher than the highest tide, and drowned the city. My contention in this note is that, in a survey of the materials entering Poe's poem, reference to European legends of engulfed cities should take their place alongside the symbolic association of it with ancient Babylon and Gomorrah, doomed for their sins.⁸

⁷For references to later legends of drowned cities, and for bibliography, consult Sir James G. Fraser's annotations in his translation of *The Description of Greece* of Pausanias. Connop Thirlwall, historian and Bishop of St. David's, published an article "On Some Traditions Relating to the Submersion of Ancient Cities" in *The Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, second series, 1859. The paper was read May 17, 1858. See also, Franz Schmarsel, *Die Sage von der untergangenen Stadt* (Berlin, 1913); René Basset, "Les Villes Englouties," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vols. XXVII, XXVIII, etc.

Mary E. Phillips (*Edgar Allan Poe: The Man*, 1926, I, 399) cited the Hon. R. M. Hogg of Irvine, Ayrshire, Scotland, as believing that the Allan family must have been familiar with Gaelic traditions, borrowed from the Norse, of a submerged city. There is such a tradition in the Hebrides. Here, he thought, was the basis for "The City in the Sea." But Poe was a boy of six when he was in Scotland with the Allans, in 1815, and in general his slant was less toward Gaelic than toward classical and scriptural antiquity.

⁸De Quincey, too, touched on the theme of the sunken city. Professor J. B. Hubbell has directed my attention to "Savannah-la-Mar," which opens: "God smote Savannah-la-Mar, and, in one night, by earthquake, removed her, with all her towers, standing and population sleeping, from the steadfast foundations of the shore to the coral beds of the ocean." De Quincey's short paper first appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1845, fourteen years later than the publication of "The City in the Sea."

POE AS SOCIAL CRITIC

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AS early as 1855 the notion was abroad that Poe moved about over the earth thickly wrapped in a luminous cloud, which effectually shut him off from mundane concerns; that his mind dwelt exclusively in "the misty mid region of Weir." In that year Evert and George Duyckinck, who had known Poe in the flesh, wrote: "His rude contact with the world, which might have set up a novelist for life with materials of adventure, seems scarcely to have impinged upon his perceptions. His mind, walking in a vain show, was taught nothing by experience or suffering."¹ How a man who engaged in the active practice of journalism for upwards of fifteen years, who reviewed scores of books on topics ranging from the history of the American navy, life and manners in the West, education, the ecclesiastical history of the United States, and South Sea exploration, to eulogies of departed worthies like John Marshall; who, in 1844, walked with an observant eye up and down Manhattan, noting for future comment the wretched shanties of the recent Irish immigrants, the banal architecture of the dwellings,² and the bad taste of the Bowling Green fountain, which he likened to a "small country jail in a hard thunder shower"³—how such a man could prevent the various and gaudy life of the '30's and '40's from impinging upon his perceptions, is a little difficult to understand.

Professor Parrington asserts that Poe's "aloofness from his own Virginia world was complete. Aside from his art he had no philosophy and no programs and no causes."⁴ Mrs. Hazard declares that Poe has "no connection with the regional frontier or with any region

¹ *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, 2 vols. (New York, Charles Scribner, 1866), II, 537.

² *Doings of Gotham . . . a Series of Letters to the Editors of the Columbia [Pennsylvania] Spy*. Now first collected by Jacob E. Spannuth with a Preface, Introduction, and Comments by Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Pottsville, Pa., Jacob E. Spannuth, 1929), pp. 25, 59. See also Poe's *Works*, ed. James A. Harrison, 17 vols. (New York, Crowell, 1902), XIV, 171: ". . . much of our cottage architecture . . . would have been Gothic if it had not felt it its duty to be Dutch."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), II, 57.



except [that] to which [his] magic has given a local habitation and a name."⁵ Accepting the general judgment of the literary historians, Professor A. M. Schlesinger finds that Poe is "a tragic and solitary genius, the Ishmael of letters, who shows no reflection of place or time in his work. . . ."⁶ Professor Edwin Greenlaw, after an able and convincing statement of the view that literature has intimate relations with the social and cultural *milieu* from which it springs, feels obliged to say that a "sharp distinction [must] be drawn between . . . the product of the solitary artist working, so far as we can see, independently of time or place, such an artist as Poe for example, . . . and that other and far larger body of imaginative writing which is transcript of the life out of which it springs."⁷ The old formula also serves Professor Russell Blankenship, who writes: "a grave weakness of Poe is his intellectual detachment from his time and environment."⁸ Thus Poe baffles the sociological and historical critics, and becomes one of the chief supports of those doctors of

⁵ *The Frontier in American Literature* (New York, 1927), p. 84. It is true that the frontier shows little direct influence in Poe's more imaginative work, although it is clear that he delved into books of travel and exploration in the West, among them accounts of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, on which he founded his "Journal of Julius Rodman" (see Miss P. P. Crawford, "Lewis and Clark's Expedition as a Source for Poe's 'Journal of Julius Rodman,'" University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 12, pp. 158 ff. (1932). See also his review of Irving's *Astoria, Works*, IX, 207, and "Von Kempelen and His Discovery," which, as he explains, in a letter to Duyckinck (March 8, 1849), was written to hoax the public, to act "as a sudden, although of course a very temporary, check to the gold-fever," and to "create a stir to some purpose." (*Works*, XVII, 341.)

That Poe was well aware of the influence of the frontier on American life and character is evident in his notice of the work of Caroline M. Kirkland. "With a fidelity and vigor that prove her pictures to be taken from the very life, she has represented 'scenes' that could have occurred only *as* and *where* she has described them. She has placed before us the veritable settlers of the forest, with all their peculiarities, national and individual; their free and fearless spirit; their homely utilitarian views; their shrewd out-looking for self-interest; their thrifty care and inventions multiform; their coarseness of manner, united with real delicacy and substantial kindness when their sympathies are called into action. . . ." An accusation of pride, he notes, is "as destructive at the west as that of witchcraft in olden times, or the cry of mad dog in modern." (*Works*, XV, 84, 86.) See also his review of Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes, Works*, VIII, 257-265.

⁶ *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, Macmillan, 1922), p. 211.

⁷ *The Province of Literary History* (Baltimore and London, 1931), pp. 99-100. Poe himself admitted some connection between environment and literature. He felt, however, that social, political, moral, or physical conditions could do no more than "momentarily repress" the development of art, whose principles "lie deep within the immortal nature of man, and have little necessary reference to the worldly circumstances which surround him." (*Works*, XI, 148.)

⁸ *American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind* (New York, Holt, 1931), p. 217.



æsthetic who hold that art and the mind of the artist are gifts direct from heaven. Three generations of commentators have imposed upon the world the fiction that Poe was rather more isolated from the ordinary concerns of human life than Simeon Stylites on his pillar.

Of late, however, the traditional view of Poe has begun to meet with exception. As long ago as 1923 Professor Killis Campbell indicated briefly the variety of Poe's interests in his contemporary world.⁹ Hervey Allen in the preface to his *Israfel* laments that although "conservative academic circles still continue to yawn through Mr. Emerson's doubtful *Compensations*, there is no knowledge, or comment upon what Mr. Poe had to say of democracy, science, and unimaginative literature about the same time. The croak of the raven is conveniently supposed to be purely lyric."¹⁰ Professor James Southall Wilson has well shown that Poe began his career as a prose writer with satire of contemporary tastes and manners, but that his satiric purpose almost entirely missed fire at the time, and has been overlooked ever since.¹¹ And Professor Howard Mumford Jones has sensed the fact that the treatment of Poe in the conventional literary history, in which "literature is a static concept, not a dynamic social agency," is inadequate; when the historians are "confronted by such a phenomenon as Poe, their shallow classifications break down."¹² It is a mistake, Dr. H. S. Canby believes, to think that Poe owed nothing to the American tradition.¹³

Emerson once said, "It is impossible to extricate yourself from the questions in which your age is involved." Nor was Poe able to extricate himself from these questions. The great staples of thought and discussion in his day were democracy, social reform, and prog-

⁹ "Poe in Relation to His Times," *Studies in Philology*, XX, 293-301 (July, 1923). In his recent *The Mind of Poe* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1933) Professor Campbell has greatly extended the evidence.

¹⁰ *Israfel* (New York, Doran, 1926), I, xi.

¹¹ "The Devil Was in It," *The American Mercury*, XXIV, 215-220 (Oct., 1931). I here make the suggestion that one of these early pieces, "Four Beasts in One," written in the midst of the Jacksonian era, is directed specifically against Jackson and his frontier democrats, and that the homo-cameleopard king is no less than King Mob, who so fluttered the Eastern dovecote when Jackson took office.

¹² *America and French Culture* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1927), p. 6.

¹³ *Classic Americans* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1931), p. 275. See also F. M. Darnell, "The Americanism of Edgar Allan Poe," *English Journal*, XVI, 185-192 (March, 1927).

ress. As a preliminary to a survey of his opinions on these subjects, it will be pertinent, as well as of intrinsic interest, to review his personal experience with the politics of the period.

II

It was his friend F. W. Thomas who first suggested to Poe the possibility of obtaining a government post by political appointment. In the spring of 1841, shortly after the death of the newly inaugurated Harrison and the accession of John Tyler, when the streets and inns of the capital were swarming with hungry office-seekers, Thomas wrote from Washington, where he himself had a small clerkship, to ask, "How would you like to be an office holder here at \$1500 per year payable monthly by Uncle Sam?" After enlarging on the easy duties and the leisure which would be available for literary effort, he concludes with the invitation to "Come on and apply for a clerkship."¹⁴ Poe, struggling with poverty in Philadelphia, was fired by the prospect. He replied:

Would to God I could do as you have done! Do you seriously think that an application to Tyler would have a good result? . . . My political principles have always been, as nearly as may be, with the existing administration, and I battled with right good will for Harrison when opportunity offered. . . . Have I any chance?¹⁵

During the next two years, while the negotiations continued, Poe knew something of the pains of the courtier. He tried to play the game according to the rules. He enlisted the friendly aid of John Pendleton Kennedy, then a congressman;¹⁶ he said polite things about a poem by Robert Tyler, a son of the President;¹⁷ he tried to secure an article for his projected magazine from Judge Upshur, Secretary of the Navy and a close personal friend of the President;¹⁸ he made a trip to Washington but became intoxicated and damaged his cause.¹⁹ All was in vain. In a final revelation of the meanness, pettiness, and trickery of politics, he abandoned his hopes of political

¹⁴ Poe, *Works*, XVII, 85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XVII, 91-92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, 92, 93-94, 95, 102.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XVII, 134-137.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XVII, 105.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XVII, 132.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 134-137. In a remorseful letter to Thomas and Dow there is mention of "a cloak turned inside out" and "other peccadilloes of that nature," and of "making a fool" of himself at the public house of one Mr. Fuller. (*Ibid.*, XVII, 136.)

appointment. "You can have no idea of the low ruffians and boobies—men, too, without a shadow of political influence or caste—who have received office over my head. . . . I would write more, my dear Thomas, but my heart is too heavy."²⁰

Thenceforward politicians and all their ways were anathema to Poe. In "Some words with a Mummy" (1845), a telling bit of satire on the notion of progress, he observes that one of the interlocutors of the revived mummy

could not make the Egyptian comprehend the term "politics," until he sketched upon the wall, with a bit of charcoal, a little carbuncle-nosed gentleman, out at elbows, standing upon a stump, with his left leg drawn back, his right arm thrown forward, with the fist shut, the eyes rolled up toward Heaven, and the mouth open at an angle of ninety degrees.²¹

Writing from New York to *The Columbia* (Pennsylvania) *Spy* in 1844 he remarked with indignant scorn on the political corruption of the city, as a result of which miles of its streets were often left in total darkness for a fortnight at a time. He noted also that easy tolerance toward public rascality which is a peculiarly American trait. "When the question is asked—'cannot these scoundrels be made to suffer for their high-handed peculations?'—the reply is invariably—'oh, no—to be sure not—the thing is expected, and will only be laughed at as an excellent practical joke'."²²

It is doubtful whether Poe had any clear sense of direction in the welter of cross purposes which constituted party politics. He declared as above that his political principles had always been "as nearly as may be with the existing administration"; that is, Whig, and that he had "battled with a right good will for Harrison." But Tyler was at heart a Virginia Democrat who had flirted with the Whigs and been put on the ticket with Harrison as an act of expediency. After the latter's death, it was at first uncertain which way Tyler would go, but he presently began to oppose Whig measures. Poe wrote to Thomas respecting one Smith, through whom he expected a clerkship in the Philadelphia custom-house: "Mr. Smith has excited the thorough disgust of every Tyler man here.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII, 123-124.

²¹ *Works*, VI, 125. See also "Fifty Suggestions," Nos. 12 and 16, *Works*, XIV, 173, 174.

²² *Doings of Gotham*, pp. 31-32.

He is a Whig of the worst stamp and will appoint none but Whigs if he can possibly avoid it."²³ And of Judge Upshur he avowed that he thought him "as a reasoner, as a speaker, and as a writer, absolutely unsurpassed."²⁴ But Judge Upshur was an extreme states' rights, pro-slavery Democrat. It is obvious that in all this Poe's politics showed a disposition to be flexible, that he was seeking a job and a competence that would enable him to devote himself to his writing; but his stand on the larger general questions of social reform, democracy, and progress as it was understood by industrial Whiggery, is hardly open to doubt.

III

As a thorough-going intellectual aristocrat Poe was an individualist, but his individualism was less the economic, laissez-faire type found in Whig political theory than the product of his deep-rooted sense of the uniqueness, worth, and dignity of the individual personality. "It is only the philosophical lynxeye that, through the indignity-mist of Man's life, can still discern the dignity of Man."²⁵ Whatever seemed to threaten the integrity of individual personality he would oppose. Hence, he despised Carlyle's hero-worship: ". . . is it possible," he asks, "that it ever excited a feeling beyond contempt? No hero-worshipper can possess anything within himself. That man is no man who stands in awe of his fellow-man."²⁶ Hence, also, enthusiasm for the greatest good of the greatest number, or for the exaltation of humanity in the abstract and spelled with a capital "H" failed to move him. Bentham and Mill with their utilitarianism were his peculiar aversions.²⁷ He liked neither the method of their reasoning nor their conclusions. He accuses Mill of employing the word "force" in four different senses on the same page. By the same process of introducing slight variations in the meaning of his terms, Poe asserts that he himself could prove a turnip to be a leg of mutton. Bentham's positions could be overthrown by the same arguments used to support them. A priori argument, outside the mathematical sciences, is futile; "it is utterly

²³ *Works*, XVII, 122.

²⁶ "Marginalia," *Works*, XVI, 161.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVII, 132.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 100.

²⁷ See "Mellonta Tauta," *Works*, VI, 204; "Marginalia," *ibid.*, XVI, 1, 70; "Eureka," *ibid.*, XVI, 193.

and radically inapplicable" to the subject of government.²⁸ In so far as he entertained an ethical theory, Poe may be called a hedonist; but the hedonism of Bentham and Mill, embodied in the central utilitarian doctrine of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," was repugnant to him simply because it removed the emphasis from individual, and placed it on social, man.

In "Mellonta Tauta," a satire on democracy, progress, and other objects of his dislike, he avails himself of a device to be used by many others after him, from Bellamy to Wells. He projects us into the distant future to provide an opportunity for criticism of the present. It is the year 2848. The protagonist of the piece is hurtling through space at one hundred miles an hour in a vast balloon with two hundred other passengers. To relieve the tedium of the journey she writes a letter:

I rejoice, my dear friend, that we live in an age so enlightened that no such thing as an individual is supposed to exist. . . . Is it not truly remarkable that, before the magnificent light shed upon philosophy by Humanity, the world was accustomed to regard War and Pestilence as calamities? . . . Is it not really difficult to comprehend upon what principle of interest our forefathers acted? Were they so blind as not to perceive that the destruction of a myriad of individuals is only so much positive advantage to the mass!²⁹

IV

Poe had little faith in social reform, with its emphasis on the improvement of *society*. His age was preëminently one of reform. Hardly a human custom or institution that was not under fire from some enthusiast; capital punishment,³⁰ diet, dress, marriage, the position of women, education, property—all came under the critical or zealous scrutiny of the reformer. The country was dotted with social experiments, New Harmony, Brook Farm,³¹ and a score of others. The teachings of St. Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen were widely spread. Poe was hostile, even questioning the sincerity of the reforming spirit, as it appeared in such popular novelists as

²⁸ "Marginalia," *ibid.*, XVI, 38.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 199, 200. Cf. *ibid.*, XVI, 170.

³⁰ As Poe says, a vexed topic; see his notice of the Reverend George B. Cheever's *Defence of Capital Punishment*, *Works*, XV, 33.

³¹ "Crazyites" Poe called the people of Brook Farm. (*Works*, XIII, 27.)

Sue: "The cant . . . about the amelioration of society, etc., is but a very usual trick among authors, whereby they hope to add such a tone of dignity or utilitarianism to their pages as shall gild the pill of their licentiousness."³² The reformers were distinguished, he felt, chiefly by their simplicity and their devotion to mere freakishness.

The world is infested, just now [he writes in *Graham's*, in 1845] by a new sect of philosophers. . . . They are the *Believers in everything Odd*. Their High Priest in the East, is Charles Fourier³³—in the West, Horace Greeley. . . . The only common bond among the sect, is Credulity:—Let us call it Insanity at once, and be done with it.³⁴

The ground of his opposition is first, that "The modern reformist Philosophy . . . annihilates the individual by way of aiding the mass,"³⁵ and, second, that it has no real support in human nature.

"He that is born to be a man," says Wieland in his "Peregrinus Proteus," "should nor can be anything nobler, greater, or better than a man." The fact is, that in efforts to soar above our nature, we invariably fall below it. Your reformist demigods are merely devils turned inside out.³⁶

Feminism, as an element in the reform movement of the age, also received Poe's attention. His ideas on women were the thor-

³² *Works*, XVI, 105. Note the familiar trick of damning the social radical by calling him "licentious." It is frequently inferred from Poe's anti-didacticism that he was free of the moral taboos of his age. But in all matters touching women, sex, marriage, "morals," no more conventional-minded man than Poe ever lived. As a reviewer he seldom fails to chide and to commend writers for the moral tendencies of their work. "A high tone of morality, healthy and masculine, breathes throughout" Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (*Works*, VIII, 11); the hero of Ingraham's *Lafitte, the Pirate of the Gulf* is an atrocious scoundrel, yet "he is never mentioned but with evident respect . . . his portraiture as depicted, leaves upon the mind of the reader no proper degree of abhorrence" (*ibid.*, IX, 115); Mrs. Child's *Philothea* "might be introduced advantageously into our female academies. Its purity of thought and lofty morality are unexceptionable" (*ibid.*, IX, 154); George Sand (or, as Poe prefers to call her, Madame Dudevant) is a woman "who intersperses many an admirable sentiment amid a chaos of the most shameless and altogether objectionable fiction" (*ibid.*, XIV, 150); Byron's love for Mary Chaworth is pure and tender, "strangely in contrast with the gross earthliness pervading and disfiguring his ordinary love poems" (*loc. cit.*); Michel Masson, author of *Le Cœur d'une Jeune Fille*, is "A fetid battener upon the garbage of thought. . . . A beast. . . . A pig. . . . A carrion-crow . . . (*ibid.*, XVI, 36).

³³ Poe refers often to Fourier and his doctrines, always scornfully. In "Mellonta Tauta" he puns on the name, converting it into Furrier. (*Works*, VI, 199.) See also *ibid.*, XIII 155; XIV, 172; XVI, 100.

³⁴ "Fifty Suggestions," *Works*, XIV, 179-180.

³⁵ *Works*, XVI, 170.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, 161.

oughly naïve and unrealistic ones traditional in the South. In the course of a rebuke to Bulwer for some public remarks about Lady Blessington, he takes occasion to outline the aims of female education in America:

We do not put the names of our fine women in the newspapers. The business of female education with us, is not to qualify a woman to be the head of a literary *coterie*, nor to figure in the journal of a travelling coxcomb. We prepare her, as a wife, to make the home of a good, and wise, and great man, the happiest place to him on earth. We prepare her, as a mother, to form her son to walk in his father's steps. . . . When we have done this, we have accomplished, if not *all*, at least *the best* that education can do. Her praise is found in the happiness of her husband, and in the virtues and honors of her son. Her name is too sacred to be profaned by public breath.³⁷

Men, he thought, could never penetrate "that gentle and beautiful mystery, the heart of woman."³⁸ Hence, the delineation of feminine character in fiction was best performed by women. His ideal heroine was "a being full of lofty and generous impulses, beautiful, intellectual and *spirituelle*."³⁹ He found the "dictatorial manner" of Frances Kemble the chief fault of her *Journal*, for a "female, and a young one too, cannot speak with the self-confidence which marks this book, without jarring somewhat upon American notions of the retiring delicacy of the female character."⁴⁰

In his reviews of their works, Poe was generally very gracious to lady litterateurs, yet he held bluestockings in contempt. In the farcical "The Man That Was Used Up," the narrator attends the rout of "that bewitching little angel, the graceful Mrs. Pirouette," in search of information about the Brevet Brigadier General A. B. C. Smith, empty fraud and prophet of progress. After a nonsensical dispute with Miss Bas-Bleu he makes his retreat "in a very bitter spirit of animosity against the whole race of the Bas-Bleus."⁴¹ Later Poe observed that "Our 'blues' are increasing in number at a great

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 14. See also X, 102-103, for some rant against "a pack of literary debauchees," "heartless slanderers," and "wretches" who are "libelling our mothers and sisters unopposed."

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 96.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 30.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 268.

rate; and should be decimated, at the very least. Have we no critic with nerve enough to hang a dozen or two of them, *in terrorem*?"⁴³

It is in his notice of Margaret Fuller in "The Literati" that we get some indication of his views on feminism. Her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, he thought, was "a book which few women in the country could have written, and no woman in the country would have published, with the exception of Miss Fuller. In the way of independence, of unmitigated radicalism, it is one of the 'Curiosities of American Literature'." He conceded that it was "thoughtful, suggestive, brilliant," but added, "the conclusions reached are only in part my own. Not that they are too bold, by any means—too novel, too startling, or too dangerous in their consequences, but that in their attainment too many premises have been distorted and too many analogical inferences left altogether out of sight. I mean to say that the intention of the Deity as regards sexual differences . . . has not been sufficiently considered."⁴³ Later, in a letter to Thomas, he referred to this brilliant representative of the race of the Bas-Bleus as "that detestable old maid."⁴⁴

Just as he received his views on women as the gift of his time and place, so Poe received his views on slavery and swallowed them whole, unseasoned by criticism. He brings to the defense of the South's peculiar institution the same rationalizations that issued from a thousand Southern pulpits every Sunday, and from a thousand Southern presses every day of the week for more than twenty years. In an elaborate review of two works, *Slavery in the United States*, by J. K. Paulding, and *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists*, by an unnamed author—a review in which he says little of the books under consideration—he sets out his argument, founding it on a whole theory of history and society. Social revolutions occur at either of two alternately recurring extremes of the human mind—fanaticism and irreligion. At either extreme men will be animated by the same motive—the desire of happiness. But however the moralist may insist that happiness has its sources within the individual, men will bend all their energies to acquire the external means for attaining it. "Foremost among these, and the equivalent which is to purchase all the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XVI, 173-174. See also XIV, 170; XV, 245.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, 74-75.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XVII, 333.

rest, is property. . . ."⁴⁵ In normal times each enjoys his own property without casting an envious eye on that of his neighbor. But under the excitement engendered by fanaticism or irreligion "the many who want, band themselves together against the few that possess; and the lawless appetite of the multitude for the property of others calls itself the spirit of liberty."⁴⁶ The Great Rebellion in England is an example of the fanatical extreme, and the French Revolution of the irreligious. The latter upheaval offers an object lesson to the South, for

it should be remembered now, that in that war against property . . . that war on behalf of the alleged right of man to be discharged from all control of law, the first triumph achieved was in the emancipation of slaves. The recent events in the West Indies, and the parallel movement here, give an awful importance to these thoughts in our minds.⁴⁷

After a burst of indignation against "the calumnies which have been put forth against us, and the wrongs meditated by those who come to us . . . seeking our destruction under the mask of Christian Charity and Brotherly Love," Poe's next care is to maintain that the negro is of an inferior race. It is false to argue, he says, that because negroes are, "like ourselves the sons of Adam, [they] must therefore, have like passions and wants and feelings." He now dilates on the idyllic relation which subsists between master and slave, "incomprehensible to him who drives a bargain with the cook who prepares his food, the servant who waits at his table, and the nurse who dozes over his sick bed." At this point he opens up with the full orchestra, and concludes in a burst of lyric pathos:

We have seen the dying infant in the lap of its [black] nurse, and have stood with the same nurse by the bed side of her own dying child. Did mighty nature assert her empire, and wring from the mother's heart more and bitterer tears than she had shed over her foster babe? None that the eye of man could distinguish. And he who sees the heart—did he see dissimulation giving energy to the choking sobs that *seemed* to be rendered more vehement by her attempts to repress them? *Philanthropy* may think so if it pleases.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 267.

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 269.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 270, 271, 273-274.

On several other occasions Poe recurred to the subject of slavery.⁴⁹ In a fit of irritation he wrote to Thomas in the last year of his life, "I sent a review of the 'Fable' to the 'S. L. Messenger' a day or two ago, and I only hope Thompson will print it. Lowell is a ranting abolitionist and *deserves* a good using up."⁵⁰

V

Science and mechanical invention exercised a fascination over Poe's mind, fired his imagination, and supplied him with much material for his fictions and the more serious speculations of *Eureka*. But in its practical results on society he found it evil. It destroyed the beauty of nature, vulgarized all the relations of life, delivered men over to a sordid scramble for gain, and abetted democracy in its steady encroachment on the integrity of the individual. His distrust found expression as early as 1829 in the "Sonnet to Science." The root of his hostility to English utilitarianism rested in his perception that it was the philosophical instrument of a rising industrial middle class. "Utilitarianism," he wrote, "sees in mountains and waterfalls only quarries and manufacturing sites."⁵¹ The same is the theme of the sketch, "Morning on the Wissahiccon." In "The Colloquy of Monos and Una," which, like "Mellonta Tauta," takes place in the distant future, Monos reviews the last age of the earth:

At long intervals some master-minds appeared, looking upon each advance in practical science as a retro-gradation in the true utility . . . these men—the poets—living and perishing amid the scorn of the "utilitarians" . . . pondered piningly, yet not unwisely, upon the ancient days when our wants were not more simple than our enjoyments were keen . . . holy, august, and blissful days, when blue rivers ran undammed, between hills unhewn, into far forest solitudes, primaeval, odorous, and unexplored.

⁴⁹ For passing mention, see *Works*, IX, 70, 136; XII, 218; XV, 245, Whittier's themes "are *never* to our liking." In a letter to Snodgrass, June 17, 1841, Poe mentions a lengthy criticism of "Mr. Carey's book on slavery," which Burton refused (*ibid.*, XVII, 74). Was this ever printed?

⁵⁰ *Works*, XVII, 333. For the "using up," see *Works*, XIII, 165 ff. It is a mistake to dismiss Poe's opinions on slavery as dictated entirely by his resentment toward the New England hegemony in letters; "a little rant upon the Abolitionists (in the attempt to score on Lowell)," says Dr. Canby (*op. cit.*, p. 290). Poe ranted against the abolitionists before Lowell was out of college; the review of Paulding, above noticed, is of 1836. His feelings on the subject were, I am convinced, genuine; nor did they alter.

⁵¹ *Works*, X, 25.

. . . Meantime huge smoking cities arose, innumerable. Green leaves shrank before the hot breath of furnaces. The fair face of nature was deformed as with the ravages of some loathsome disease.⁵²

Like Emerson in his more skeptical moments, Poe felt that America was absorbed in getting and spending. Wealth was the chief measure of worth; here, "more than in any other region upon the face of the globe, to be poor is to be despised."⁵³ Some years later he wrote in the "Marginalia": "The Romans worshipped their standards; and the Roman standard happened to be an eagle. Our standard is only one-tenth of an Eagle—a dollar—but we make all even by adoring it with ten-fold devotion."⁵⁴

But the doctrine of progress, which stands in relation to science as effect to cause, seemed entirely fatuous to Poe.⁵⁵ Monos says to Una, "You will remember that one or two of the wise among our forefathers—wise in fact, although not in the world's esteem—had ventured to doubt the propriety of the term 'improvement,' as applied to the progress of our civilization."⁵⁶ Ellison, the genius of "The Domain of Arnheim," had little faith in "the possibility of any improvement, properly so called, being effected by man himself in the general condition of man."⁵⁷ In a letter to Lowell (summarized

⁵² *Ibid.*, IV, 202-203.

⁵³ Letter to Anthon, June, 1844 (*Works*, XVII, 179).

⁵⁴ *Works*, XVI, 161. See also "Fifty Suggestions," Nos. 15 and 21, *Works*, XIV, 173, 175; "Mellonta Tauta," *Works*, VI, 212-213: churches are "a kind of pagoda instituted for the worship of two idols that went by the names of Wealth and Fashion"; *Works*, IX, 158, education is invaded by "a misconceived utilitarianism," to the peril of the classical languages.

⁵⁵ Poe was not untouched by the expansive nationalism of his day. The tone and implication of his reviews of two volumes on the subject of a proposed exploring expedition, under government auspices, to the South Sea whaling fisheries, are of considerable interest. He speaks of the "paramount importance both in a political and commercial point of view" of the men of the whaling fleet. "The Pacific may be termed the training ground, the gymnasium of our national navy"; "mighty results" are to be expected "when this vast field for national enterprise is better known and appreciated." (*Works*, IX, 85, 87.) The second review will be found in the same volume, pp. 306-314. See also in this connection the long notice of Irving's *Astoria* (*Works*, IX, 207-243).

⁵⁶ *Works*, IV, 201-202.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 180. See the early satire "Lionizing" for a jibe at the perfectibilians (*Works*, II, 38); the review of Bryant's "The Ages," a poem on progress where Poe condemns "the radical error of deducing a hope of *progression* from *cycles* of physical nature," *ibid.*, XIII, 133; the review of Horne's "Orion," an allegory on progress, which makes out its case but "feebly," *ibid.*, XI, 258, 261; "Some Words with a Mummy," *ibid.*, VI, 136. Poe's objections to Chivers's ideas on "man's advance towards perfection" are mentioned in letters from Chivers. (*Ibid.*, XVII, 184, 189.)

by Harrison) "Poe said that the vanity of human life was a genuine not a fancied thing to him; that he lived in dreams of the future while he did not believe in the perfectibility of the race. He thought that striving and struggling would have no effect, and that men are not more wise or happy than they were six thousand years ago."⁵⁸

The appalling wilderness of stars, the unfathomable depths of space, the vast reaches of time, the rise and fall of civilizations each confident, in its pride, that it would endure forever, gave a somber tinge to Poe's thought. The greatest names of men fall into contempt or oblivion; future savants will putter about the site of long-dead New York and make ridiculous guesses about the life that once flourished there.⁵⁹ Nor does contemplation of the loftiest pin-nacled edifices of the intellect offer relief from the tragedy of man. "It is laughable to observe how easily any system of Philosophy can be proved false:—but then is it not mournful to perceive the impossibility of even fancying any particular system to be true?"⁶⁰

VI

Being the intellectual aristocrat that he was, Poe despised the rabble with its "excitable, undisciplined, and childlike . . . mind,"⁶¹ and heaped scorn upon it early and late. Democracy was merely an attempt to give "the obtuse in intellect"⁶² power over their betters. One passage from among many will serve to show his thought:⁶³

Pundit . . . [says] that the ancient Amiriccans *governed themselves!*—did ever anybody hear of such an absurdity? . . . He says that they started with the queerest idea conceivable, viz: that all men are born free and equal—this in the very teeth of the laws of gradation so visibly impressed upon all things both in the moral and physical universe. Every man "voted," as they called it—that is to say, meddled with public affairs—until, at length, it was discovered that what is everybody's business is

⁵⁸ July 2, 1844, *Works*, XVII, 182-183.

⁵⁹ "Mellonta Tauta," *Works*, VI, 211 ff.

⁶⁰ "Marginalia," *ibid.*, XVI, 164.

⁶¹ *Works*, XIII, 143.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XI, 10.

⁶³ We should not be deceived by the fact that Poe once replied to the objections of a foreign critic of democracy (see *Works*, VIII, 112-114), or by the fact that he once or twice used as an argument for international copyright the dissemination among us in foreign books of monarchical or aristocratical sentiment dangerous to democracy (*ibid.*, XVI, 79). The motives here are obvious and, it seems to me, do not weigh much against the whole tendency of his mind as it appears throughout his work.

nobody's, and that the "Republic" (so the absurd thing was called) was without a government at all. . . . A little reflection . . . sufficed to render evident . . . that a republican government *could* never be anything but a rascally one. While the philosophers, however, were busied in blushing at their stupidity in not having foreseen these inevitable evils, and intent upon the invention of new theories, the matter was put to an abrupt issue by a fellow of the name of *Mob*, who took everything into his own hands and set up a despotism, in comparison with which those of the fabulous Zeros and Hellofagabaluses were respectable and delectable. This Mob is said to have been the most odious of all men that ever encumbered the earth. He was a giant in stature—insolent, rapacious, filthy; had the gall of a bullock with the heart of an hyena and the brains of a peacock. . . . As for Republicanism, no analogy could be found for it upon the face of the earth—unless we except the case of the "prairie dogs," an exception which seems to demonstrate, if anything, that democracy is a very admirable form of government—for dogs.⁶⁴

Near the beginning of his career as a reviewer, Poe had given voice to the eighteenth-century idea of Dr. Johnson that governments, after all, have little power to cause or cure the ills of men: "we must look for the source of our greatest defects in a variety of causes totally distinct from any such action—in a love of gain, for example."⁶⁵ Thus the source of society's ills is to be sought in the individual heart. But here there is little hope, for "To be *thoroughly* conversant with Man's heart, is to take our final lesson in the iron-clasped volume of Despair."⁶⁶

In his views on society and government Poe took on inevitably the color of his environment. It must be remembered that he always regarded himself as a Virginia gentleman,⁶⁷ that he was reared

⁶⁴ "Mellonta Tauta," *Works*, VI, 207-209. See also "Some Words with a Mummy," *ibid.*, VI, 136; "Hans Pfaall," *ibid.*, II, 48: "we soon began to feel the effects of liberty, and long speeches, and radicalism, and all that sort of thing. People . . . had as much as they could do to read about the revolutions, and keep up with the march of intellect and the spirit of the age"; *ibid.*, IX, 18-20, where Poe ridicules the French Republicans and sneers at hoi polloi who as "the result of newly acquired rights" now have the privilege "of presenting themselves dirty instead of clean before the eyes of the magnates"; *ibid.*, XII, 212, where he refers contemptuously to "a vast number of people without coats," as constituting the audience at the Chatham Theatre in New York; "Fifty Suggestions," No. 25, *Works*, XIV, 178-179, for his cynical view of democratic unrest in Europe; the same No. 21, p. 181, "'La Jeune France,' . . . a body without a head."

⁶⁵ *Works*, IX, 54.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, 162.

⁶⁷ See Joseph Wood Krutch, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, Knopf, 1926), Chap. II.

in the expectation of becoming heir to one of the wealthiest men in Richmond,⁶⁸ that as a youth at the University of Virginia he mingled on a footing of ostensible equality with the drinking and dicing young bloods whose families constituted the aristocracy of the South. He was conscious, moreover, of superior powers of imagination and intellect. Hence, it was easy and natural for him to assume an attitude of superiority toward the rabble. But Poe protests too much, for he was at the same time profoundly and uneasily conscious of his own origins and of his precarious position as a foster son. When his break with John Allan put the world of Virginia society out of his reach, he was constrained to assert with three-fold vehemence the feelings of an aristocrat.

His scorn for Democracy and his fear of it are the same as that excited in the breasts of the propertied classes—North or South—by the Jacksonian incursion. His theory of government as instituted for the protection of property with his easy identification of the interests of property with those of religion and morality is the theory naturally adopted by any economy which feels itself on the defensive, as the South felt itself in the '30's and '40's.⁶⁹ His suspicion of industrialism, in whatever degree it was shaped or intensified by his feelings as an artist, may well have its source in the antipathy of the slave economy toward its Northern rival. The various reform movements of the age, with their open or concealed threat to established institutions, must be suspect to the social order with which he had identified himself intellectually and emotionally from his earliest years.⁷⁰ It is thus difficult to avoid seeing in Poe's hostile criticism of democracy, industrialism, and reform, the influence of that Virginia world of which he is said never to have been aware.

⁶⁸ Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, I, 116; Poe, *Works*, XVII, 15.

⁶⁹ Observe the similarities between Poe's social philosophy and that of the Federalists of two generations earlier, when Jeffersonian Democracy seemed to threaten the prerogatives of those whom John Adams denominated the "industrious, virtuous, and deserving."

⁷⁰ A good account of the domestic and social environment of Poe's childhood and boyhood is given in Hervey Allen's *Israfel*, I, 27-62; 90-146.

WASHINGTON IRVING'S LETTERS TO MARY KENNEDY

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This correspondence¹ between Washington Irving and Mary E. Kennedy, niece of the novelist John Pendleton Kennedy, is now in the possession of Doctor Willard R. Cooke, of Galveston, Texas, son of Henry Pendleton Cooke, Jr., and a grandson of Mary Kennedy. The letters are published as an interesting reminiscence of Irving at the age of seventy and of his associations with the South.

Irving left Sunnyside early in January, 1853, with a twofold purpose. Engaged upon his biography of George Washington, he planned research in the national archives, and in his free hours in the capital a renewal of his friendship with Kennedy. The novelist, whose *Swallow Barn* had been partly inspired by Irving's *Bracebridge Hall*, was now completing his appointment as Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore. Pausing in New York to attend the theaters, Irving journeyed South, meeting Thackeray en route to Baltimore, staying for a few days in this city as the guest of Kennedy's father-in-law, Edward Gray, and reaching Washington on about the twentieth of the month. He became at once a valued member of the Kennedy family circle. The ten letters written from Sunnyside reflect his social life in Washington, his affection for the Kennedys, his love of children, and also his tranquil existence in his retreat on the Hudson. His chivalrous affection for Miss Kennedy, expressed with all the elegance of his sentimental epoch, is characteristic, as is indeed the intimate grace of these friendly letters. It is easy to share his admonition to Miss Kennedy. "Fancy," he says to her in the first letter, "I am talking with you."

¹ Of these twelve letters, of which the second is from Miss Kennedy to Irving, all are unpublished except for short extracts made by P. M. Irving from the letters of May 27, 1853, and Sept. 8, 1853 (see *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, New York, 1862-1864, IV, 147, 157, 160). In transcribing these manuscripts the editors have retained carefully Irving's punctuation, capitalization, and spelling—arts which he never mastered. It is believed that this group of letters will illumine further the last years of Irving's life and will prove supplementary to such records of this period as Killis Campbell, "The Kennedy Papers," in *The Sewanee Review*, Jan., April, July, 1917, and S. T. Williams, "Unpublished Letters of Washington Irving," in *The Yale Review*, April, 1927. A detailed study of these years will appear in the latter's forthcoming biography of Irving.

Sunnyside March 19th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy

Whether you were in earnest or not in asking me to send you my likeness² I take you at your word; for I wish to be remembered by you.

The one I send according to your aunt's³ opinion is at least a score of years too young—and I believe she is right. No matter—I certainly have been as young in my time. To help it out, however, I send with it a copy of my works.⁴ When you read them fancy I am talking with you, and may they prove more entertaining than I am apt to be in conversation. Let them recall the pleasant days we passed together in Washington—pleasant they were to me at least and most pleasant they are in recollection.

You see I am once more in my quiet little country home which my nieces are trying to make me contented with.⁵ One is exercising her music to make me forget the music I have enjoyed. Another undertakes to pare apples for me of an evening and insists she can do it as well as it was done for me in Washington—and I endeavor to think so.

Farewell my dear Miss Kennedy think of me now and then in kindness. It is true we have known each other but for a short time, but long enough for me to discover in you a host of estimable and attaching qualities—and not long enough to find out any faults.

With kindest remembrances to your father

Your sincerely attached friend

Washington Irving

Cassilis⁶ April 4th [1853]

My Dear M^r Irving

If you can imagine the delight your note and beautiful present gave me, I am sure it will give you pleasure, to think you have conferred so much. The likeness I prize highly, though I did not need

² Possibly Charles Martin's portrait, dated 1851.

³ Elizabeth Gray married John Pendleton Kennedy in 1829.

⁴ The revised, collected edition of Irving's works had been published five years previously (New York, G. P. Putnam and Son, 1848).

⁵ During one period of Irving's life at "Sunnyside," six nieces lived with him. See letter to these nieces, New York, Feb. 4, 1840 (Yale University).

⁶ Mary E. Kennedy was the daughter of Andrew and Mary Riddle Kennedy of "Cassilis," Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia).

it to recall you. Memory is a clever artist when her talents as such are cultivated. The books will be an endless source of pleasure and instruction, many of them I have never read but *association* will give *all* a new interest, and sometimes you must be willing that I may let admiration for the author give way to affection for the friend.

How like a dream the winter in Washington seems, a long one, though, and full of various scenes; there are no recollections so delightful to me as those of our own little home circle, as we assembled around the fire of an evening, after a party, to talk it all over; and then the quiet rainy days, when Juliet would play for us, or little Bob amuse us with his play of another sort.⁷

The evening you left us, Aunt and I passed in regretting your absence. We did not realize until then that we were to break up, but there was some consolation in thinking we left none of our circle behind. I only remained one day, which was passed in saying goodbye to my friends; *Lady Mary's*⁸ *levee* that night was better attended than usual.

I hope your nieces will not succeed in making Sunnyside so agreeable that you will forget to come South again. If ever you do come to Baltimore, you must come with Uncle to see us, and though we have no Hudson, I am sure you will acknowledge our mountains equally picturesque and beautiful. At any rate you will find warm hearts, and a cordial welcome. From the date of your letter I fear you will think me negligent in answering it, but I only received it a day or two ago. I am sorry I cannot keep my promise and send you my likeness, but must wait until I go to Baltimore to have it taken. Till then I hope you will not forget me.

Yours with affection

Mary E. Kennedy

Sunnyside April 10th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy

It was quite a relief to me to learn from your letter that the books and likeness had come to hand, for I began to fear there had been some blunder in the transportation of them. The kind welcome you

⁷ Possibly children of the Andrews family, neighbors.

⁸ Irving's name for Miss Kennedy.

have given them is most gratifying; you have recieved them in the same spirit in which they were sent. I trust they will help to keep up our acquaintance with each other, however widely we may be separated.

Your letter called up delightful recollections of our little home circle at Washington—our council fires of an evening to talk over our campaigns,—our quiet rainy days, (to me full of sunshine), sweetened occasionally by the music of your fair friend Juliet or enlightened by the gambols of your little “sweetheart” Bob, desperately bothered between love and ennui. I always honored that magnanimous little man for being capable in his boyish heart of entertaining such a full grown passion. And then *Lady Marys levees* to which you allude—what pleasure I had in contemplating those levees from my retired corner of Sleepy Hollow. To see her preside over her little circle of admirers with such a frank spirit so free from coquetry, apparently so unconscious of her own merits and attractions.

But it was not in this sphere of her triumphs that Lady Mary appeared to most advantage in my eyes,—nor yet when figuring at balls and receptions, even though arrayed in that marvellous white dress of woven cob-web with rose coloured ribbons in which she once broke upon my sight like a wonder. Neither was it when she mingled in every day life, so bright, so cheerful so considerate of others, so little mindful of herself—there was something beyond all that. It was that unpretending but strict conscientiousness with which she adhered to a sober path of duty marked out for herself amid the bewildering mazes of gaiety and fashion.

It was this sweet rectitude of mind which seemed to keep her unspotted by the world, drawing round her a robe of light and shedding a grace about her steps of which she was unconscious. I declare to you that the sound of her light step on the stairs going forth to her early devotions while I was yet lingering in my bed has sent a rebuke to my conscience at my own short comings—There are a daily beauty and purity in her life that read homilies to me—I hope I may profit by them.

And now my dear Miss Mary if to the pure regard and perfect esteem thus inspired you add a little of that sentiment of devotion to the sex which may be permitted to linger about the heart of an

old bachelor of seventy, you have an idea of that friendship which it is a happiness for me to entertain for you—for it is by such friendships the heart is softened and purified and made better. I think I profited greatly in this respect by my intercourse with you and your aunt last winter. God bless you both for it.

You give me reason to hope I shall one day receive the likeness we talked about. You may judge from what I have said whether I shall not prize it—yet I forbore to recur to it in my former letter, lest it might be mistaken for a mere piece of antiquated gallantry. I shall value it from higher motives.

Farewell my dear Miss Kennedy—I shall keep in mind your invitation to the mountains if ever I should revisit your uncle at Baltimore; in the meantime should you or your father come to the banks of the Hudson, Sunnyside will be happy to receive you, and my nieces will take a delight in manifesting their gratitude for the kind attentions bestowed upon their uncle.

With best remembrances to your father

Yours ever very truly

Washington Irving

Sunnyside May 27th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy

I thank you for your most welcome letter giving me such pleasant accounts of the happy life you have been leading with your "Richmond cousins"⁹ your "dearest friend" and a gallant knight to accompany you in "delightful rides" about your "beautiful valley." Your letter is full of youth and springtime and bespeaks the sunshine of the heart, which makes everything bright and beautiful about you.

You say I cannot imagine how lovely the country is now. Indeed I *can*—though I have not your young eyes and young feelings with which to regard it. I don't know when I have been more conscious of the sweetness of the spring than this season. It has opened with uncommon freshness and is surrounding me with its delights. The grass is growing up to my very door,—the roses and honeysuckles are clambering about my windows, the acacias and liburnums [*sic*] are in full flower, singing birds have built in the ivy against the wall and I have concerts at daybreak almost equal to the serenades you

⁹ Apparently the Cooke family. See p. 58, n.

used to have at Washington. This is the very revel of our year. The last half of May and the first half of June forms one of the most perfect months in this latitude. Nature is in full dress, of brightest green. The young and tender leaf is as yet without a blemish. The air is fragrant and balmy, the temperature genial; everything is full of present enjoyment and sweet promise for the future. Such is the country in my neighborhood. I am aware that you live in a more genial climate, that spring is earlier with you than with us and vegetation more luxuriant. I have a romantic idea of your mountains and valleys, though my experience of them has not been favorable. I once scaled the Blue Ridge¹⁰ in quest of the picturesque but a storm gathered up just as I crossed it; the valleys were drenched with rain all the time I was in them, and I was entangled among streams so much swollen as [to] be unfordable. I saw enough however to convince me how grand and beautiful the scenery must be in fine weather.

Your invitation, therefore, to pay your part of the country a visit is a most tempting one and indeed your uncle John when I was in Washington talked something of our making an excursion together among the Virginia mountains of which he spoke in the highest terms for their beauty and salubrity. I fear however his indisposition has changed all his plans; and before he returns from Richmond the weather will be too warm for an excursion to the south. As soon as the summer heat commences my activity is at an end and then my greatest luxury is to sit in the shade and enjoy the southern breeze as it steals up the Hudson. I have some capital trees for the purpose just on the river bank and there I pass a great part of my time in summer weather.

I feel very much concerned at the state of your uncles health. He overtasked himself at Washington; the toils of office and the constant excitement of society kept his intellect and spirits continually on the stretch and I presume a collapse has been the consequence. He should now give himself a long spell of relaxation.

I long to be with him. I have need of relaxation myself, for too much sedentary occupation has produced symptoms of late which oblige me to suspend literary occupation and may exile me for a time from my study.

¹⁰ Irving made this journey into the Blue Ridge Mountains during the summer of 1833.

In sober sadness I believe it is high time I should throw by the pen altogether, but writing has become a kind of habitude with me; and unless I have some task in hand to occupy a great part of my time I am at a loss what to do. After being accustomed to literary research, mere desultory reading ceases to be an occupation. There is as much difference between them in point of interest as between taking an airing on horseback and galloping after the hounds. It is pretty hard for an old huntsman to give up the chase.¹¹

By the bye your mention of M^r Washington Lewis¹² and his trunk full of Washingtons letters and diaries has started some game which I should like to run down. I enclose a letter to M^r Lewis making an inquiry on the subject. As I do not know his exact address I will thank you to add it to the superscription.

Do you not occasionally consult the news papers for the whereabouts of the naval enterprises launched under your uncles auspices—Ringolds¹³ especially? I shall never forget the gallant assemblage of naval officers that thronged your uncles rooms a day or two before we left Washington and how the kind heart of your aunt was near overflowing at her eyes on parting with them, and how you gave a parting smile to them from the window as they in a manner passed in review before you. How soon will those fine fellows be scattered to the ends of the earth—careering over every sea, on enterprises of difficulty and danger. I shall feel additional interest in watching the course of those enterprises from knowing something personally of the brave spirits engaged in them.

It often strikes me how many scenes and characters and incidents of an especial kind were crowded into that little space of time which passed with us like a dream at Washington. Every thing that passes before ones eyes, in every day life, in a place like that, the seat of government of a great empire, is a portion of history, and those with

¹¹ Irving did not relinquish serious literary endeavor until eight months before his death, at the age of seventy-six.

¹² For an account of Irving's visit to Audley, near Charlestown, Virginia, to inspect Mr. Lewis's collection of Washingtonia, see H. T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), pp. 358-359.

¹³ Cadwalader Ringgold (1802-1867), a naval officer, commanded a "surveying expedition" to the China Sea during Kennedy's brief service as Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore, who was then completing the last year of his administration. See Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 234, 241. This passage is an interesting echo of Irving's life-long, sentimental interest, born of the War of 1812, in the American Navy.

whom we converse familiarly may be destined, perhaps, to figure conspicuously in its pages.

Farewell my dear Miss Kennedy. Do not think it necessary to apologize to me should you leave my letters long unanswered. It is a pleasure with me to write to you, and a still greater pleasure to hear from you; but I know that letter writing is an irksome task to most people and I would not impose a task of any kind on your bright and happy spirit. So if days and weeks elapse without a line from "Lady Mary" I shall console myself with the idea that she is better employed, that she has another influx of cousins from Richmond, that she is rejoicing with the friends of her youth, or that she is taking 'delightful rides' through the 'beautiful valley' with some 'chosen knight' to attend upon her. So wishing that all her ways may continue to be ways of pleasantness and all her paths be peace,

I remain her sincerely attached friend

Washington Irving

Sunnyside June 10th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy,

Your last letter has set me manuscript hunting. Mr Washington Lewis writes that he cannot let the Mss go out of his possession but if I will visit him at Audley they will be submitted to my inspection.

As I am ordered to throw by my pen and abstain from head work of all kinds for a time I have determined to make the excursion to the mountains you suggest, before the intense heats of summer commence. I shall set off for Baltimore therefore on Monday next, and have written to your uncle John hoping he will accompany me to Cassilis, whence I presume I can ride over to M^r Lewis', and examine the manuscripts.

I write in haste to be in time for the mail. With kind remembrances to your father believe me my dear Miss Kennedy

Yours ever very truly

Washington Irving

Sunnyside July 19th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy,

On our way to Ellicotts Mills¹⁴ your uncle John and myself made a pleasant halt at Harpers Ferry, taking a lunch, or rather an early

¹⁴ At Ellicott's Mills, Maryland, on the west bank of the Patapsco River, twelve miles west of Baltimore, was situated the estate of Edward Gray, Kennedy's father-in-law.

dinner, with your friends on the hill; whom we found very hospitable and agreeable, and who spoke of you as you deserve to be spoken of; which put me so much the more in good humor with them.

The prospects from the hill merit all that you have said of them. That looking toward the Potomac where the mountains approach each other put me in mind of a view from West Point looking up the Hudson between the promontories of the Highlands. The view up the shining course of the Shenandoah is lovely—as is every thing connected with that beautiful river; which I trust your uncle John and I will prove when we come to write our joint romance about the lilly [*sic*] that flourishes on its borders.

Having brought my “historical researches” to a close before leaving Cassilis I had intended to push homeward directly; but was brought to a stand at Ellicotts Mills, and prevailed on to stay there until Monday. There was no company there; but I did not feel the want of any. I drove out with your aunt to visit M^r McTavish and his bride at the beautiful Hall built by my old friend the late M^r John McTavish¹⁵—and afterwards to visit the Carroll manor house. McTavish and his bride were just in the first quarter of their honeymoon and in a place that might have been a paradise for a pair of lovers, yet the bride finds it rather lonely and talked of setting off soon for the watering places—with a hint of a tour in Europe—Domestic bliss is rather a travelling enjoyment nowadays.

I had two or three more delightful rides on horseback with your uncle about the romantic scenery of the Patapsco. On Monday morning after an early breakfast your uncle and aunt drove in to Baltimore with me in the carriage and took leave of me at the station. I was swept away in a railroad car as in the car of an enchanter—and—hey presto! found myself in the evening quietly seated in Castle Garden at New York listening to Sontag¹⁶ in an

¹⁵ “John McTavish was one of the early associates of Brevoort, Paulding, the Kembles and myself. He was a young Scot, originally of the North west Company of Canada; and was one of the handsomest and pleasantest young fellows of our intimacy; but of late years one of the dullest of respectable elderly gentlemen.” Irving to Sarah Storrow, Madrid, March 12, 1845 (Yale University).

¹⁶ Irving, since boyhood a devotee of the opera, first heard Henriette Sontag (Countess Rossi) in Prague, on Nov. 22, 1822. This singer came to America in 1852, and died in Mexico, in 1854.

Italian opera! Surely modern reality outstrips ancient illusion—and fairy tale is no longer a fable.

And here I am once more at little Sunnyside seated at my study table, with trumpet creepers flaunting their flowers about the windows and humming birds humming almost in my ear; but my mind is still teeming with delightful recollections of scenes in Maryland and Virginia; noble mountains, spacious forests and romantic streams—above all the lovely valley of the Shenandoah—a region equal to the promised land of yore, and fortunately not occupied by the *chosen people*. I rejoice that I visited it during the time of harvest; when I saw it in all its glory—a veritable land of abundance. I shall never forget that fourth of July evening when we took tea in rural style on the front porch, with the noble Englishlooking landscape spread out before us and the harvest scene going on in the broad wheat field beyond the grove of oaks. And our visit to the field when your brotherinlaw¹⁷ came forth from among the harvestmen to welcome us and little Lizzy¹⁸ threw her arms round his neck and patted his manly sunburnt cheek with her tiny hands. What a glorious sunset we had—and what a play of lightening among the clouds that lay piled along the horizon—and how charmingly the evening was closed by music, that sweetness of home—without which no home is complete. By the way I was glad that on the last evening of my sojourn I set your fathers flute¹⁹ going and awoke the host of delightful old familiar tunes that seemed to have been sleeping in it.

A letter from your uncle John has just been handed to me telling me that he and his party will be in New York tomorrow. I shall go down to town to meet them; though I do not feel ready or inclined to go on to Saratoga²⁰ immediately. In fact I would much rather be with them among the delightful home scenes in which I have seen them recently.

Farewell—I hope when you find time and mood to write to me you will give me all the domestic news of Cassilis. Recollect I have

¹⁷ Mr. Selden, husband of Annie Kennedy, Mary's sister.

¹⁸ Younger daughter of Annie Kennedy Selden.

¹⁹ Irving's one musical accomplishment.

²⁰ Saratoga Springs was a haunt of Irving's during his last years. Here flourished his intimacy with Donald Grant Mitchell.

been among you and been made, for a time, like one of the household. I now know you all, and feel an interest in you all, and am more or less acquainted with all the neighborhood. They say a woman is never truly known until you see her in her own home. I have seen you there, and have only found more reason to esteem and value you. Give my kindest remembrances to your father mother and sisters. I am glad your sister Sarah returned home in time for me to become acquainted with her. I met your brother²¹ at Charlestown as we were on the way to the cars—he was just from Shepherds-town—but had no Shepherdess on his arm. I hope his Pastora is not cruel. Keep my dear little Lizzy in mind of me. How I should be delighted to have her little soft hands patting my cheek again—or to see her parading the piazza with drum and trumpet and your father playing the grand military air of bambanani.

Ever my dear Miss Kennedy

Yours with affectionate regard

Washington Irving

Sunnyside Sept. 8th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy,

Indisposition has prevented me from replying earlier to your welcome letter of the 4th August, which I received about three weeks since on my return from Saratoga.

I passed some days very pleasantly at the latter place. It is true I found the hot weather and the crowd of company rather oppressive, but I had the parlour of your uncle John's cottage for a retreat. Old M^r Gray had provided a piano there and we had some good amateur music almost daily. Louisa Andrews²² was prime performer for a time until a Miss Kellern arrived, who had received letters in Paris from the best masters and played in superior [*sic*] and a rare precision and delicacy of touch. Poor little Louisa immediately went into eclipse, and could not be prevailed on to touch the piano after she had heard the other. Nothing however could have been more charming and lady-like than her behaviour on the occasion. She attended upon Miss K., turned the music for her, and manifested

²¹ Andrew E. Kennedy.

²² A friend of the Kennedys, mentioned repeatedly in the letters of Irving and Kennedy during these years.

sincere admiration of her talents and execution. All this was done in a quiet unofficial way. In a word she behaved so sweetly that I was more delighted with her than I should have been had she played like a S^t Cecilia. She set off shortly afterward on a tour to Canada and the White Mountains with a party of which Miss Kell-eran was one. I trust they had frequent opportunities of practising together.

The hot weather was as intolerable at Saratoga as I had found it at Berkeley Springs. So after passing about ten days there I set off on a tour with your uncle John who wished to visit the Fillmores at Buffalo. We went by the way of the Lakes and had a magnificent *sail* (if I may use the word) down Lake Champlain in a steamer to Plattsburg, whence we made a night journey by rail road to Ogdensburg. Here we passed part of a day, a very interesting one to me. Fifty years had elapsed since I had visited the place, in company with a party of gentlemen proprietors, with some ladies of their families. It was then a wilderness, and we were quartered in the remains of an old French fort at the confluence of the Oswegatchie and the S^t Lawrence. It was all a scene of romance to me for I was then a mere stripling and everything was strange and full of poetry. The country was covered with forest; the Indians still inhabited some islands in the river and prowled about in their canoes. There were two young ladies of the party to sympathize in my romantic feelings and we passed some happy days there, exploring the forests or gliding in canoes on the rivers.²³

In my present visit I found with difficulty the site of the old French Fort, but all traces of it were gone. I looked round on the surrounding country and river. All was changed. A populous city occupied both sides of the Oswegatchie; great steamers plowed the S^t Lawrence and the opposite Canada shore was studded with towns and villages. I sat down on the river bank where we used to embark in our canoes, and thought on the two lovely girls who used to navigate it with me and the joyous party who used to cheer us from the shore—all had passed away—all were dead!—I was the sole survivor of that happy party, and here I had returned after a lapse of

²³ This experience Irving described in detail in his earliest journal (1803). The "two young ladies" were Eliza Ogden and Ann Hoffman, sister of Matilda Hoffman, Irving's fiancée.

fifty years to sit down and meditate on the mutability of all things and to wonder that I was still alive!

From Ogdensburg we made a voyage up the S^t Lawrence, through the Archipelago of the Thousand Islands, and across Lake Ontario to Lewistown [*sic*] on the Niagara river, where we took a carriage to the Falls. There we passed an insufferably hot day, and parted in the evening, your uncle to go to Buffalo to visit the Fillmores—I to Cayuga Lake to visit one of my nieces; whence I went to Syracuse to visit M^{rs} Baldwin and then hastened homeward. All this tour was made during a spell of intensely hot weather that deranged my whole system. The consequence was that the day after my return home I was taken down with a violent fever and delirium, which confined me several days to my bed. Just as I had got rid of the fever and was beginning to recover, I had a delightful visit from your uncle and aunt and M^r and Miss Gray²⁴ who passed the day at Sunnyside. Their visit acted for the time as a perfect restorative. I do not know when I enjoyed a day more thoroughly. I only wish you had been here to make the party complete. A day of excitement, however, was followed by two days of excessive languor. A recurrence of extremely hot weather conspired to keep me in a state of debility. It is only today that a cool breeze from the north has braced me up a little and enabled me to take pen once more in hand.

I presume before this you have made your visit to Berkeley Springs. Since my experience of hot weather at Saratoga I acquit Berkeley Springs of all peculiar delinquency in that respect and am ready whenever I meet Judge Pendleton²⁵ to recant all I may have said in disparagement of a place of which he is in a manner the tutelar genius. I can easily conceive it must be a delightful gathering place for the people of Virginia and Maryland who are well acquainted with each other.

I am grieved to hear that my dear little friend Miss Lizzie has bene ill, but trust the pure air of Capon has restored her to health and good spirits. I should like to see her transmitting to her doll the hereditary air of bambanini.

²⁴ Martha E. Gray, Mrs. Kennedy's sister.

²⁵ Philip Pendleton, J. P. Kennedy's favorite uncle. See *Swallow Barn* . . . ed. J. B. Hubbell (New York [1929]), p. xix.

You do well to keep up your early morning rides. I think I can see you in your green riding dress cantering through the oak grove. I know the alertness of your spirit when any duty is to be performed; or any kind service to be rendered to others. I hope you will not flag when merely your own gratification or benefit is in question. According to your own account you are likely to have your brother Andrew at home soon. He I believe was your early companion in horsemanship, when you undertook to break colts while you were mere colts yourselves. His company will enspirit you to keep up your equestrian exercises.

You speak of my promised visit to Cassilis in October. I bear it ever present in mind and am endeavoring to shape things so as to effect it. This fit of illness has put me back in my plans. I have this day commenced the building of a house for my gardener and shall hurry it forward, so that it may not stand in my way. I assure you there is nothing I look forward to with more delightful anticipations than another visit to the lovely valley of the Shenandoah and the kind inmates of Cassilis.

With kindest remembrances to your father and mother and all the two households great and small, believe me ever with affectionate regard

Yours very truly

Washington Irving

Sunnyside Dec. 17th 1853

My dear Miss Kennedy,

I received a letter above a month since from your father, jogging my memory about replying to a very kind offer of Revolutionary documents made me by M^r Boteler.²⁶ I hope my answer to your father and the one enclosed for M^r B. proved satisfactory.

I could have wished your father, while he had pen in hand, could have given me a little of family gossip and the chronicles of Cassilis. It is really tantalizing, after having been for a time domesticated among you, and in the current of your every day concerns, to come away and hear nothing further about you. It is like getting interested in the story of a work, and not being able to get the second volume.

²⁶ Alexander Robinson Boteler (1815-1892), Congressman, Confederate soldier, roommate at Princeton University and intimate friend of Philip Pendleton Cooke.

I really long to know how all goes on in the household. Whether your sister Sarah is getting the better of that cruel neuralgia which tormented her. Whether you continue to be awakened by the sound of the steam whistle from all quarters as if you were at the junction of half a dozen railroads. Whether Andrew still thinks that beautiful young lady that *did not come in to dinner*, the most charming girl in the neighborhood and whether he and the Doctor²⁷ keep office together and practise 'Love Law and Physic' for the benefit of Charlestown and the country round. Whether Edmund²⁸ is likely to get an advantageous situation in Baltimore under the auspices of Mr Gray; who I know entertains a very favorable opinion of him.

I hope all things are going on as cheerily as usual at the Cane Farm;²⁹ and that your sister may have health to enjoy her happy home. Remember me I beg of you most cordially to her and her worthy husband. I want, above all things, to hear something about darling little Lizzy and her dolls; and any new winning ways she may have learned, and whether she still gives that odd shake of the head and forbids her grandpa to sing 'rock a by baby'.

My mind is full of pleasant recollections of the home scenes I have witnessed and enjoyed among you all, and especially during my last visit, when I had become more familiar with the ways of the family, and when there was such a gathering of its various members at Cassilis. What an animated household it made. What life about the house; what pleasant excursions about the neighborhood. What a pity is it that families could not always remain young and united. That the cares and concerns of the world must scatter them asunder, just as they are fitted to be most happy together. But you have a great deal of frank, intimate cordial life in Virginia. I am delighted with every thing I have seen in your state; and as to the Valley of the Shenandoah, it has become a perfect 'dream land' to me. How much I am indebted to you for having drawn me thither.

I presume you have read your uncle Pen's book.³⁰ It is very spirited, graphic and amusing and has been well received by the

²⁷ Mary Kennedy married Dr. Henry Pendleton Cooke, son of John Rogers Cooke and brother of John Esten Cooke, the novelist.

²⁸ Mary Kennedy's brother.

²⁹ The home of Annie Kennedy Selden, Mary Kennedy's sister.

³⁰ The youngest of the four Kennedy brothers was Pendleton, usually called "Pent," author of *The Blackwater Chronicle*, which appeared in the late fall of 1853.

public. I trust its success will prompt him to the further exercise of his pen; occupation of this kind could not fail to contribute greatly to his happiness. Your uncle John I understand is occupying himself very much with rail roads. I wish he would put his mind on a better track and leave such every day concerns to every day people.

Farewell my dear Miss Kennedy, give my kindest remembrances to every body about you, for I have an affectionate regard for you all. I hope your excellent mother may escape her rheumatism this winter and be able to go about with her usual alacrity doing good and taking care of everybody.

Yours ever my dear Miss Kennedy
very truly

Washington Irving

Sunnyside Feb. 21st 1854

My dear Miss Kennedy,

Your letter of Jan'y 12th is lying beside me on my table and reproaching me for the long time I have suffered to elapse without sending a reply. So pleasantly written a letter too—in the true vein—easy, natural and unambitious—giving me lively anecdotes of home; and those who abide there, and those who have “launched forth on the tide of the world’s caprice.” Happiness and good fortune attend them! I shall be glad to hear that Sarah’s *debut* in gay life has been propitious. Richmond, as I recollect it in my young days, was a charming place full of cordiality, and though in the many years that have passed since, great alterations must have taken place, we will hope they are all for the better, and that the generous old Virginia spirit still remains in all its flavour and richness. I hope her gaiety has not been thwarted in any degree by that neuralgia which harrassed her at Cassilis last autumn.

And so my brave little friend Edmund has an excellent situation at Baltimore and is “determined to make a man of himself.” I shall be much mistaken and much disappointed if he don’t succeed. He seemed to me to have the elements of a manly character, and everything I heard of his domestic conduct was in his favour. I feel additional good will to M^r Gray for carrying his good intentions

toward Edmund into such prompt effect. But I was sure Edmund had a strong friend in the old gentleman.

I trust before this your sister 'Annie' has regained her usual health, as you said the doctor pronounced her in a fair way of recovery. Is there any thing in the locality of the Cane farm unfavorable to her constitution? It seemed to me one of the most bland and healthful of situations. The landscape as it appeared on that golden afternoon when we dined there remains in my mind as a picture.

My dear little Lizzie—"patting her doll that was *crying for its head*"—how delightfully you bring her before me; with her peculiar and winning ways. With what motherly concern and tenderness she used to run to her 'crying baby' and fondle and kiss it, when it was made to utter those spasmodic sounds as if in pain. She is a most loving and loveable little being. I never knew a more attaching child.

I have recieved a letter from your aunt within a day of two by which I learn that the usual cheerfulness of their home has been checked this winter by the illness of M^r Gray, who has been suffering from a severe attack of asthma. I am in hopes however that the return of spring will have the same favorable effect upon him that it had last year. Your uncle John is about to set out on the southern tour with M^r Fillmore that was to have taken place last spring, but was prevented by the melancholy death of M^{rs} Fillmore.³¹ He intimates a wish that I would accompany them; but I have no inclination to travel with political notorieties, to be smothered by the clouds of party dust whirled up by their chariot wheels, and beset by the speechmakers, and little great men, and bores of every community, who might consider M^r Fillmore a candidate for another presidential term.

I feel very sensibly the kind expressions in that part of your letter where you look back upon the year that is past and speak of the formation of our friendship as one of its most pleasing events. It belongs to the excellent considerateness of your nature to extend your regards beyond the gay circle of your youthful associates to one who is in the "sear the yellow leaf"³² of existence; but for me to value

³¹ Mrs. Abigail Powers Fillmore died on March 30, 1853.

³² A characteristic misquotation.

your friendship is nothing more than for one among the gathering chills of winter to value anything that brings back a gleam of the verdure and sweetness of springtime.

And now my dear Miss Kennedy, with many kind remembrances to your father and mother and all the households of both houses believe me ever

Yours very truly Washington Irving

Irving's last two letters contain characteristic observations on life and his rather wistful acceptance of his mild romance.

Cold Spring, Putnam County
May 30th 1854

My dear Miss Kennedy

I recieved your last letter just as I was recovering from an attack of chills and fever, brought on I believe by that same unseasonable snow storm of which you complained and which suddenly threw us back from the middle of April into the depths of winter. In fact we have had three winters this year and have since been nearly torn to pieces by torrents and inundations. However, nature after struggling through them all has at length come out fresh and verdant and in all the beauty of the young and tender leaf.

I am sorry to have such bad accounts of your domestic life during the past winter, the sickness that has visited some branches of the family and the comparative loneliness of Cassilis. I trust however that all this has now passed away and you are all well and cheerful again. I find by your letter that your brother Andrew has pitched his tent at Wheeling. I should think he would have more scope for the exertions of talent there than at Charlestown, and hope he will at least remain long enough to give the place a fair trial. He has to struggle against the attractions of a happy paternal home continually calling him back; but he must stay there until a home feeling grows up around him.

I presume your Sister Sarah has returned before this from her campaign at Richmond and Washington—crowned with myrtle and roses, like a young warrior with her first laurels. Her sojourn at the capital with Miss Randall³³ must have been delightful to her. She could not have been under more charming auspices.

³³ Probably the daughter of Josiah Randall, of Philadelphia.

I am happy to hear that my dear little Lizzie still bears me in mind, and that the doll continues to be a link of remembrance between us. I can easily imagine how her illness must have increased her endearing claims upon the affections of you all. She is wonderfully endowed with what the French call sympathetic qualities.

I see your uncle John has at length got home from his long and triumphal tour with M^r Fillmore. The reception they met with every where must have been extremely gratifying. I went down to New York to see M^r Fillmore when I heard of his being in the city; but he had departed for home the same morning that I made my call. I have had no letter from Baltimore since your uncles return. I presume he requires some repose after such a long campaign of feasting and speech making.

I am on a two days visit at the old bachelor nest of my friend M^r Gouverneur Kemble³⁴ in the very heart of the highlands with magnificent scenery all round me; mountains clothed with forests to their very summits, and the noble Hudson moving along quietly and majestically at their feet. The day after tomorrow I return home.

In the course of eight or ten days I shall again be called from home to be present at the wedding of a niece, or rather a grand niece. After a short wedding tour the young couple are to pay me a visit and pass part of their honeymoon at Sunnyside. All this will carry me well on towards the end of June, and make it too late for my intended visit to Virginia; as my experience of last year makes me cautious of travelling in summer weather, lest it bring on another attack of bilious fever.

—By the bye—to recur to your sister Sarah. If she is still troubled by that neuralgia which tormented her so much during my visit to Cassilis, I would suggest that she should try galvanism as a remedy. I have a friend and connexion who has been very subject to it for years past and finds great relief from galvanism during the severest paroxysms of his malady. He has a small apparatus for the purpose, and I have witnessed the immediate relief which it imparted. I speak of it only as a palliative—I cannot infer from his case that it would be a permanent remedy, though it might be so where the malady had not become chronic as it has with him.

³⁴ (1786-1875), Irving's friend since the youthful days of *Salmagundi*.

Farewell my dear Miss Kennedy. Present my affectionate remembrances to all the inmates at Cassilis and the Cane farm. And believe me with the most perfect esteem and regard

Your friend

Washington Irving

Sunnyside Sept. 1st 1854

My dear Miss Kennedy,

I have just recieved your most interesting and affecting letter of Aug 18th which has filled both my heart and my eyes. I wrote to you some short time since on recieving from your father a newspaper containing a notice of your sisters³⁵ death; but it was not until I recieved a letter from your aunt (Mrs J P Kennedy) that I knew the touching circumstance attending her death; that it was shortly after having given birth to a son.

I can easily concieve the deep affliction you must all experience in the loss of so pure, loving and happy a member of the domestic circle; but, with you, affliction must be soothed and sanctified by a recollection of the sweet intercourse which you say took place between you for several weeks previous to her illness, during which she expressed the firmest conviction that she had not long to live. It has been beautifully said that the love of sisters for each other is like the love of angels;—but how truly so when one is about to put on her angelic nature. In that intercourse she left her robe of light with you as the way ascending to immortality.

I regret that you have not the care of dear little Lizzie as I know her to be your darling and I feel a peculiar interest in her; but I have no doubt a mothers judgement in the matter was for the best, and that it was more important that Mary,³⁶ who is of an age when the character is taking its bias, should be under your guardian eye. She, of course, being older was not such a pet with me as Lizzie; but she appeared to be a child of a fine, frank nature, and coming from such stock on both sides, she cannot but be good.

And now, as to yourself, my dear Miss Kennedy. It is with the sincerest pleasure that I hear of the intended change in your con-

³⁵ Annie Kennedy Selden. Irving's letter of condolence, to which he refers, dated Sunnyside, July 30, 1854, may be read in "The Kennedy Papers" (*op. cit.*).

³⁶ Elder daughter of Mrs. Selden.

dition. I had some vague idea that such might be the result of the intimacy I saw growing up between the Doctor and yourself during my last visit. In fact I could not conceive how a young gentleman of his apparent discernment and susceptibility could have such a daily opportunity of becoming acquainted with your merit, without loving you. I trust my dear Miss Kennedy it will be a happy union. I was much pleased with all that I saw of the Doctor.⁸⁷ You have the advantage of knowing each other well and of having those numerous and mutual sympathies which result from growing up together in the same domestic and social circle. Tell the Doctor that he has drawn a prize and that I wish him joy of it.⁸⁸

Give my affectionate remembrances to your father and mother, your sister and Mr Selden who has my sincere condolences.

With love to my dear little Lizzie

Your affectionate friend

Washington Irving

Sunnyside Oct 9th 1856

My dear M^{rs} Cooke

I was rejoiced once more to see your hand writing, and to receive from you a letter written in such a cheerful, happy vein. I had received from your Aunt Kennedy good accounts of you and your domestic establishment and of that "blessed baby" of which you and your husband, according to your own accounts, are so proud.⁸⁹ I thought from what I saw of your husband when at Cassilis that you had made a good choice, and I am delighted to find it proves so, and that I shall have no occasion to come with that big stick to enforce domestic harmony.

I have for a long time intended to write to you, but since I saw you last I have been so engrossed by my literary labors in preparing volume after volume for the press that I have had to give up all

⁸⁷ "Our friend Mary—the younger—is to be married in February to young Cook, a nascent Esculapius in the village, whom you saw—a good worthy fellow, everybody says, and much beloved by the family." Kennedy to Irving, Ellicott's Mills, Sept. 19, 1854 (Peabody Institute, Baltimore).

⁸⁸ "And that dear little girl Louisa Andrews, who is so soon, like Mary Kennedy, to 'settle down into a staid married woman,'—what a pity it is these charming girls should not always remain young and beaming and *single*—so at least says an old bachelor admirer." Irving to Kennedy, Feb. 1, 1855, "The Kennedy Papers" (*op. cit.*).

⁸⁹ This child was, presumably, Henry Pendleton Cooke, Jr.

additional exercise of the pen and my correspondence is entirely behind hand. The same engrossing task will prevent my accepting your kind invitation to come on with your Uncle and Aunt Kennedy and pay you a visit this autumn. I am hard at work endeavoring to get the fourth volume of my life of Washington ready for the press.⁴⁰ Until that is launched, which will not be, I fear, until some time in the winter, I cannot give myself holyday. In the coming year I hope to be more at liberty and then there is no place I shall be more delighted to revisit than the Valley of the Shenandoah.

I am happy to find that the "blessed baby" has not supplanted my dear little Lizzy Gray [Selden]; but I might have been sure that you had room enough in your heart for both. I hope little Lizzy has not quite forgotten me.

Give my kind regards to your husband, since he proves such a good one, remember me affectionately to the household at Cassilis, and believe me, my dear Mrs Cooke,

Affectionately your friend

Washington Irving

⁴⁰ The fourth of Irving's five-volume biography of Washington appeared in May, 1857.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A NEW POE LETTER

LEWIS CHASE

Washington, D. C.

The concluding paragraph of a letter dated Washington, August 3, 1841, is as follows:

Poe, I have a song that has been set to a very pretty tune, by a gentleman here. I would like to have it published, and will give it to any music publisher who would undertake it. Can you manage it for me? My song of "Absence" sold remarkably well, and I think this would sell as well. Will you make some inquiry in regard to the publishing it for me and oblige your friend—

F. W. Thomas.¹

Poe's answer now first published:

Philadelphia - Oct. 27 -41.

My Dear Thomas,

I received your last some days ago, and have delayed answering it, in hope that I might say your song was out, and that I might give you my opinion and Virginia's about its merits. As soon as I received the MS. I took it forthwith to Willig, who promised me that it should be ready in a week. I called three or four times, and still the answer was - "in a day or two". Yesterday I called again; when he positively assured me that it would be out on Monday. As soon as it is done, he will forward some copies (he did not say how many) to your address at Washington. Virginia is very anxious to see it, as your "'Tis said that absence" &c is a great favorite with her.

I have not your last letter at hand, and cannot therefore reply to it point by point. You said something about Judge Upshur's book - or rather about "The Partisan Leader";² for he did not write it -

¹ *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, Virginia edition, XVII, 103.

² "The Partisan Leader was . . . published . . . in Washington in . . . 1836. . . . The question of the identity of the . . . author was . . . roundly debated. It was most frequently ascribed to Judge Abel P. Upshur. . . . Though Tucker's authorship was soon common knowledge, still, as late as 1842-43 . . . J. M. Botts . . . insinuated that he [Upshur] had written [it]. At this time, Robert L. Montague . . . heard Tucker admit to his law class that he had written the novel." (*The Partisan Leader*, by Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, edited

neither Judge Tucker, I think. It seems to me that it was written by someone in Petersburg - but I am not sure. I am not personally acquainted with Judge Upshur; but I have a profound respect for his talents. He is not only the most graceful speaker I ever heard, but one of the most graceful & luminous writers. His head is a model for statuary - Speaking of heads - my own *has been* examined by several phrenologists³—all of whom spoke of me in a species of extravaganza which I should be ashamed to repeat.

In our autograph article for November your name was crowded out on account of the length of the comment upon it. It heads the list in the December no; which is already finished.

Griswold's book will be issued in January.⁴

I am glad to hear of Dows' [*sic*] success. I wonder he never sends me an "Index".

Our Mag: is progressing at the most astounding rate. When Burton was bought out - you know when that was - the joint list of both Mags. was 5000. In January we print 25000. Such a thing was never heard of before. Ah, if we could only get up the "Penn"! I have made a definite engagement with Graham for 1842 - but nothing to interfere with my own scheme, should I be able by any good luck, to go into it. Graham holds out a hope of his joining me in July. Is there no one among your friends at Washington - no one having both brains & funds who would engage in such an enterprise? Perhaps not. I comfort myself, however, with the assurance that the [time] *must* come when I shall have a journal under my own control. Till then - patience.

Do write me soon, and say something of your own hopes and views. What are you about in the scribbling way?

Sincerely your friend

Edgar A. Poe

Have you read Simm's [*sic*] new book?⁵

with an introduction, by Carl Bridenbaugh, Americana Deserta Series, New York, 1933. Introduction, p. xxvii.)

³ See in this connection Edward Hungerford's excellent article, "Poe and Phrenology," *American Literature*, IV, 209-231 (Nov., 1930).

⁴ Rufus W. Griswold, *Gems from American Female Poets*, with brief biographical notices, Philadelphia, H. Hooker, 1842. The preface (To the Reader) is dated Philadelphia, Dec. 1, 1841.

⁵ *Confession; or, The Blind Heart. A domestic story.* By the author of "The Kinsmen." Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1841.

An account of this letter, a word on Thomas and his song, and on Dow's paper, *The Index*, follow.

It may be inferred that Thomas parted with the letter, and possibly without an intermediary, the year before his death, which is said to have taken place in Washington, September 30, 1866. Not long before, he had been editor of *The South Carolinian*, Columbia, S. C. About this time he may have met Thomas Smythe^{5a} of Charleston. Smythe was a bachelor clergyman of some means, who traveled in Europe, and was said to have had a rather extensive literary acquaintance, both at home and abroad. His house was looted in the war, and he died before 1870.

From this point the story of the letter is above conjecture. Smythe's battered desk containing it and a few miscellaneous autographs went to his cousin, William Ellison Boggs (Chancellor of the University of Georgia, 1888-1899), who stowed the things away and gave them, in 1894, to his son, Thomas R. Boggs. Dr. Boggs has graciously permitted me to publish the letter, presenting me with a copy and facts of its history.

There were George Willig of Philadelphia and George Willig, Jr., of Baltimore. Both published the song in question—"Oh! Blame her not"—but with different music.

In the American Antiquarian Society there is a copy of "Oh! Blame her not," etc. Poetry by F. W. Thomas. Music composed, arranged, and respectfully dedicated to Miss Louise Cromwell by E. Thomas of Cincinnati, published by George Willig, Jr., Baltimore. Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1840. This is obviously not the item referred to. But in the Library of Congress is another: Deposited, November 2, 1841, by George Willig, as proprietor, Oh! Blame her not. Ballad. Written by F. W. Thomas, Esq. Music by Henry M. T. Powell. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia, George Willig, 171 Chestnut St.

It would appear that the Baltimore edition had not sold well, and that Thomas, recently from the West, hoped that the song would go better with a new very pretty tune by a Washington gentleman. This in spite of the fact that Edward Thomas (apparently no relative) had composed music for several of his songs, one of which at least "'Tis said that absence conquers love,"⁶ had been eminently successful.

Thomas,⁷ Poe, and Dow were, in a sense, three of a kind—in con-

^{5a} Author of *The Duty of Interesting Children in the Missionary Cause* (Charleston, S. C., 1846, 30 pp.).

⁶ This poem is said to have been contributed to the Cincinnati *American*, July, 1831. In 1833, with words by F. W. Thomas and music by E. Thomas, it was entered according to act of Congress. Published and sold by George Willig, Jr., Baltimore.

⁷ Although the place of Thomas's birth has been erroneously ascribed to Charleston and to Baltimore, he said that it was Providence. (Incidentally, Thomas Street, in that city,

genial spirits—and we may share Poe's surprise that Dow did not send him his paper, particularly since throughout its short life, it reiterated its editor's great admiration for, and intimate friendship with, Poe. For he writes that "Graham's main editor, Edgar A. Poe, a Richmond boy by adoption, is the severest critic, the best writer, and the most unassuming little fellow in the United States."⁸

Dow convincingly shows his familiarity with Poe's work, and even an ability to quote word by word to an extent that must have made him in 1841 almost unique among readers of Poe's prose. "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" had appeared in *Graham's* in April, and in November it is still so fresh in Dow's memory that he says in effect that its author is like M. Dupin.⁹

ANOTHER RUFUS W. GRISWOLD AS A CRITIC OF POE

JOY BAYLESS

Columbia University

ALTHOUGH it is generally known that Rufus Wilmot Griswold was Poe's first editor and severe biographer, it has not been noted that another Griswold, a Rufus White Griswold, also had something to do with Poe's literary career. Poe made the statement that Griswold published "The Raven" with editorial comments in *The Hartford Weekly Gazette*. It has naturally been supposed that the Griswold whom he mentioned was Rufus Wilmot Griswold. It is now possible to show, however, that the paper referred to by Poe was *The New England Weekly Gazette*, published at Hartford, Connecticut, and that the editor, who printed "The

was named in honor of his father.) He seems to have been really ignorant of the date. In the letter quoted above he wrote to Poe, "I was born in, I think, the fall of 1888." Six weeks later, Sept. 23, he wrote to Griswold, "I was born on October 25, 1810. [And the 1810 might easily be mistaken for 1811 in the manuscript in the Griswold Collection.] I think it was October, but the family Bible is in the far west." The needed proof is at hand. The Ebenezer Smith Thomas family Bible (Charles Town, Mass., 1803) is now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, and he himself noted that his son, Frederick William, was born in Providence on Oct. 25, 1806.

⁸ *The Index*, Alexandria, D. C. (ed. J. E. Dow), I, 3 (Sept. 25, 1841).

⁹ "Mr. Poe, the talented critic of the Magazine, gives us a new chapter of wonders. He has gathered together a goodly list of autographs of authors, male and female, and served them up with vinegar and sweet sauce to be rolled upon the tongue of memory for no inconsiderable portion of time. Mr. Poe is a wonderful man. He can read the hieroglyphics of the Pharaohs, tell you what you are thinking about [like M. Dupin] while he walks beside you, and criticise you into shape without giving offense" (*The Index*, I, 3, Nov. 2, 1841).

Raven" with editorial comments, probably not favorable, was Rufus White Griswold.

Concerning the Griswold review, Poe wrote to Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman, November 26, 1848: "As one of the signs of the times I notice that Griswold has lately copied my Raven in his Hartford Weekly Gazette. I enclose his editorial comments so that you have quite a budget of enclosures."¹ In an undated letter to an unknown person Poe referred to this same review as "the blundering criticism of 'the Hartford Review Man.'"²

Professor Killis Campbell, giving as references these two statements of Poe, mentions in his article "The Poe-Griswold Controversy" this unlocated review as one of the derogatory comments concerning Poe by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, the man who became Poe's literary editor.³

The first clue I have found to the fact that there were two Rufus W. Griswolds is in a letter from Epes Sargent to Rufus Wilmot Griswold, in which he says: "I put the Rev. in my address, because there is another of your name."⁴

Further evidence that there were two Rufus W. Griswolds is to be found in the files of the Department of Vital Records of the State of Connecticut, which show that Rufus W. Griswold of New Britain married Esther Hammond of Vernon, on December 24, 1851.⁵ Rufus Wilmot Griswold in December, 1851, did not marry Esther Hammond; he was living in separation from his second wife, whom he had married in 1845. In December, 1852, he married Miss Harriet McCrillis, of Bangor, Maine.

Another point of evidence is found in Geer's *Hartford City Directory* for 1848, which lists R. W. Griswold, editor of the *Gazette*, as boarding at 254 Main Street, and *The New England Gazette* office as being at 11 Central Row. The same directory for 1874-1875 lists all newspapers published at Hartford prior to 1874, and states

¹ *Last Letters of Edgar Allan Poe to Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1909), p. 43.

² J. H. Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters, and Opinions* (London, 1886), p. 222.

³ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIV, 441 (Sept., 1919).

⁴ Epes Sargent to Rufus Wilmot Griswold, April 17, 1852. The MS. is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵ This information was sent by Mr. George S. Godard, State Librarian, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut, in a letter dated April 6, 1931.

that "*The New England Weekly Gazette* was a weekly paper published here in 1849, by Rufus W. Griswold." *The Hartford Weekly Gazette* is not listed.⁶ From numerous letters and printed sources it can be shown that Rufus Wilmot Griswold did not live in Hartford in 1848 and 1849; at that time he was living in New York City.

Further evidence that the editor of *The New England Weekly Gazette* was not Rufus Wilmot Griswold is found in a biographical sketch of Rufus White Griswold, M.D., in *The Commemorative Biographical Record of Hartford County, Connecticut*.⁷ This sketch contains the information that Rufus White Griswold married Esther Hammond of Vernon, December 24, 1851, and furnishes these additional data:

In March, 1848, he embarked in journalism on his own account, starting a newspaper known as the *New England Gazette*, having his office in the east wing of the old Universalist church at Hartford. The venture was successful so far as the circulation of the paper was concerned, but financially it did not prove profitable, for the reason that his business was conducted on the credit system. In consequence, he discontinued the publication after two years. . . .⁸

An attempt to locate *The New England Weekly Gazette* has brought to light three copies of the paper, which are in the possession of Mr. Martin Welles, of Hartford, Connecticut. None of these three extant numbers, all of which are of date prior to that of Poe's letter of November 26, 1848, to Mrs. Whitman, contains a review of "The Raven." But an editorial in the number dated September 23, 1848, quotes from an editorial in *The Southern Literary Gazette*, in which the editor of *The New England Weekly Gazette* is called the Reverend Rufus W. Griswold. The editor of the Hartford paper disclaims the title of Reverend, and states that his middle name is White, not Wilmot.

Although the "blundering criticism of the 'Hartford Review Man'," referred to by Poe, has not yet been located, it is certain that the writer of the unfavorable comments was not the Reverend Rufus

⁶ Information sent by Mr. Godard, Aug. 27, 1932.

⁷ (Chicago, 1901), p. 769.

⁸ This sketch also states that Rufus White Griswold, in April, 1851, went to New York City and began the study of medicine, receiving his M.D. degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in March, 1854 (p. 769).

Wilmot Griswold of New York City, but Rufus White Griswold of Hartford, Connecticut.⁹

POE'S KNOWLEDGE OF LATIN

EMMA KATHERINE NORMAN

The University of Texas

It appears that Poe began the study of Latin while attending the school of John Bransby at Stoke Newington. In what year he took up the study of Latin we do not know, but it was probably in 1817; for a letter found among the papers of Ellis and Allan for their five years in London—1815 to 1820—reveals the fact that Poe was reading Latin at the age of nine years. "Edgar is a fine boy and reads Latin pretty sharply," wrote John Allan to his partner in Richmond on June 22, 1818.¹ Dr. Bransby, the head of the school, is said to have been an extraordinary man and an excellent Latin scholar, and it was probably under his tutelage that Poe first became imbued with a love for the classics and classical lore which formed so large a part of his general information.

On his return to America in 1820, Poe continued his studies at the English and Classical School in Richmond, under the guidance first of Joseph Clarke and later of William Burke. At Clarke's school he studied, as we know from one of Clarke's bills that has come down to us, Cicero's *De Officiis*.² That he studied Horace appears from the testimony of Colonel John T. L. Preston, who says:

He was very fond of the Odes of Horace, and repeated them so often in my hearing that I learned by sound the words of many, before I understood their meaning. In the lilting rhythm of the Sapphics and Iambics,

⁹ Whether or not Poe himself confused the identity of the two Griswold editors is problematical. From 1841 until his death in Oct., 1849, Poe had, on the whole, sufficiently close and frequent literary contact with Rufus Wilmot Griswold to keep him informed as to the editorial activities of his future biographer. However, for the year 1848, when Poe made the remark concerning *The Hartford Weekly Gazette*, there is no recorded correspondence between the two men. In 1849 there was correspondence between them, but no reference to the Hartford paper and its editor. A careful examination of material on Poe fails to reveal any references to this matter, not based upon the two statements made by Poe, quoted above.

¹ Killis Campbell, "Unpublished Documents Relating to Poe's Early Years," *The Sewanee Review*, XXI, 212-221 (April, 1912).

² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

his ear, as yet untutored in more complicated harmonies, took special delight.³

At the University of Virginia, which Poe entered with the beginning of its second session in February, 1826, he was registered in two schools, the Schools of Ancient and Modern Languages. Here he studied—if we may accept a schedule of subjects advertised by the University for the year 1829 as applying also to the year 1826—Horace, Cicero's *Epistles*, Virgil's *Georgics*, the *Annals* of Tacitus, and something of Plautus, of Terence, and of Juvenal.⁴ That his work was highly satisfactory in the subject is witnessed by the fact that his name appeared in the list of students who had obtained distinction on the final examination in Latin.

After leaving the University of Virginia in December, 1826, Poe studied for six months or more at West Point, but whether or not he continued his study of Latin does not appear. It is probable that the greater part of his training in Latin was obtained at the Classical School in Richmond and at the University of Virginia.

Our only means of knowing how thorough and how accurate Poe's knowledge of Latin was is afforded by his writings, and I shall give below the evidence as I have gleaned it from his collected writings.

I find that Poe quotes from no less than twenty-three Latin writers. He refers to four others. He reviewed at one time or another texts of the works of Sallust and Ovid, and several of his criticisms show his acquaintance with Latin grammars.

The authors that he quotes most frequently are Virgil (quoted twenty-three times), Horace (quoted seventeen times), Ovid (quoted ten times), Cicero (quoted six times and alluded to seven times). Seneca and Quintilian are each quoted twice; and Seneca is alluded to six times. Among other writers quoted at least twice are Lucan (quoted twice and once erroneously cited as the author of a phrase from Lucian), Juvenal (quoted five times), Tertullian (quoted three times and referred to twice). Catullus is referred to twice and is twice cited as the author of a phrase from Plutarch. Thirteen

³ John H. Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe* (London, 1886), p. 18.

⁴ Killis Campbell, "Poe's Reading," *The University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 5, p. 191.

authors are quoted only once. These are Pliny, Lucretius, Sallust, Sulpicius, Terence, Servius, Claudian, Silius Italicus, Macrobius, Flavius Vospicius, Aquavia, Petronius Arbiter, and St. Augustine. Poe also alludes to Aulus Gellius, Livy, Plautus, and Caesar.

His quotations from Virgil that I have come across are these:

Discite justitiam, moniti, et temnere Divos. *Aeneid*, VI, 620; Poe's *Works*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XVI, 6.⁵

E pluribus unum. *Moretum*, 104; Poe's *Works*, XVI, 71.⁶

Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit honestum. *Georgics*, II, 392; Poe's *Works*, XIV, 48, and XVI, 47.

Ex uno disce omnia. *Aeneid*, II, 65-66; Poe's *Works*, XIV, 217.⁷

Facilis descensus Averno. *Aeneid*, VI, 126; Poe's *Works*, VI, 51, and VIII, 162.⁸

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. *Georgics*, II, 490; Poe's *Works*, XI, 233.⁹

Haec finis Priami fatorum. *Aeneid*, II, 554; Poe's *Works*, XIV, 43.¹⁰

Horresco referens. *Aeneid*, II, 204; Poe's *Works*, XI, 223.

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores. Claudius Donatus, *Life of Virgil*; Poe's *Works*, X, 109.¹¹

Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus. *Aeneid*, III, 390; Poe's *Works*, XIV, 259.

Media nimborum in nocte. *Georgics*, I, 328; Poe's *Works*, XIV, 58.

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum. *Aeneid*, III, 658; Poe's *Works*, VI, 52, and VI, 63.¹²

⁵ Poe differs from the original here in the use of *dicite* instead of *discite*. Though Poe was well acquainted with Virgil, it is apparent that he took this line from Voltaire, for he says,

"One of the most deliberate tricks of Voltaire is when he renders by

'Soyez justes, mortels, et ne craignez qu'un Dieu,'

the words of Phlegas, who cries out in Hell,

'Dicite justitiam, moniti, et non temnere Divos.'"

⁶ Though this phrase was in common use in Poe's time, as it is today, I have listed it here because it is found in one of the early works attributed to Virgil.

⁷ This line occurs in Virgil as "crimine ab uno /disce omnia."

⁸ In both instances Poe uses *Averni* instead of *Averno* as found in Virgil.

⁹ Poe attributes this line to Lucretius; but the author is Virgil, who is here speaking of Lucretius.

¹⁰ In quoting this passage Poe was interested in the gender of *finis*, and failed to notice his ungrammatical rendering of the line. He gives it thus: "Haec finis Priami factorum."

¹¹ Poe gives his source for this quotation as Claudius Donatus's *Life of Virgil* found in the Delphin edition of the life of Virgil (1830), p. 17. The Delphin edition was the best comprehensive set of classics available at that time.

¹² The phrase "monstrum horrendum," as Poe used it in VI, 52, is also found in the *Aeneid*, IV, 180; however, I believe that Poe had the former passage in mind.

Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplexitur alis. *Aeneid*, VIII, 369; *Poe's Works*, XI, 233.

Quae finis standi? *Aeneid*, V, 384; *Poe's Works*, XIV, 43.

Qualis sopor fessis. *Eclogues*, V, 46; *Poe's Works*, XVI, 167.¹³

Quorum pars magna fuit. *Aeneid*, II, 6; *Poe's Works*, III, 264.¹⁴

Tantaene animis? *Aeneid*, I, 11; *Poe's Works*, VII, xl.

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. *Aeneid*, II, 49; *Poe's Works*, XIII, 6.

Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi. *Eclogues*, I, 1; *Poe's Works*, XI, 82, and XI, 233.

His quotations from Horace are as follows:

Credat Judeas. *Sermones*, I, 5, 100; *Poe's Works*, VIII, 203, and IX, 117.

Da si grave non est,

Quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.

Sermones, II, 8, 4-5; *Poe's Works*, XIV, 171.¹⁵

Integer vitae, scelerisque purus

Non eget Mauri iaculis neque arcu

Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,

Fusce, pharetra.

Odes, I, 22, 1-5; *Poe's Works*, XIV, 260.

Invita Minerva. *Ars Poetica*, I, 385; *Poe's Works*, XII, 215, and XVI, 178.

Maecenas, atavis edite regibus,

O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum

Colegisse iuvat, metaque fervidis

Evitata rotis palmaque nobilis

Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

Odes, I, 1, 1-7; *Poe's Works*, XIV, 254.

Nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus.

Ars Poetica, 191; *Poe's Works*, XIII, 68.¹⁶

Nil admirari. *Epistolae*, I, 6, 1; *Poe's Works*, II, 142; VI, 61, and XII, 64.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci. *Ars Poetica*, 343; *Poe's Works*, XI, 87.

¹³ The line occurs in Virgil as "Quale sopor fessis in gramine."

¹⁴ In this quotation Poe has changed the verb from the first to the third person to suit the context.

¹⁵ Here Poe has used *isca* instead of *esca*. This error may have been typographical, for there is no such Latin word as *isca*.

¹⁶ Poe gives only the first few words of this quotation: "Nec deus intersit, etc."

Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus. *Ars Poetica*, 138; *Poe's Works*, XIII, 203, and XIV, 259.¹⁷

Rara avis. *Sermones*, II, 2, 26; *Poe's Works*, VIII, 104.¹⁸

Sesquipedalia verba. *Ars Poetica*, 97; *Poe's Works*, IX, 159.

Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto. *Sermones*, II, 5, 83; *Poe's Works*, V, 212.

The quotations from Ovid that I have identified are these:

Carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti

Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

Amores, I, 15, 23-24; *Poe's Works*, XIV, 70, and XVI, 77.

Fas est, ab hoste doceri. *Metamorphoses*, IV, 428; *Poe's Works*, VIII, 25.

Ingenuos didicisse fideliter libros

Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

Epistolae ex Ponto, II, 9, 47; *Poe's Works*, XVI, 36.¹⁹

In medio tutissimus ibis, *Metamorphoses*, II, 136; *Poe's Works*, XI, 107, and XV, 92.²⁰

In nove fert animus mutatas dicere formas

Corpora Di coeptis nam vos mutastis et illas.

Metamorphoses, I, 1-2; *Poe's Works*, XI, 233.

Perdidit antiquum litera prima sonum. *Fasti*, V, 536; *Poe's Works*, IV, 155.

Probo meliora, deteriora sequor. *Metamorphoses*, VII, 20; *Poe's Works*, X, 167, and XIV, 101.²¹

Most of Poe's quotations from the Latin authors are accurate; but I have come across a number of inaccuracies, some of them the fault, it may be, of the printer. The familiar quotation from Virgil,

¹⁷ Poe quotes this line twice, both times using the present *nascitur* instead of the future *nascetur*.

¹⁸ Poe also uses the phrase "rara avis in terra," which is found in Juvenal's Satires.

¹⁹ Poe has changed several of the words here, apparently to fit his meaning. The line appears in Ovid thus:

"Adde, quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros."

The changes of *artes* to *libros* necessitates the change of *ingenuas* to *ingenuos*, but the change of *feros* to *feros* seems to be a slip.

²⁰ Ovid has "medio tutissimus ibis." In quoting this line both times, Poe has either consciously or unconsciously used the normal prose construction of *in* with the ablative *medio*.

²¹ The quotation is found in Ovid as

"Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor."

"Facilis descensus Averno," Poe quotes as "Facilis descensus Averni." Though the use of the genitive here is not as good Latin as the dative *Averno*, still it is not ungrammatical, and Poe has quoted the passage as it was and is generally quoted. Poe quotes the following line from Horace twice, using the present *nascitur* instead of the future *nascetur*: "Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus." Occasionally he attributes a quotation to the wrong author; for instance, Apuleius is cited twice as the author of the phrase "ventum textilem"; this phrase, however, is not found in the works of Apuleius, but in the Satires of Petronius Arbiter. Lucan is erroneously mentioned as the author of the phrase "anemonae verborum"; here Poe has confused the Roman writer Lucan with the Greek Lucian, who spoke of flowers of speech (with a suggestion of emptiness) as ἀνεμῶναι λόγον.²² Poe used the phrase in "How to Write a Blackwood Article": ". . . you can tell him from Lucan (here it is) that speeches are mere *anemonae verborum*, anemone words. The anemone, with great brilliancy, has no smell." Once Poe correctly attributes the phrase "insomnia Jovis" to Silius Italicus; but in using the phrase another time he speaks of it as the words of Longinus. Catullus is referred to twice as the author of the phrase "Vox et praeterea nihil," but this should be attributed to Plutarch's *Laconic Apothegms*. Some of Poe's errors, however, are doubtless due to the fact that he often quoted from memory, a circumstance that is obviously in his favor.

What inferences may be drawn from these particulars I am uncertain. We may infer, I think, that Poe, although he had obtained no such thorough acquaintance with Latin as we should expect of a scholar, nevertheless acquired in his several years' study of the subject a good working knowledge for his purpose as critic and reviewer.

²² Lucian, *Lexiphones*, 23.

POE IN CHARLESTON, S. C.*

WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE

Duke University

HERVEY Allen states that Edgar A. Perry, *alias* Henry Le Rennét, *alias* Edgar Allan Poe, Company Clerk, Battery "H," First United States Artillery, was ordered, October 31, 1827, from Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, to Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, Charleston, a voyage which, "in a sailing ship was, even with favorable winds, often a matter of several weeks."¹ Poe's sojourn in Charleston is reckoned "from November, 1827, to December, 1828,"² a footnote asserting that his regiment "almost certainly left Fort Moultrie the first week in December, 1828,"³ on a ship "whose name has been forgotten."⁴

"Ship News" from *The Charleston Courier* and *The City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser* reveals, however, a slightly different estimate, and enables one to ascertain definite dates.⁵ Both papers of Monday, November 19, 1827, state:

Arrived Yesterday

Brig *Waltham*, Webb, Boston 11 days. With a company of U. S. Troops for the Garrison at Fort Moultrie. *Passengers*, Lieut. H. W. Griswold, U. S. A., Lady and child, Lieut. J. Howard, U. S. A., Lady and three children, and Dr. J. Dodd, U. S. A.⁶

Poe's company therefore embarked from Boston, Thursday, November 8.⁷

* Since writing this article I have learned that Professor Henry Campbell Davis read before the Modern Language Association, Dec., 1929, an unpublished paper entitled "Ship Notices Bearing on Poe."

¹ Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1927), I, 208-209.

² *Ibid.*, I, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 226.

⁵ Newspapers afford the only source of this information. A search of the records of Fort Moultrie, the Charleston Custom House, Office of the Judge of Probate, the Charleston Harbor Master, and the Clerk of the Federal Court failed to reveal any data for the years in question.

⁶ The officers named are without doubt those of Poe's company. They later (April 20, 1829) gave testimonials of Poe's meritorious service in the army (Hervey Allen, *op. cit.*, I, 240).

⁷ The first week in November, instead of being spent *en route*, was actually spent at Fort Independence, a fact which shortens Poe's "experience" at sea.

The *Waltham* "cleared" on Tuesday, November 20,⁸ and the next day another detachment of troops arrived to augment the forces at Moultrie:

Arrived Yesterday

Schooner *Compeer*, Shackford, Eastport, (Me.) 10 days. With a company of U. S. Troops, under the command of Lieut. Schuler, for the Garrison at Fort Moultrie.⁹

The *Waltham*, Webb, and the *Compeer*, Shackford, began return trips to their respective ports on November 22 and 25, leaving their cargoes of troops behind.¹⁰

Poe wrote, December 1, 1828, to John Allan that his company was under orders to leave Moultrie for Fortress Monroe,¹¹ a fact substantiated by this notice of new troops:

In the offing: The ship *Harriet*, (of Bath) Johnson, from Baltimore, via Norfolk, with two companies of U. S. Troops for the Garrison in the harbor, anchored below yesterday.¹²

Both papers, December 4, note her arrival:

Arrived Yesterday

Ship *Harriet*, Johnson, from Norfolk, with two companies of U. S. Troops, under the command of Capt. Belton. *Passengers*, Capt. Belton and Lady, Lieut. Lowd and Lady, Miss Lowd, Lieut. Wheelock and Lady, Lieut. M' Kenzie and Lieut Aisquaith.

The *Harriet* "cleared" the day after her arrival,¹³ remained in the harbor one week, and on Thursday, December 11, "went to sea" for Norfolk.¹⁴ As was customary in the case of out-going ships, no mention is made of her cargo. The *Gazette*, however, on December 22, 1828, contains the following notice from a "correspondent":

Norfolk, December 15: The ship *Harriet*, Johnson, fm [*sic*] Charleston, with two companies U. S. Artillery, anchored off Old Point this afternoon.¹⁵

Poe's stay in Charleston dates therefore from Sunday, November 18, 1827, when he arrived on the *Waltham* from Boston, until

⁸ *Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1827.

⁹ *Courier and Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1827.

¹⁰ *Courier*, Nov. 23, 26, 1827.

¹¹ Allen, *op. cit.*, I, 225 n.

¹² *Courier*, Dec. 22, 1828, gives briefer notice of the same.

¹³ *Courier and Gazette*, Dec. 3, 1828.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1828.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1828.

Thursday, December 11, 1828, when he shipped on the *Harriet* for Old Point, Fortress Monroe, Virginia. The voyage south, instead of taking several weeks, actually took eleven days, and the return trip but four or four and one-half days.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association and the Duke University Press have arranged, for the year 1934, as for 1933, to allow members of the Association by a single payment of \$7.20 to cover their membership fee (which includes a subscription to *PMLA*) in the Association and a subscription to *American Literature*. Those members who wish to avail themselves of this offer will send their subscriptions to *American Literature* to the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association, Lyman R. Bradley, Washington Square College, New York City.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Rose Terry Cooke: *Life and Letters*. Katherine I. Tress (New York).

Richard Henry Dana, Jr. James Hart (Harvard).

Philip Freneau: *A Critical Biography*. Lewis G. Leary, Jr. (Columbia).

Richard Malcolm Johnston. Lessie B. Brinson (Peabody). F. T. Long has abandoned this subject.

Mrs. Kirkland, Joseph Kirkland, and the Development of American Realism. L. C. Keyes (Harvard).

George Sterling. Mary Matheson Wills (Southern California).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

Anglo-American Literary Relations, 1870-1900. R. B. Heilman (Harvard).

A Study of Charleston Magazines from 1795 to 1861. G. A. Cardwell, Jr. (North Carolina).

French Literature and American Criticism, 1870-1900: A Study in Periodical Literature. M. B. Jones (Harvard).

The Influence of Hungarian Literature on American Drama. Emro J. Gergely (Pennsylvania).

Literary References in New England Diaries, 1700-1730. E. A. Evans (Harvard).

The Novel of Economic Criticism in America. Claud R. Flory (Pennsylvania).

The Philadelphia Stage from 1900 to 1910. Joseph Meconnahey (Pennsylvania).

Rationalism and Sentimentalism in Early American Periodicals. Mildred Davis (New York).

The Richmond Theater. Martin Staples Shockley (North Carolina).

Voltaire's Vogue in America from the Time of the American Revolution to 1830. Mary M. Barr (Columbia: French).

Studies in the Poetry of New England Transcendentalism. Elsie F. Brickett (Yale).

III. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

An Edition of Hawthorne's English Notebooks, based upon the original manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Randall Stewart (Yale).

Hamlin Garland's Contribution to American Literature, with bibliography. Eldon C. Hill (Lake Forest College, Illinois).

Emerson and the Concord Library: a study which includes the editing of several reports and book-lists prepared by Emerson. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., 63 Clifford St., Whitneyville, Conn.

Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [BOUCHER, JONATHAN] Read, A. W. "Boucher's Linguistic Pastoral of Colonial Maryland." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 353-363 (Dec., 1933).

Reprint of *Absence, a Pastoral*, etc., written before 1775, "with the view of introducing as many of such words and idioms of speech, then prevalent and common in Maryland," as were conceived to be "dialectical and peculiar to those parts of America."

- [DUCHÉ, JACOB] Pennington, E. L. "The Work of the Bray Associates in Pennsylvania." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVIII, 1-25 (Jan., 1934).

Negro education in Pennsylvania, 1749-1806, with an account of the aid given by Jacob Duché, Benjamin Franklin, and Francis Hopkinson.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Owen, E. D. "Where Did Benjamin Franklin Get the Idea for His Academy?" *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVIII, 86-94 (Jan., 1934).

Attempts to show that George Whitefield was instrumental in introducing to Franklin the ideas of Philip Doddridge relative to the English language as a vehicle in education.

See also entry under *Duché, Jacob*.

- [HOPKINSON, FRANCIS] See entry under *Duché, Jacob*.

- [RANDOLPH, JOHN] Coleman, Mrs. G. P. "Randolph and Tucker Letters." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLII, 47-52 (Jan., 1934).

The letters are: John Randolph to his mother (June 20, 1786); Mrs. Anne Randolph to St. George Tucker (Sept. 23, 1788); and Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker (May 13, 1789).

- [SEWALL, SAMUEL] Lawrence, Henry W. "Samuel Sewall, Revealer of Puritan New England." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXIII, 20-37 (Jan., 1934).

- [TUCKER, ST. GEORGE] See entry under *Randolph, John*.

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Edmunds, A. J. "A Spurious Philadelphia Bible of 1788." *N. & Q.*, CLXV, 332 (Nov. 11, 1933).

Samuel, Edith. "Index to the Deaths Mentioned in *The American Weekly Mercury*, 1724-1746." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVIII, 37-60 (Jan., 1934).

Vail, R. W. G. "Report of the Librarian." *Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XLIII, 44-49 (Oct. 18, 1933).

List of the writings of Jonathan Plummer, best known as a producer of broadsides. Dates covered are 1789-1819.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Longfellow and Bryant." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 77-78 (Feb. 3, 1934).

Two letters from the N. Y. P. L., one from Charles Folsom to Bryant recommending Longfellow, and the other from Longfellow to Parke Godwin requesting that the Folsom letter be not published.

[CALVERT, G. H.] Stewart, Randall. "Hawthorne's Contributions to *The Salem Advertiser*." *Am. Lit.*, V, 327-341 (Jan., 1934).

The contributions, reprinted for the first time, include reviews of works by Calvert, Longfellow, Melville, and Simms.

[CHIVERS, T. H.] See entry under *Poe, E. A.*, item by T. O. Mabbott.

[DANA, R. H.] Winterich, J. T. "Early American Books and Printing. Chapter VIII. Once More Westward Ho!" *Pub. Weekly*, CXXV, 263-265 and 791-793 (Jan. 20 and Feb. 17, 1934).

Richard Henry Dana in Monterey, and publications in that city.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Chazin, Maurice. "Emerson's Disciple in Belgium: Marie Mali (1855-1927)." *Romanic Rev.*, XXIV, 346-349 (Oct.-Dec., 1933).

An account of the Belgian translator and disciple who was "responsible for the Emerson vogue in France and Belgium during the 1890's."

Commager, H. S. "Tempest in a Boston Tea Cup." *New Eng. Quart.*, VI, 651-675 (Dec., 1933).

The controversy over Emerson's "Divinity School Address," with particular attention to Theodore Parker's part in the battle.

See also entry under *Poe, E. A.*, item by T. O. Mabbott.

[FOSTER, S. C.] Howard, J. T. "Stephen Foster and His Publishers." *Musical Quart.*, XX, 77-95 (Jan., 1934).

Royalties known to have been paid the song writer between the years 1849 and 1860 total \$15,091.08.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cherry, Fanny. "The Sources of Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown'." *Am. Lit.*, V, 342-348 (Jan., 1934).

Cervantes is the chief source.

Kouwenhoven, John. "Hawthorne's Notebooks and *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*." *Am. Lit.*, V, 349-358 (Jan., 1934).

Examples are given of the use made by Hawthorne of notebook jottings.

Stewart, Randall. "Hawthorne's Contributions to *The Salem Advertiser*." *Am. Lit.*, V, 327-341 (Jan., 1934).

The contributions, reprinted for the first time, include reviews of works by Calvert, Longfellow, Melville, and Simms, and two comments on local theatrical productions.

Werner, W. L. "The First Edition of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*." *Am. Lit.*, V, 359 (Jan., 1934).

"Except for the obvious and separate preface, Hawthorne made no changes from the first edition. The other differences [herein described] seem to be the work of the type-setter."

[HELPER, H. R.] Barbee, D. R. "Hinton Rowan Helper." *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XV, 145-172 (Jan., 1934).

New light on the author of *The Impending Crisis*.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Viets, Henry R. "Oliver Wendell Holmes, Physician." *Am. Scholar*, III, 5-11 (Winter, 1934).

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Adkins, N. F. "An Uncollected Tale by Washington Irving." *Am. Lit.*, V, 364-367 (Jan., 1934).

"The Haunted Ship" is reprinted from the Boston *Friendship's Offering* for 1849.

Hespelt, J. G. and Williams, S. T. "Two Unpublished Anecdotes by Fernán Caballero Preserved by Washington Irving." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 25-31 (Jan. 1934).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Miller, R. B. "Baron of Saint Castine—American Pioneer." *Americana*, XXVIII, 92-97 (Jan., 1934).

Biographical material relative to the Baron of Saint Castine, from whose life Longfellow drew for "The Student's Second Tale" in *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.

See also entries under *Bryant, W. C.* and *Hawthorne, Nathaniel*, item by Randall Stewart.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Braswell, William. "A Note on 'The Anatomy of Melville's Fame'." *Am. Lit.*, V, 360-364 (Jan., 1934).

"Inaccuracies and exaggerations" in the previous study of the subject by O. W. Riegel are pointed out.

See also entry under *Hawthorne, Nathaniel*, item by Randall Stewart.

[POE, E. A.] Arndt, K. J. "Poe's 'Politian' and Goethe's 'Mignon'." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 101-104 (Feb., 1934).

Resemblances between the description of Italy in "Mignon" and a few lines in *Politian*.

Mabbott, T. O. "Numismatic References of Three American Writers." *Numismatist*, XLVI, 688 (Nov., 1933).

Explains the reference in "William Wilson" to "the exergues of the Carthaginian medals" as to a coinage of Gaiseric; also mentions dealings in paper money by Emerson and Chivers.

[SIMMS, W. G.] See entry under *Hawthorne, Nathaniel*, item by Randall Stewart.

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Schultz, J. R. "An Unpublished Poem of Bayard Taylor." *Am. Lit.*, V, 367-368 (Jan., 1934).

"Lines," published from MS., is dated Jan. 13, 1840.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Wood, James P. "English and American Criticism of Thoreau." *New Eng. Quart.*, VI, 733-746 (Dec., 1933).

[TOMLIN, JOHN] Mabbott, T. O. "Correspondence of John Tomlin." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 6-7 (Jan. 6, 1934).

Two letters of Dickens to a Tennessee admirer.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Holloway, Emory. "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook." *Am. Scholar*, II, 269-278 (May, 1933).

Miscellaneous bits of Whitman's MSS., among which are notes on various phases of the Civil War, remarks on personality, and an essay on the soul.

Neumann, Henry. "Walt Whitman." *Am. Scholar*, II, 261-268 (May, 1933).

A discussion of Whitman's modernity.

Silver, Rollo G. "Whitman and Dickens." *Am. Lit.*, V, 370-371 (Jan., 1934).

A bit of MS. in Whitman's hand is copied from Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens* and, accordingly, is no longer to be regarded as throwing light upon a love affair of his own.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, Thomas F. "Whittier and 'Mary'." *New Eng. Quart.*, VI, 801-802 (Dec., 1933).

A note on Mary L. Shepherd and the poem "The First Flowers."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Cestre, Charles. "Alexis de Tocqueville, Témoin et Juge de la Civilisation Américaine." *Rev. des Cours et Conférences*, pp. 275-288 (Jan. 15, 1934).

Gohdes, Clarence. "Getting Ready for Brook Farm." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 36-39 (Jan., 1934).

An account of George Ripley's commonplace book, 1822-1840, containing plans and projects for Brook Farm.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. "The First Printers of Illinois." *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXVI, 201-221 (Oct., 1933).

Oliphant, J. O. "The Library of Archibald McKinley, Oregon Fur Trader." *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, XXV, 23-26 (Jan., 1934).

The library is of interest because "it reveals an early cultural contact of Boston with the Oregon Country."

III. 1870-1900

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Bierce, Helen. "Ambrose Bierce at Home." *Am. Mercury*, XXX, 453-458 (Dec., 1933).

This essay contains a hitherto unpublished poem by Bierce and an account of his misunderstanding with his wife.

Nathan, G. J. "Ambrose Light." *Am. Spectator*, II, 2 (Feb., 1934).

Only the younger critics of Bierce's day "continue to foster the Bierce legend."

[CABLE, G. W.] Tinker, Edward L. "Cable and the Creoles." *Am. Lit.*, V, 313-326 (Jan., 1934).

The New Orleans reaction to Cable and the limitations of his literary powers are the chief matters discussed.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Anon. "Two Etymologies." *Word Study*, IX, 5-7 (Nov., 1933).

Clemens was asked by the publishers of *Webster's Dictionary* to comment on Winston Churchill's etymology for the word *stateroom*. His letter (July 26, 1901) is printed, along with one by Churchill (Aug. 1, 1901) commenting upon the contents of the former.

Adams, Sir John. "Mark Twain, Psychologist." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XIII, 417-426 (Jan., 1934).

Using as a basis for his discussion a letter he once received from Clemens, dated, Vienna, Dec. 5, 1898, the author analyzes the psychology of *What is Man?*

Gary, Lorena M. "Mark Twain—Boy and Philosopher." *Overland Month.*, XCI, No. 9 (Nov., 1933).

Clemens's writings are viewed as expressions of his youthful spirit.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] "The Holler Tree." *Golden Book Magazine*, XIX, 188-191 (Feb., 1934).

A fable and a poem ("Little Birds") are printed for the first time from Crane's notebooks.

Birss, John. "Stephen Crane: Letter and Bibliographical Note." *N. & Q.*, CLXV, 243 (Oct. 7, 1933).

The letter is addressed to Julius F. Chambers.

Crane, Helen R. "My Uncle, Stephen Crane." *Am. Mercury*, XXXI, 24-29 (Jan., 1934).

Attitude of Crane's "respectable" relatives toward his Bohemian existence.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] French, Yvonne. "Chronicles: Poetry." *London Mercury*, XXIX, 161-163 (Dec., 1933).

Frump, Timothy. "Emily Dickinson: A Song." *N. & Q.*, CLXV, 386 (Dec. 2, 1933).

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[HAYNE, P. H.] Ferguson, J. DeLancey. "A New Letter of Paul Hamilton Hayne." *Am. Lit.*, V, 368-370 (Jan., 1934).

The letter, addressed to W. D. Howells, is dated May 21, 1873.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Starke, A. H. "More about Lanier." *New Republic*, LXXVI, 337-338 (Nov. 1, 1933).

Largely a reply to a review by Allen Tate.

[MOULTON, L. C.] Vail, R. W. G. "Report of the Librarian." *Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XLIII, 29-32 (Oct. 18, 1933).

Check-list of the writings of Louise Chandler Moulton.

[STEDMAN, E. C.] Tinker, Chauncey B. "Pan in Wall Street." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 365-366 (Dec. 23, 1933).

IV. 1900-1934

[ALLEN, HERVEY] "The Sources of 'Anthony Adverse'." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 401, 408-410 (Jan. 13, 1934).

Mr. Allen describes the making of his novel.

Clark, Emily. "Hervey Allen." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 323 (Dec. 9, 1933).

[BRADFORD, GAMALIEL] Knickerbocker, Frances W. "Gamaliel Bradford Looks at His Art." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLII, 91-99 (Jan.-March, 1934).

[BUCK, P. S.] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Pearl S. Buck 1892." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXV, 272 (Jan. 20, 1934).

Brief biographical sketch and a check-list of her works.

[CABELL, J. B.] Howard, Leon. "Figures of Allegory." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLII, 54-66 (Jan.-March, 1934).

Le Breton, M. "James Branch Cabell romancier. I. Les premières œuvres." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, XI, 112-128 (Dec., 1933).

[CHURCHILL, WINSTON] See entry under *Clemens, S. L.*, anonymous item.

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Villard, L. "L'Œuvre d'Ellen Glasgow, romancière américaine." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, XI, 97-111 (Dec., 1933).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Jameson, Storm. "The Craft of the Novelist." *Eng. Rev.*, LVIII, 28-43 (Jan., 1934).

- [HOWARD, SIDNEY] Krutch, J. W. "The Dramatic Variety of Sidney Howard." *Nation*, CXXXVII, 294-295 (Sept. 13, 1933).
- [KAUFMAN, G. S.] Moses, Montrose J. "George S. Kaufman." *N. Am. Rev.*, CCXXXVII, 76-83 (Jan., 1934).
- [LARDNER, RING] Fitzgerald, F. Scott. "Ring." *New Republic*, LXXVI, 254-255 (Oct. 11, 1933).
- [LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Benét, W. R. "The Earlier Lewis." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 421-422 (Jan. 20, 1934).
- [MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Powell, Charles. "The Poetry of 1933." *Manchester Guard. Weekly*, supplement, XXIX, 9 (Dec. 8, 1933).
- [MARKHAM, EDWIN] Field, Ben. "Edwin Markham, Dean of American Poets." *Overland Month.*, XCI, 147-148 (Nov., 1933).

A note by Markham "To the Poets of California" is included in the eulogy.

- [O'NEILL, EUGENE] Moses, Montrose J. "The 'New' Eugene O'Neill." *N. Amer. Rev.*, CCXXXVI, 543-549 (Dec., 1933).
- [ROBINSON, E. A.] Bates, Robert C. "Edwin Arlington Robinson's *Three Poems*." *Yale Univ. Library Gaz.*, VIII, 81-82 (Oct., 1933).

An unauthorized printing of three brief items.

- [SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Edman, Irwin. "Santayana at Seventy." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 349-350 (Dec. 16, 1933).
- [STEIN, GERTRUDE] Skinner, B. F. "Has Gertrude Stein a Secret?" *Atlantic Month.*, CLIII, 50-57 (Jan., 1934).

That part of Miss Stein's work "that does not make sense" may be the result of her experiments in "automatic writing."

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Anon. "Best Sellers, 1933." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXV, 224-225 (Jan. 29, 1934).

Devoe, Alan. "Books by the Roadside." *Atlantic Month.*, CLIII, 68-73 (Jan., 1934).

Reading tastes of the present generation as revealed by the proprietor of a roadside book-stall.

Eaton, Walter P. "The Drama in 1933." *Am. Scholar*, III, 96-101 (Winter, 1934).

English, Jack. "Can a Catholic Write a Novel?" *Am. Mercury*, XXXI, 90-95 (Jan., 1934).

Some important Catholic novels are apt to follow the present Catholic "renaissance" in America.

Field, Louise M. "American Novelists vs. the Nation." *N. Am. Rev.*, CCXXXV, 552-560 (June, 1933).

An inferiority complex has led recent novelists unduly to depreciate American life.

Hatcher, Harlan. "The Torches of Violence." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 91-99 (Feb., 1934).

The writer asserts that "realism," the war, and Freudianism developed the school of Jeffers and Faulkner, but that violence in literature is becoming outmoded.

Krutch, J. W. "Literature and Propaganda." *Eng. Jour.*, XXII, 793-802 (Dec., 1933).

The Marxian approach to literature is no more than a passing fashion.

Linford, Madeline. "Novels of the Year." *Manchester Guard. Weekly*, supplement, XXIX, 4-5 (Dec. 8, 1933).

Lüdeke, H. "Neuhumanismus und Demokratie im amerikanischen Geistesleben." *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XXI, 220-233 (May-June, 1933).

An unusually thoughtful attempt to trace intellectual currents in our literary culture.

Smith, Bernard. "The Liberals Grow Old." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 377-378 (Dec. 30, 1933).

On the "liberal" critics of present-day America.

Waldman, Milton. "Tendencies of the Modern Novel: America." *Fortnightly Rev.*, DCCCIV, 717-725 (Dec., 1933).

Brief discussion of American novelists since 1900.

Wilson, James S. "The Changing Novel." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, X, 42-52 (Jan., 1934).

The novel has repeated the experience of the race in its change from the objective to the introspective point of view.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Austin, Mary. "The Folk Story in America." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXIII, 10-19 (Jan., 1934).

Davis, A. K. and Hill, A. A. "Dialect Notes on Records of Folk Songs from Virginia." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 52-56 (Dec., 1933).

Greet, W. C. "Delmarua Speech." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 56-63 (Dec., 1933).

Hale, C. P. "A New Americanism: 'Where's Elmer?'" *N. & Q.*, CLXV, 459 (Dec. 30, 1933).

Harris, R. S. "New England Words for the Earthworm." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 12-17 (Dec., 1933).

Lomax, Alan. "'Sinful' Songs of the Southern Negro." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 105-131 (Jan., 1934).

McClintock, T. "English and American Sport Terms in German." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 42-47 (Dec., 1933).

McWhorter, A. W. "Classical Place Names in Tennessee." *Word Study*, IX, 7-8 (Nov., 1933).

Putnam, Katherine S. "Choric Verse Speaking." *Overland Month.*, XCI, 151 (Nov., 1933).

Interest in the West in "group interpretation of poetry in unison."

Read, A. W. "Pronunciation of the word 'Missouri'." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 22-36 (Dec., 1933).

Van Den Bark, M. "Nebraska Pioneer English." *Am. Speech*, VIII, 48-52 (Dec., 1933).

Wilkinson, Lupton A. "Gullah *versus* Grammar." *N. Am. Rev.*, CCXXXVI, 539-542 (Dec., 1933).

Notes on the Gullah dialect.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Brawley, Benjamin. "The Promise of Negro Literature." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XXIX, 53-59 (Jan., 1934).

Jones, H. M. "Salvaging Our Literature." *Am. Scholar*, II, 347-362 (May, 1933).

"American literature needs no apology whatsoever"—it needs interpretation.

Hunt, W. S. "Gift Books and Annuals." *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LII, 14-19 (Jan., 1934).

The annual as an index of the literary and artistic taste of America for a period of thirty years.

Mabbott, T. O. "More Early American Publications of Blake." *N. & Q.*, CLXV, 279 (Oct. 21, 1933).

———. "Correspondence of John Tomlin." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 6-7 (Jan. 6, 1934).

Two letters of Dickens to a Tennessee admirer.

Roback, A. A. "Yiddish Writing in America." *Books Abroad*, VIII, 15-17 (Jan., 1934).

BOOK REVIEWS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CHECK-LIST OF THE FIRST EDITIONS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman and Kenneth Rede. Metuchen, N. J.: C. F. Heartman, 1932. (-3) Parts I, II, III, respectively 67, 91, and 36 pp. \$2.10; \$2.10; and \$1.00.

There is a saying about "not looking a gift horse in the mouth" which should certainly be recalled by anyone reviewing this little series of booklets. These are reprints, from the columns of *The American Collector*, of the very valuable notes of two gentlemen, who planned to base a more elaborate volume on what they had done, after they had received comments from other collectors and scholars. Circumstances caused the abandonment—at least for the present—of the plan for revising the material. But any criticism offered here would have been sent the editors. It is also not my province to check for the minor accuracies in the description of items; though it is apparent that ordinarily satisfactory standards have been adhered to. And gratitude for a great amount of really useful and often novel information, must put any reviewer in a mood where he regrets that his favorable notice may seem to consist (like Mr. Poe's own "friendly" reviews) chiefly of objections and corrections. But the work is so useful, and so specialized, too, that my readers will understand my approval. And texts of a few hitherto inaccessible letters of Poe add to the value of the work.

The first brochure deals with what one generally thinks of as First Editions, that is, first printings in separate form. Here our authors have used a collector's rather than a purely scholarly standard, and listed copies only of the *First* Editions printed during the author's lifetime, the posthumous collected Griswold edition, and the play *Politian*, of 1923. Mention is however made of the issues of the second and third editions of *The Conchologist's Book*—the second of which as containing a special extra preface I should consider a bona fide "first"; and of the rare later printings of *Arthur Gordon Pym*, and the 1849 reissue of the *Tales*. One regrets that these are not treated with a notice in the census, since few books are harder to locate than the 1845 *Conchologist's* and 1849 *Tales*. It also seems to me that certain posthumous books, especially Mrs. Stanard's edition of the Valentine Museum Letters (and two or three more) are in every sense "firsts," even from the most stringent standards. The description of Poe's three tremendously rare magazine prospectuses, one of which, a variant of 1848, is really a discovery, and a glory to this volume in its

republishing, will delight every reader. But I quarrel with the inclusion of the *Balloon Hoax* Extra of the New York *Sun* among separate books. It was a special issue of a regular newspaper, and includes an amount of filler, not Poe's work, but mere news items to fill out the columns. This is a purely academic question, however; the American Antiquarian Society's copy is the only accessible specimen of this great and important rarity. Before leaving it, the attribution of the note about the hoax in the Griswold edition to "one of the editors" seems to me an excess of caution; if ever a paragraph was in Poe's own style, it is that.

For slight comments, the statement that the edition of *Al Aaraaf* was "probably not above a hundred copies" goes counter to Poe's statement that he was to have 250. I have elsewhere suggested that most of these were not bound up or issued, but I see no reason to doubt they were printed. The story of Putnam that the edition of *Eureka* was only 500 has seemed to me capable of the interpretation that so many were issued *at first*. The book seems to occur in too many libraries to have been so scarce, but it also has occurred to me that the book may have been a curiosity from its very issue, a strange book by a famous author; surely it never was read to pieces! Incidentally, who has a copy of the English edition of 1848?

A list of items attributed to Poe incorrectly in the opinion of the compilers finds me in hearty agreement throughout. But one feels that Poe was sufficiently connected with Wyatt's *Natural History* to have justified a footnote, at least, on that book.

The second little volume deals with the periodicals (and annuals) containing first publications (and other authorized issues) of Poe's works, arranged alphabetically, tolerably though not absolutely complete, but containing one or two doubtful items. To comment briefly; there is no doubt that Poe wrote for *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* for December 18, 1839; a copy of a file containing that issue is in the Historical Society at Columbus, Ohio—the only one I have seen. The *Aristidean*, though excessively rare, is probably not unique. The odd numbers in the Library of Congress could not be found when I asked for them years ago, but since Messrs. Rede and Heartman went to press I have deposited my complete file in the New York Public Library and I have heard of, but not seen, a privately owned complete file. There is no reason for the listing of incomplete files obviously lacking any issues to which Poe contributed—examples are found under *The Critic* (none of the American libraries seem to have the right one) and *The Columbia Spy*. *The Illustrated News* of 1853, with a reprint, revised by Charles Leland, of one

of Poe's articles, is a Poe item of course, but it is not worthy of a place in an exclusive list of his own writings; and the Georgetown *Metropolitan* can be admitted only by "indulgent courtesy."

Students of Poe sometimes comment on the *perversity* that seems sometimes to get into work about him. By some strange slip *The Evening Mirror* of January 29, 1845, with the first *publication* of "The Raven" is dealt with under *The New Mirror* in a curiously unsatisfactory manner. These papers should be given separate and special treatment. "The Raven" is not signed "Quarles" in *The Broadway Journal*.

Poe's writings for the Baltimore *Republican* in 1835 were mere notices of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, but he acknowledges them in letters. There was something of the same sort in the Baltimore *American*, June 15, 1835 (a paper not noted by our compilers). The Boston Public Library assures me they have not the number of the Philadelphia *Saturday Chronicle* with Poe's "Devil in the Belfry," a great disappointment, since one hoped from the note in our bibliography that it was located at last. The note on the Philadelphia *Spirit of the Times* is confusing. For the section on annuals I have no comment, except to state that I do not think the case for a contribution to *The Atlantic Souvenir* of 1830 a strong one. A copy of George Lippard's *Herbert Tracy* is at Yale, I believe.

The third volume dealing with Manuscripts will reveal what was to be guessed (and indeed was known to me in connection with the slow preparation of the projected Columbia Edition of Poe) that some of the minor letters to Poe in the Boston Public Library remain unprinted. The last sheet of *Politian* previously known only from a transcript, is located in the collection of the late Dr. Terry of Newport. The arrangement is a little confusing, some manuscript of literary work being tucked in among the letters. One curious mistake, again in connection with "The Raven," has crept in. The compilers have for some reason chosen to believe the rumor that the celebrated manuscript of that poem is in the British Museum. It is not. Though that institution possesses a *Tamerlane* (noted by our compilers), and many of the periodicals, including a complete *Broadway Journal* (a very great rarity indeed) and the complete *Critic* (which was not located apparently), the British Museum has at present but one letter of Poe, to Mrs. Lewis (Ms. Add. 31, 897, f. 1) acquired in 1881 from Ingram.

Hunter College.

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT.

THE LIFE OF MOSES COIT TYLER. By Howard Mumford Jones. Based upon an Unpublished Dissertation from Original Sources by Thomas Edgar Casady. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. 1933.

According to the Preface, Mr. Casady's "critical biography," submitted in 1929 as a dissertation, has, on his death, been taken over by Professor Jones and rewritten, with considerable addition and expansion. The result is a readable account, based largely on the letters and dairies published by Tyler's daughter in 1911, but also on other "Tyler MSS. deposited in the library of Cornell University and associated sources." The conscientious use of every possible "associated source" and the full "apparatus," making this perhaps the most copiously annotated biography on record, would satisfy even Tyler's sense of thoroughness, could he return to inspect it. There are indeed some inadvertencies: for example (p. 114), Tyler did not reconnoiter in Utica; (p. 215) he did not note that Barnum proposed exhibiting Max Müller; and (p. 338) he did not live in a rented house at 15 East Avenue. The misunderstanding at p. 215 makes Tyler unnecessarily ridiculous.

Recalling the dignified but kindly gentleman who was once my older colleague, I was somewhat disturbed by the character given him in this book. He was, it appears, uncertain in purpose, intellectually ingenuous, given to pitying and prodding himself, especially on anniversaries, and ready to indulge in various forms of pietism and evangelism. Whether affectionately or ironically, Professor Jones is inclined to first-name his hero, and his Moses sailing for England to seek converts to the new gospel of "musical gymnastics" is pleasantly reminiscent of Moses Primrose departing for the fair. How, one wonders, could the character here portrayed have erected two great "monuments" of scholarship? The letters and diaries give this portrait some confirmation, but they also, I think, exhibit other sides and give on the whole a juster impression.

This book, however, does account for Tyler's accomplishment, and therein lies its high value for the student of American literature. With all his uncertainties Tyler could summon the faculties necessary to first-class work. He had interest and devotion; he had a clearly defined scope and method; he had untiring industry; he was impartial, tolerant, and sympathetic; he had humor; and he could take endless pains to write clearly and interestingly. By men of this kind enduring work is done. This book, then, explains why the comparatively recent *Cambridge History*, in spite of some good essays, is perfunctory and negligible, while the *History of American Literature, 1607-1765*, given unity by a scholarly mind,

is still, after more than fifty years, the best on its subject. This book also shows that Tyler was a pioneer, not only as a literary historian, but as the first holder of a chair in American history, as among the first to teach his subject excellently in a modern way, and as one who took part in founding the American Historical Association, an epoch-marking event in our historical study. Further it throws interesting light on our intellectual progress. "It is a curious fact," President A. D. White notes in 1872, "and one not very credible to our nation, that at present if any person wishes to hear a full and thorough course of lectures on the history of this country, he must go to Paris or Berlin for it" (p. 209). Fortunately this is no longer the case,—though I was pained to learn, from a recent conversation with a professor from the University of Berlin, how much more generous is the provision for the study of American literature at Berlin than at Cornell. Have we yet caught up with Moses Coit Tyler? Finally, this book, even for the general reader, throws much instructive and amusing light on our culture during what Professor Jones calls the "bearded generation." On the whole, then, we can be grateful for an interesting biography.

Cornell University.

F. C. PRESCOTT.

A SURVEY OF ENGLISH DICTIONARIES. By M. M. Mathews. New York: The Oxford University Press. 1933. 123 pages. \$1.50.

The author's purpose, he states, in making this attractive little book was to give a brief account of English lexicography and to set forth some of the chief characteristics of the English dictionaries in common use. He has noticed that frequenters of dictionaries often fail to discriminate between them but consult the nearest available one for information that lies within the province of another work. Any student of the language must refer now and then to some dictionary and a brief and readable guide may be useful to him.

A short introduction sketches the sources and development of the English vocabulary. There follows a survey of English dictionaries, in chronological procession, with some characterization of them and of the periods producing them, and often with edifying or amusing citations. The initial chapter takes the reader from the Old English glossaries to 1600 and the second chapter from this period through the eighteenth century, a century bringing the epochal dictionary of Samuel Johnson with its innovations and improvements, and marked also by new interest in attempts to record pronunciation. A chapter on the nineteenth century is concerned mainly with American dictionaries, those of Webster,

Worcester, and the *Century Dictionary* and the *Standard*. Special types of dictionaries such as those of Americanisms and of dialect and slang are next brought together and differentiated. The last pages place emphasis upon the historical *Oxford English Dictionary*, the outgrowth of a project of the English Philological Society undertaken in 1858 and requiring seventy years for completion. The rise of the historical principle in lexicography is outlined and the methods of the *Oxford Dictionary* passed in review. Leading contemporary American dictionaries like the *New International* and the *New Standard* have appropriate mention.

Here and there in Mr. Mathews's book the reader comes upon interesting citations of entries, like this from Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, a British volume of 1785:

Gouge, to squeeze out a man's eye with the thumb, a cruel practice used by the Bostonians of America.

There is elaboration of the definition of *gouge* in the *Vocabulary* of the American scholar Pickering, in 1816, but he comments:

The practice itself and the name are both unknown in New England; and . . . the practice is much less general in the Southern states than it has been.

To the present reviewer, Mr. Mathews's sketches and summaries seem sound and valuable. He has attained his object of supplying something of an intelligent background for the appreciative use of dictionaries.

The University of Nebraska.

LOUISE POUND.

INVINCIBLE LOUISA: *The Story of the Author of Little Women*. By Cornelia Meigs. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1933. 260 pp. \$2.00.

The extraordinary and deserved success of *Little Women* in its recent cinema version will assist in providing a public for this admirable centennial biography of Louisa May Alcott. *Invincible Louisa* is intended primarily for the youthful; but its appeal transcends such an audience. Miss Meigs tells her inspiring tale in a style which never waxes too lyrical, but exhibits, in its flow and grace, the practiced hand of the story-teller.

Ambitious psychography she does not attempt. She avowedly refrains from exploration of the heroine's *libido*, beyond noting that Goethe in the spirit, Emerson and Theodore Parker in the flesh, were objects of her hero-worship; that she received amatory attentions which she dismissed as absurd; and that her life was too full of responsibilities to her parents, her sisters, and their children to admit of any vacancy. But Miss Meigs's interpretation is thoughtful and adequate.

The biographer sees in Miss Alcott a modern woman, eager for independence and a career, but without the modernist's clamor for 'self-expression.' Nurse in a Washington hospital during the Civil War, interested in the opening up of more varied occupations for women who must earn, a believer in suffrage for her sex, she sought no egotistic indulgence, but the right to lead a useful rather than a parasitic life and the opportunity to provide for her beloved family.

The literary significance of Miss Alcott, as *Invincible Louisa* makes clear, consists in her inauguration of a fiction for the young drawn from life, not the fancy. She possessed an early, and more or less persistent, taste for the romantic; but the unexpected success of her letters published as *Hospital Sketches* and the intelligence of her adviser, Niles of Roberts Brothers, turned her into her true *métier*. "Roderigo's Boots" surrendered to *Little Women*, the transparent chronicle of her own family.

In acclaiming her heroine, Miss Meigs happily resists the temptation to furnish her a foil. Bronson Alcott is neither the villain nor the comic relief of the piece. Imperfectly sympathetic with her father's speculative ideas and not sure that she fully comprehended him, Louisa never executed her proposed fiction for which he was to furnish the central character. But her loyalty knew no flagging. And her biographer shows a genuine appreciation of Bronson Alcott's importance as a pioneer in education and of his worth as a man of deep perceptions and uncompromising standards.

But Emerson and Parker, the most practical of the Transcendentalists, served, rather than her father, as Miss Alcott's heroes. She drew the principal figure in her novel, *Work*, from Parker; and for Emerson she cherished a life-long veneration. It falls outside the scope of Miss Meigs's book to assess the intellectual contribution these friends made to the foremost American writer of tales for the young. That they, like the Alcotts, preached and exemplified plain living, high thinking, and loyalty to one's convictions: so much is patent. Did the debt exceed this? One would welcome an exploration.

Boston University.

AUSTIN WARREN.

FARMERTYPEN NACH DEM AMERIKANISCHEN ROMAN. By Sigfrid von Koch. Hamburg: H. Schimkus. 1933. xxx, 157, xviii pp.

Now that we have had a decade in which to recover our equilibrium after the first fanatical flair over the frontier in American literature, a 140,000-word German dissertation on *Farmertypen* is apt to elicit no great enthusiasm. And when the study, written apparently with the idea of

scotching the regnant *Amerikaignoranz* in Germany ("welche stets neue Blüten im Drukke treibt"), itself rests upon a profound *Amerikaignoranz*, one almost wishes that Professors Turner and Paxson had allowed the lost frontier to lie forgotten.

Placing implicit faith in the naïve assumption that realistic novelists present life accurately and photographically, Dr. von Koch proceeds to reconstruct the American farm and frontier scene from Maine to California and from Canada to the Gulf, more or less oblivious of the tremendous distances and differences involved, by the simple expedient of adducing such evidence as thirty-one novelists offer in forty-six novels, published, with one exception, between 1871 and 1930.

The introduction, in which the author announces his plan of proceeding upon the *Strukturpsychologie* of Eduard Spranger's *Lebensformen* (Halle, 1930), raises the hope in the reader that a searching analysis and a critical synthesis will follow; but the second and third sections of the introduction, treating as they do the question, "Wer ist ein Farmer?" and the subject, "Der Werdegang des amerikanischen Farmerromans," are so inconclusively handled that doubts are involuntarily raised. Already the too-easily drawn parallels which Dr. von Koch finds between the American farmer, who has hardly had time to strike his roots, and the European peasant, with the background of centuries, appear superficial. And when, in his effort to account for the efflorescence of the *Farmerroman* from about 1871 on, he disposes of this significant question with little more than a mention of (1) the Puritan Tradition, (2) the Frontier Spirit, (3) the Civil War, and (4) Industrialism and Capitalism as the four determining factors, the reader may be forgiven if he fails to follow Dr. von Koch's line of thought. One judges, from the phraseology employed in these terms and from the all too scanty footnotes, that Dr. von Koch had read Professor Foerster's *Reinterpretation of American Literature*, Professor Pattee's *History of American Literature since 1870*, and Parrington's *Main Currents*, but it does not appear that they were sufficient to give him a real knowledge of the several factors involved in the history of American culture or a clear insight into the complexity of his task.

Once more in the introduction our hopes are raised by the intelligent queries (translated as nearly as I can render them): "From what source springs the crass pessimism of the depicter of farm life? Is it an objectively viewed, outward experience, or is it a psychological *Typus*, so innately hostile to this farm-life, that it drives him, subjectively, to damn the soil and everything connected with it?" Unfortunately, these ques-

tions are left just as they stand; neither is there a suggestion of an answer to another question raised regarding the peculiar phenomenon of the presence, in this welter of "pessimistische und kulturkritische Romane," of a few "idealistische Farmerromane."

Although the introduction is disappointing, the following 157 pages embrace more than the title indicates. Not only farmer types but almost all conceivable farmer and pioneer motifs are segregated and analyzed; and in its purely analytical aspects, this part of the work is excellently done. If Wordsworth really believed, as he professed to, that in simple types of humanity the passions and feelings of the heart attain their full maturity, and that there they can be "more accurately contemplated and more forcibly communicated" than in sophisticated people, he would doubtless have rejoiced over the minute and precise psychological craftsmanship of Dr. von Koch. Doubtless, however, Wordsworth would have been chagrined to find so little made of these hundreds of analytical case studies, for of synthesis or conclusion the book is entirely innocent.

Equally disappointing is Dr. von Koch's failure to give his work historical perspective. Even though the earlier American plantation novels and the works of the early local colorists are little to his immediate purpose, one does not usually wholly dissociate them from the twentieth-century farm novel. Unlike *Topsy*, the novel of the soil did not just happen. One expects to read something about antecedents; one is not quite ready to concede to the writers of doctoral dissertations the epic poet's privilege of beginning *in medias res*. In short, one may demand of theses some semblance of the Aristotelean beginning, middle, and end. Dr. von Koch gives us the trunk of a critical organism, but provides it with neither feet nor head.

With regard to the novels examined, the list, ranging as it does from Edward Eggleston's *A Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871) to Josephine Donovan's *Black Soil* (1930), is fairly inclusive; yet one has the feeling that the omission of such "exhibits" as William Faulkner's novels is a serious fault, while the almost complete silence on the subject of the *Michael-motif* (slight though it may be) is not defensible.

From the point of view of arrangement, the book leaves much to be desired. The division into three chapters of (1) farmer types, (2) pioneer types, and (3) modern farmer types involves an indistinctness of classification, an awkward overlapping, and an endless repetition, which, in the absence of an index, form stumbling-blocks to whoever would consult the work for reference purposes; while the entirely superfluous appendices (not summaries or conclusions) sandwiched between the

chapters unnecessarily interrupt the already too slender thread and sequence of thought.

In so far as form in bibliography and footnotes is concerned, the word chaotic is hardly strong enough; and the uncritical use of quotations from secondary sources argues a general slovenliness of method that one is not prepared to find in dissertations emanating from the University of Hamburg.

Mississippi State College.

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

MIKE FINK, KING OF MISSISSIPPI KEELBOATMEN. By Walter Blair and Franklin J. Meine. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1933. 283 pp. \$3.00.

The fact that little save legend is known about Mike Fink has probably deterred more than one person interested in the folk-lore of the American frontier from writing his life. It has proved no hindrance to the enterprise of Messrs. Blair and Meine. On the contrary, it appears to have only whetted their zest for the task. And they have succeeded admirably in carrying it out. Not that they have written what could properly be called in any sense a biography of their hero. They have done something much better than that. They have pieced together what is in all probability as nearly a complete set of documents concerning the strenuous and uproarious activities of the "half-horse, half-alligator" men of our inland water-ways as will ever be assembled in a single volume. And the result is both most diverting and informative reading. The King of the Mississippi Keelboatmen is adequately presented, of course, and made as convincingly alive as possible by means of the variant renderings of the legendary accounts of him that intermittently sprang up along the lurid trail of his career—from scouting Indians as a boy, through his rise to preëminence among the river crews, as much by the weight of his fist as by his skill in slipping past a snag, to his death (of which there are *eleven* versions) as a trapper on the upper reaches of the Missouri.

More important, however, and no less interesting, are the settings and the general background which have been provided for the tall-tale escapades of the lusty Mike and his fellows. Seemingly every relevant detail of pioneer life and mores upon, or adjacent to, the early travel routes of the Great Valley has been brought into the picture. Especially worth noting in this connection are the touches of regional color and flavor preserved in the snatches of frontier speech reproduced, for through them as through no other medium is disclosed the element of comedy without which existence along the fringes of beginning settlement would

have been well-nigh impossible. A good deal more than backwoods crudity is recorded in the following sample, for instance:

I told him he lied; he told me I lied. I spit in his face; he spit in my face. I kicked him; he kicked me. I tripped him up; he tripped me up. I struck him and knocked him down; he got up and knocked me down. I then got mad; he got mad and we were going to fight when the saloon keeper got between us.

Messrs. Blair and Meine have been generously meticulous in acknowledging the sources of much of their material, and have thereby performed another invaluable service for students of our frontier annals. Their mention of the work of Emerson Bennett, of Morgan Neville, and particularly of J. M. Field furnishes clues for research that will richly repay further exploration and re-discovery. Not the least virtue of their book is the proof it affords that such investigations offer opportunity for happily combining scholarship and hilarity.

Reed College.

V. L. O. CHITTICK.

CONSTANTIA: *A Study of the Life and Works of Judith Sargent Murray, 1751-1820* (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 17). By Vena Bernadette Field. Orono, Maine: The University Press. 1931. 118 pp. Boards, \$1.00; Paper, .50.

The University of Maine Studies in English, under the expert direction of Dr. Milton Ellis, have become for students of American literature synonymous with painstaking scholarship. This study of the author of the once admired "Gleaner" essays is not an exception. It is a highly workman-like account of a writer whose periodical essay series was preceded only by those of Freneau and Noah Webster.

Although Mrs. Murray's chief wish was to "descend with celebrity to posterity," Miss Field is the first to recognize that her subject still remains as a very minor figure in the history of our letters. The author wisely emphasizes the representative quality rather than the intrinsic worth of Mrs. Murray's productions. She has pointed out the pioneer nature of much of her work as the first native dramatist to appear on the Boston stage and "probably the first American woman to have her plays professionally produced." Despite the fact that Mrs. Murray shared many of the prejudices of her contemporaries against fiction, her story of Margareta, which winds its way through *The Gleaner* has many of the elements which form the basis of our first novels. She was also a pioneer in America in her sincere advocacy of the intellectual quality of the sexes.

Miss Field's industry has unearthed many interesting items about Mrs. Murray's early life in Gloucester and her friendly relations with such

contemporaries as President John Adams, Joseph Dennie, and Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton. Some confusion results from a misprint (p. 23) of the date of Mrs. Stevens's marriage intentions to the Rev. Mr. John Murray, which should read 1787, not a decade later, but the monograph is free from slips and inconsistencies in the handling of details. Miss Fields was perhaps too conscientious in her desire to comment upon so many of Mrs. Murray's poems, which serve only to emphasize the superiority of her prose. The quotations, however, are successfully integrated with the text. The essay, along with the earlier publications in this series, is invaluable to any one who wishes to study the minor writers in the literature of the post-Revolutionary period.

Bowdoin College.

HERBERT BROWN.

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS: *His Day*. By Fairfax Downey. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1933. x, 322 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Downey has written a lively, energetic account of the life and adventures of Richard Harding Davis as a journalist of international reputation, as an author of short stories and novels, and as a model for the Gibson Man. The biographer has had the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, Miss Hope Harding Davis, Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Mr. Martin Egan, and others, including even "those who frankly disliked Mr. Davis." The book is equipped with slightly over seven pages of index, forty-seven illustrations, and an account of Davis's mother, Rebecca Harding Davis, reprinted from *The Colophon*.

As a book designedly written for the general reader, the emphasis placed on the adventures of Davis as a globe-trotting reporter of wars and national spectacles seems appropriate.

But for the more practiced or inquisitive reader the book may be somewhat disappointing. Mr. Downey has not considered it within his province to treat at any length Davis's writings; for many readers the book will lack adequate exposition and analysis in this department. Even Professor F. L. Pattee, in his limited account of Davis in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, lists three books of fiction which I do not find by title in the index to Mr. Downey's book. Furthermore, though Mr. H. C. Quinby's bibliography of Davis's works may "obviate" necessity for a bibliography by Mr. Downey, it would seem that dates might have been more frequently inserted in the text without discouraging the general reader. Many persons will notice the lack of precise dating in some convenient manner.

Western Reserve University.

LYON N. RICHARDSON.

AMERICAN LITERATURE: Edited by Thomas H. Briggs, Max J. Herzberg, and Emma Miller Bolenius. Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Company. [1933.] (In the series Literature in the Senior High School.) xx, 764 pp.

EXPLORATIONS IN LITERATURE: *American Writers*. By Edwin L. Miller. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company. [1933.] xlii, 802 pp. \$1.96.

Concerning *American Literature* and *American Writers* it should be observed at once that they are textbooks in literature rather than histories of American letters. They emanate from a widespread desire to make the instruction in our secondary schools more vital. Toward this goal the authors or editors of the two books have taken divergent paths. Both, to be sure, include some account of our writers, selections from their works, and editorial assistance to teacher and student. But their prescriptions for improving the teaching of literature are dissimilar in all these elements. The nature of the dissimilarity may be illustrated in their treatment of the history of American literature. Mr. Miller writes about 150,000 words which, with the accompanying selections in successive chapters, fill the whole book. Dr. Briggs employs fewer than 42,000 words and tucks his account away in the back behind more than six hundred pages of selections. The first author attempts "to tell the story of the United States by means of the lives and writings of the authors." Dr. Briggs merely wishes "to orient the class in the social, economic, and literary background of each period." So much for the announced intention. In performance the major part of the space in each is given over to notices of individual authors. The larger movements in American life, the distinguishing qualities of successive periods, the environmental peculiarities that give authors their personal outlook on the world—all these are for the most part left out of account. Mr. Miller is not afraid of superlatives: "*The Virginian*," he asseverates, "is probably the best story of the cowboy period that ever has been or ever will be written." He possesses the courage to stand by his convictions. Robert Frost gets 100 words of comment and biography, Edgar Guest 175, and a young friend, George Davis, nearly 1400. H. L. Mencken and Heywood Broun are merely named. Dr. Briggs is less individual. His history, which is twenty-eight per cent as long as the other, devotes 44 words to Mencken, 58 to Broun, and 200 to Frost. Both histories descend at times to the methods of the card catalogue. It is puzzling to find two prominent educators confident that high-school students can carry away more than a confused notion from reading a series of notices thirty to fifty words long, each tersely summarizing judgments that critics have arrived at

only after wide analytical reading. Perhaps, however, in this respect the authors are not radically different from other makers of textbooks. At any rate it is as textbooks rather than as histories of our literature that these volumes are to be judged.

*Evander Childs High School,
New York City.*

DUDLEY MILES.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE: *In the Classes 1690-1700.* With Bibliographical and Other Notes. By Clifford K. Shipton. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press. 1933. x, 574 pp. \$7.50.

The present volume marks the addition of volume four to J. L. Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," a reference work of inestimable value to all researchers in the history and culture of early New England. The bibliographies, with finding lists, of the works of the various divines and others, frequently known to Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall, are of great help to the literary student, as are also the incidental details dealing with libraries and reading scattered through the neatly executed biographical sketches. For example: Thomas Buckingham, setting out in 1710 as chaplain of the Port Royal expedition, took along with him not only a bottle of rum and clove-water, a Bible, and a Psalm-book, but a copy of Milton's *Comus* (p. 31); and Ephraim Little during his senior year at college (1695) purchased a "well-thumbed copy" of Milton's *Logic* which had already belonged to a member of the class of 1693 (p. 248).

Of special interest to the student of letters and thought in early New England may be the sketches of the following: Paul Dudley, founder of the Dudleian Lectures; Samuel Mather, brother of Cotton Mather, who may have helped Samuel Sewall edit the Latin poems of Abraham Cowley; Timothy Edwards, who, like his son Jonathan, had difficulties with his parishioners; Benjamin Colman, a splendid example of colonial cultivation, and the subject of the first full-length biography in American literature; Hugh Adams, an eccentric clergyman, some of whose bad verses appear in print for the first time on pages 331-332; Samuel Moody, author of a sermon on *The Doleful State of the Damned*, which will gratify the "modern" critic of Puritanism; John Bulkley, a frontier scholar who quoted Locke freely; Jeremiah Dummer, the sprightly Colonial Agent who induced Dick Steele to present complete sets of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* to Yale College; Samuel Niles, a bitter opponent of Whitefield, and the author of an epic poem on the Louisburg expedition;

and John Winthrop, "second of the name to become a Fellow of the Royal Society," who truthfully wrote to his wife:

I am a Silent, humble, and Retired Philosopher, that had rather be acquainted with Wisdom, and Art! then have the World think I know any thing. . . .

The volume is a "veritable mine" of information, expertly contrived, and in every respect worthy of its eminent predecessors.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

FRANK NORRIS'S LITERARY REPUTATION

PAUL H. BIXLER

Le Roy, Michigan

I

IN 1898 the outlook for American literature was little different from what it had been for a generation. Popular prejudice against a sense of reality in fiction ruled the literary world behind walls that seemed impregnable. At that time William Dean Howells was still fighting for his favorite variety of realism, "the impartial fidelity of the photograph," and was but little nearer acceptance by the body of American critics and readers than at his beginning twelve years before. His own novels were considered by many uninteresting. His sponsorship of Hamlin Garland and of Stephen Crane seemed a lost battle; when *The Red Badge of Courage* became successful, he disclaimed it for lack of the realistic faith.¹

Entered Frank Norris, last and most powerful of Howells's protégés. His reception, in spite of his sponsor's aid, was cold. Yet in little more than two years after his second novel had burst upon the critics like a sudden drenching out of the West, they were reversing themselves and saying in print that here was a young man who might some day write the mythical Great American Novel. What Howells's calculated criticism had been powerless to do, Norris's wild, crushing vitality easily accomplished. After *McTeague* and *A Man's Woman*² had come *The Octopus*; with this third attack, the adamantine walls of cloistered criticism were battered off their foundation. It remained for *The Pit* to push them inward on the inhabitants.

II

In spite of the limitations of Howells's literary creed, it would be difficult in the history of American literature to find a critic who had a better eye for the important writers of his own day. In the case of Norris, his alertness was extraordinary; although *Moran of the Lady*

¹"Frank Norris," *The North American Review*, CLXXV, 770-771 (Oct., 1902).

²I omit *Moran of the Lady Letty* and *Blix* from discussion; the first was ignored, and the other was, as *The Chautauquan* for December, 1899 (XXX, 329) so properly remarked, "an hour's excellent entertainment."

Letty was a sea romance, written for newspaper serialization, he saw enough quality in it to give Norris immediate critical attention. Superficially, the novel might have been written by any one of a number of young men who had respectfully studied their Stevenson and their Kipling; carefully read, it exhibited some of the power of movement and of the emphasis on detail which were to become Norris's characteristics.

Upon the appearance of *Moran* in book form, Howells compared it in *Literature*^{2a} to minute advantage with another first novel, Will Payne's *The Money Captain*. He spoke of his excitement over portions of the book, though he hastily added, "I do not consider my own gasps criticism." The story was clever, he believed, and most of the characters real. Other reviews of the novel in the major periodicals of the day numbered a mere four; each of them, anonymous, was but little more than a bare notice.³

That Howells's attention was an inspiration to the young novelist we cannot doubt. Charles Norris has recounted in a foreword to *Frank Norris of "The Wave"* (San Francisco, 1931) some of the hindrances put in the way of his brother's choice of a profession. Though his mother could vaguely appreciate something of the youthful author's ambitions, his father was early incensed over what he believed to be a case of wasted young manhood. Frank, perhaps narrowly, missed a career in the elder Norris's wholesale jewelry business. Later when he attended the University of California, there was no one in either the French or English departments to reflect his interest in literature. It was in the single and final college year at Harvard that he found in Professor L. E. Gates someone sympathetic to his literary growing pains. It was to Gates that he dedicated *McTeague*, a good portion of which was written under that teacher's kindly guidance.

With the appearance of this second novel (*McTeague* was written before, but published six months after, *Moran*) Howells's criticism began to take on a greater importance than simple encourage-

^{2a} III, 577-578 (Dec. 17, 1898).

³ *Public Opinion*, XXV, 473 (Oct. 18, 1898).

The Literary World, XXIX, 404 (Nov. 26, 1898).

Munsey's Magazine, XX, 653 (Jan., 1899).

The Independent, L, 1129 (Oct. 20, 1898).

ment. In the columns of *Literature* for March 24, 1899³ he was so incautious in joy over his most recent discovery as to exclaim: "The time may come at last when we are to invade and control Europe in literature. I do not say that it has come, but if it has we may have to employ European means and methods." The last is a reference to the obvious influence of Zola, whom Howells did not admire so much as he did the Russian and Spanish realists of the period. *McTeague* was "altogether a remarkable book." Its weaknesses were "the insistence on the love-making of those silly elders," "the anti-climax . . . in the alkali desert," and a lack of beauty. The last was important; the novel was "a little inhuman . . . distinctly not for the walls of living rooms, where the ladies of the family sit and the children go in and out."

In a letter to Howells, Norris expressed his pleasure over the review and added that "it has encouraged me more than anything that has ever been said of my work."⁴ Concerning the imperfections noted, he showed himself even more confused than his champion:

I believe too, you were quite right in saying that it was not the whole truth, and that the novel that is true to life cannot afford to avoid the finer things. I agree in every one of your criticisms always excepting the anti-climax, the "death in the desert" business. I am sure that it has its place.

One other critic besides Howells was enthusiastic. John D. Barry, New York correspondent for *The Literary World*, devoted two columns of one of his bi-weekly letters to *McTeague*. In his judgment the novel placed Norris in the front rank of American writers, "beside Mary Wilkins and Howells, and Stephen Crane."⁵ This was too much for Barry's Boston editors, who were astonished, not to say mortified, over his opinion. Two weeks later in a leading article they rebuked him with a withering blast, the burden of which was that "Mr. Norris has written pages for which there is absolutely no excuse, and his needless sins against good taste and delicacy are fatal spots upon his work."⁶

³ *N.s.* I, 241-242.

⁴ Mildred Howells, *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (Garden City, 1928), II, 102.

⁵ *The Literary World*, XXX, 88 (March 18, 1899).

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXX, 99 (April 1, 1899).

The fiercest denunciation came from a lady named Nancy Huston Banks. Some of her words are worth recording:

The passing of morbid realism has never been quite so complete as the healthy-minded hoped it would be, when it was swept out of sight five or six years ago by the sudden on-rush of ideality and romance which arose like a fresh, sweet wind to clear the literary atmosphere. In this resistless new movement toward light and hope and peace, these black books were cast aside and forgotten, and there was fair hope for a time that the celebration of the painful and unclean had passed from fiction forever.⁷

It was her deep regret that "now just as hope approached security," *McTeague* and another realistic novel⁸ had appeared, "surpassing almost all examples of realism in modern story writing, and rivaling the utmost efforts of the ancients in this peculiar respect." With two minor exceptions,⁹ other reviews exhibited much the same attitude, though toned down and in some cases accompanied by an obscure impression of the author's force.¹⁰

⁷ *The Bookman*, IX, 356, (June, 1899).

⁸ *The Maternity of Harriott Wicken*, by Mrs. Henry Dudeney. Both novels, reviewed together, were deemed bad, but of the two *McTeague* was the worse.

⁹ In the column by "The Lounger," *The Critic*, XXXIV, 388 (May, 1899), appears a single paragraph of favorable criticism. A characteristic sentence: "It is a realistic story, horribly realistic, but it is never coarse; it is also a strong story."

The Literary Era, VI, 178 (June, 1899), contained another favorable paragraph review. After mentioning Howells's praise of *Moran of the Lady Letty*, the critic says of *McTeague*: "The story is harsh, even brutal at times, owing to its environment; but never perhaps has the curse of money been more overwhelmingly presented by an American writer."

¹⁰ *The Book Buyer*, XVIII, 224 (April, 1899). After recounting the details of *McTeague's* daily life, the critic says: "Who is there that will not vanish, if possible, under the provocation of a snore? Who is so strong as not to be willing to flee from the dentist?"

The Independent, LI, 968 (April 6, 1899): "It [*McTeague*] has no moral, esthetical or artistic reason for being."

The New York Times (March 11, 1899): "It is not wise to condemn a method strong enough to produce this result, but it seems to us to be a method that must be regarded as a preparation for art, and not as art itself."

The Outlook, LXI, 646 (March 18, 1899): "It is a misfortune that he should have devoted so much skill and virility to a description of a life . . . so repulsive in its habit and quality."

Public Opinion, XXVI, 347 (March 16, 1899): ". . . we must express regret that he should have followed the fashion set by so many of our younger writers in searching out the degraded side of humanity."

Review of Reviews, XIX, 749 (June, 1899): "It is about the most unpleasant American story that anybody has ever ventured to write."

Charles Howard Shinn in "Literature of the Pacific Coast," *The Forum*, XXVIII, 256 (Oct., 1899): "To many of us [critics on the West Coast] 'McTeague' seems to hold nothing equal to the best episodes of 'Moran of the Lady Letty'."

The Land of Sunshine, XI, 117 (July, 1899). The reviewer for this West Coast period-

There followed almost immediately the least of Norris's longer works. In another six months appeared *Blix*, and in another six *A Man's Woman*; Norris was racing his creative faculty as though in premonition of his death, to come three years later. Another pair of novels—written only a short time apart by the same author, yet separated by so great a difference in subject matter, style, and technique—it would be difficult to find. The first is an autobiographical novelette, a love story considerably different from the rest of his novels; somewhat clever but without importance, it may be explained by reference to his short pieces done some years earlier for *The San Francisco Wave*. Except for one review, the book was generally ignored by the critics.¹¹ In the columns of *Literature*, which, though it had lost Howells and was no longer published in the United States, still owned a number of American readers, appeared an article exposing the vain shams of Condy Rivers, the hero. Rivers, who is an undisguised representation of the youthful Norris, supposedly compounds his fictions out of life; yet as the critic points out, the real Norris has used incidents bewhiskered with age.¹²

ical calls *McTeague* both a "hideous story" and "a fine and powerful piece of work" and ranks it considerably below two other novels: *The Procession of Life*, by Horace Annesley Vachell, and *A Soul in Bronze*, by Constance Stoddard Du Bois.

¹¹ There were five other short notices, four of them favorable:

The Chautauquan, XXX, 329 (Dec., 1899).

The Independent, LI, 2830 (Oct. 19, 1899).

Public Opinion, XXVII, 538 (Oct. 26, 1899).

The Land of Sunshine, XI, 353 (Nov., 1899).

A. S. van Westrum in *The Book Buyer*, XIX, 298 (Nov., 1899), reported unfavorably on the novel.

¹² *Literature*, V, 449-450 (Nov. 17, 1899). The critic notes that Rivers supposedly "goes direct to nature for both essentials and details" of his writing. Yet Rivers "becomes acquainted with a certain Captain Jack, who appears to be an incarnate Sunday Supplement" and who leads the youthful author off on a tale of whiskey sunk in the mud of the Mississippi River, a story appearing "with a wealth of detail in a New York Sunday paper a couple of years ago."

There is also Captain Jack's wife, whose conversations are arranged in alphabetical order, because she has bought an encyclopedia on the instalment plan and can read only as far as the most recently delivered book of the set. This joke, according to the critic, "was at least contemporary with the jackal, jellyfish, jabberwock, and all the other creatures with names beginning in 'J'."

Further, there is the telegram ("All is discovered. Fly at once.") sent to a man whom Blix and Rivers wish to get out of the way. The critic continues: "When last the writer saw this anecdote it was credited to Dr. Conan Doyle, and was rather better than in its present form, for the author of 'Sherlock Holmes' had addressed the telegram to the most stainless bishop of his acquaintance, who promptly passed off the map."

"But the intention is not to prove that Mr. Norris plagiarized. To use such material as has been referred to is quite defensible, but why did he not let his hero do the same? There

Perhaps no other novel caused Norris so much labor as *A Man's Woman*. It became popular,¹³ possibly because of the wide-spread interest in arctic exploration at the turn of the century. On the surface, the novel offered Norris unusual possibilities for his romantic-realistic talents. It fails to come off, however. It is never quite real, though the Zola influence is nowhere else more obvious. In spite of its popular reception, the contemporary reviews were not so many as in the case of *McTeague*, and for the most part the more detailed and careful the criticism, the more heartily it condemned the book.¹⁴ Howells was silent, as he had also been in the case of *Blix*. But at least in one quarter his heaven had belatedly begun to work. In a general view of Norris after the appearance of this fourth novel as a newspaper serial, Frederic Tabor Cooper¹⁵ respectfully referred to both of the elder critic's estimates in *Literature*. Cooper accepted his "discovery" to the full and believed that *A Man's Woman* surpassed anything of Norris yet published.

Thus was the way fumblingly prepared for *The Octopus*. Howells's valiant sponsorship and the natural erosion of Norris's previous publication had perhaps less to do with the success of this first volume in the Trilogy of the Wheat than the qualities of the book itself. The sweep of the novel was dazzling, more tremendous than anything since *Moby Dick*,¹⁶ for contrast and relief Norris had introduced a mystic, Vanamee, a feat of which few had believed him capable; and the sexual symbolism, a naturalistic element, caused no uproar, for it dealt principally with what most Americans

are many excellent writers who have large scrap-books and use them freely, and the opinion is growing that when 'the Great American Novel' is finally written it will be in collaboration with Mr. Romeike. Mr. Norris evidently believes so, although he does not allow Rivers to believe anything of the kind."

¹³ In two paper editions, it will be noted, the novel sold 38,698 copies.

¹⁴ *The New York Times* for Feb. 10, 1900, was antagonized by what it termed "Mr. Norris's Ultra Realism"; and *The Book Buyer* for April, 1900 (XX, 237), described the novel as "melodrama, Sardou at his worst." Other unfavorable reviews were in *The Outlook*, LXIV, 486 (March 3, 1900) and *The Overland Monthly*, XXXV, 476 (May, 1900).

Favorable reviews appeared in *The Independent*, LII, 611 (March 8, 1900); *Public Opinion*, XXVIII, 281 (March 1, 1900); *The Critic*, XXXVI, 352 (April, 1900); *The Land of Sunshine*, XII, 385 (May, 1900).

¹⁵ *The Bookman*, X, 234-238 (Nov., 1899).

¹⁶ In *The North American Review*, CLXXV, 769-778 (Oct., 1902), Howells noted the epic quality and the breadth of Norris's work. Of *The Octopus*, which he thought Norris's best novel, he wrote: "It will not be suggesting too much for the story to say, that there is a kind of Homeric largeness in the play of the passions moving it."

fondly knew as Mother Earth. The first trade printing sold beyond 33,000, a number indicating a considerable popularity, though not sufficient to restrain Howells a year and a half later from charging that Norris had not been sufficiently appreciated.¹⁷ Criticism was highly favorable; according to Howells, the novel was "a great book, simple, sombre, large and of a final authority as the record of a tragical passage of American, of human events";¹⁸ and A. S. van Westrum thought that it fixed "his place in American literature as the most promising of its coming novelists."¹⁹ In the chorus of good opinion²⁰ there was only one dissenting voice. *The Atlantic Monthly*, which a year later was to accept *The Pit* as an indictment of American finance, believed that "certain racial prescriptions of taste and style" had been deplorably ignored.²¹

III

Many critics today profess to see in *The Octopus* scattered evidence of a falling away from the naturalistic ideal which Norris had set himself out of Zola. Whether or not this idea is true, the author had clearly over-written his material, he had inserted a melodramatic anticlimax, and he had flinched from drawing the strong but obvious conclusion which he had certainly prepared for. In spite of these imperfections the novel, read today, has power.

Few critics would say as much for *The Pit*, which had considerably the greater fame. Its realism seems thin²² although most of the great public which took the book to its bosom believed it "the horrible truth." Norris's and Howells's popular triumph was, after all, a little shabby.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "The Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's Magazine*, CIII, 824 (Oct., 1901).

¹⁹ *The Book Buyer*, XXII, 326 (May, 1901).

²⁰ See *The Overland Monthly*, XXXVII, 1050-1051 (May, 1901); *The Bookman*, XIII, 245-247 (May, 1901); *The Arena*, XXVII, 547-554 (May, 1902); *The Chautauquan*, XXXIII, 539 (Aug., 1901); *Munsey's Magazine*, XXV, 760 (Aug., 1901); *The World's Work*, II, 782 (May, 1901); *The Current Encyclopedia*, I, 267 (Sept. 15, 1901); *The Land of Sunshine*, XV, 58 (July, 1901).

The Independent, LIII, 1139 (May 16, 1901), *The Outlook*, LXVII, 923 (April 20, 1901), and *The Dial*, XXXI, 136 (Sept., 1901), were somewhat cool toward the novel, though hardly antagonistic.

²¹ *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIX, 709 (May, 1901).

²² An interesting note on this point is to be found in Floyd Dell's "Chicago in Fiction," *The Bookman*, XXXVIII, 270-274 (Nov., 1913).

Something of the manner in which *The Pit* was written may be gathered from a story told about the author at the time the book was published. Norris's knowledge of the stock market was not intimate; during the composition of his last novel, he occasionally consulted Edwin Lefevre, author of *Wall Street Stories*, in order to have explained to him the inner secrets of "corners" and other speculative phenomena of the times. One evening Lefevre attempted the description of a panic, painting for his friend's benefit the riotous scene of crashing fortunes and of ruined financiers on the floor of the Exchange. Presently he selected one broker in particular and followed him, till finally crushed, the man stumbled blindly out into a corridor. The incident continues:

So far, Mr. Lefevre had told only what he had seen, all too often with his own eyes. But at this point, carried away by his own story, he yielded to the temptation to fake a dramatic conclusion, and he told how the man was still striding restlessly, aimlessly along the corridor, when the elevator shot past and someone shouted "Down!" and the ruined man, his mind still bent on the falling market, continued his nervous striding, gesticulating fiercely and repeating audibly, "Down! down! down!" "There you are!" interrupted Mr. Norris, springing up excitedly; "there you are! That is one of those things no novelist could invent!" "And yet," adds Mr. Lefevre in telling the story, "it was the one bit of fake in my whole description."²³

The record of *The Pit* was phenomenal. During the months of January and February, 1903, it was the best-selling novel in the United States. The first trade printings sold within a few of 95,000 copies, three times the figure for *The Octopus*, which had itself been accounted a successful novel. In May, 1904, libraries showed more demands for it than for any other book of recent publication. For the cheaper reprint that followed in 1906 the sales figure reads more than 87,000.²⁴

²³ *The Bookman*, XV, 441 (Jan., 1903). Norris was completely confused in his theories about his art. It is interesting to compare this story with the criticism of *Blix* in *Literature*, V, 449-450 (Nov. 17, 1899), already noted, and then to examine his profession of artistic faith in *The Responsibilities of the Novelist*.

²⁴ It is probable that some of the popular interest in *The Pit* was allied to interest in the work of the muckrakers. At the moment of Norris's death in October, 1902, there was appearing in the current number of *McClure's Magazine* the first article by Lincoln Steffens concerned with what was later to be titled *The Shame of the Cities*. More than half the sales of *The Pit* came after 1906, when the appearance of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* stirred

A play was made of the story with Wilton Lackaye, previously the heavy-jowled Svengali in *Trilby*, playing the rôle of Curtis Jadwin. Audiences nightly gasped at the pit scene in which more than a hundred supers ranted and rushed about the stage simulating financial frenzy. The piece was so trashy that a reviewer remarked: "If Frank Norris were to see this work of his presented on the stage, assuredly his ghost would walk."²⁵ But the play continued popularly successful.

Most of the book reviewers fell over themselves in praise. Three critics dared to note the hurried writing,²⁶ a fourth thought the subject improper,²⁷ and a fifth believed the novel a retrogression from *The Octopus*.²⁸ But in nine other reviews appreciation ran all the way from the simple belief that *The Pit* was Norris's last and best novel to fatuousness.²⁹ The criticism in general seems misleading,

Theodore Roosevelt to use the term "muck-raking" for the first time. Many who read *The Pit* about that time still think of it in that category. Norris would probably not have understood the term as applied to his work, nor could he have been wholly pleased with it.

²⁵ *The Theatre Magazine*, IV, 57 (Jan., 1904).

²⁶ *The Dial*, XXXIV, 242 (April 1, 1903) and *Harper's Weekly*, XLVII, 433 (March 14, 1903) flatly noted this weakness. *The New York Times* (Jan. 31, 1903) said: "Nature made Mr. Norris a marvelously accurate observer of the life around him, and to this gift added the creative imagination, but she did not endow him with an instinctive knowledge that the right word is worth a long search, and he had not discovered it for himself."

²⁷ *The Independent*, LV, 331 (Feb. 5, 1903): "... the final impression of the book is not far from a glorification of the basest passions in the American character."

²⁸ *The Literary World*, XXXIV, 54 (March, 1903): "As a book *The Pit* is interesting; as a companion to *The Octopus* it is a bit disappointing."

²⁹ A. S. van Westrum in *The Lamp* (successor to *The Book Buyer*), XXVI, 56 (Feb., 1903): "... it is one of the finest, strongest pictures yet penned of our present-day life, with its strong, if hidden, distinction between the male and female element."

Albert Bigelow Paine in *The Bookman*, XVI, 565 (Feb., 1903): "It is the skilled work of the mature artist who pursues his idea in a straight line, gaining impetus and power with every page, rising at last to fine and triumphant achievement that brings the reader to his feet, takes him out of himself, leaves him at last in the realization that a big book—a bit of real literature—is in his hands."

Arthur Goodrich in *The Boston Evening Transcript*, quoted in *Current Literature*, XXXIII, 764 (Dec., 1902): "... *The Pit* alone will give Norris the permanent place he was certain to take in our literary history."

The Outlook, LXXIII, 152 (Jan. 17, 1903): "... in the handling of his main theme 'The Pit' shows the touch of a master."

Harriet Waters Preston in *The Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 691 (May, 1903): "But when after the silence of a year or two, Mr. Norris took up his pen again in *The Pit*, and resumed his gallant crusade, one saw, at a glance, how the youthful paladin had altered and matured. He had dropped the dithyrambic note, and in this which was destined to remain the last word of his grave parable he speaks as a seer no longer, but as a man of the Western world, —alert, collected, fearless, and with power fully ripe."

The Chautauquan, XXXVII, 100 (April, 1903): "Stronger fiction than this, in our opinion, has not been produced by writers of this generation in America."

a fact hardly surprising in view of the turn of events. There was, for example, the famous and respected novelist who began his criticism:

Two hearts that beat as one, estranged by prosperity and by adversity united in the happy and solemn end; this, stated in its simplest terms, is the theme of "The Pit"—a theme as old as the hills, and all the better for being so.³⁰

The Pit was not a good novel perhaps, but it is hard to believe it as bad as all that.

IV

Unluckily, what Howells thought of this public triumph we do not know. Following Norris's death he carefully evaluated the work of his protégé in *The North American Review*. But although at the time the article was written, *The Pit* had been running serially in *The Saturday Evening Post* for several weeks, the novel is nowhere mentioned. Nor did Howells later make any reference to it. Whether he believed it deserved its fame or whether, as in the case of *The Red Badge of Courage*, he quietly repudiated it, no one can say, though the better guess would be the latter. *The Pit* must have widened the distinct difference, which always existed between the two men, in their ideas about the novel as an art form. Howells's silence is partially explained by the fact that he seems to have grown tired of the fight for realism. We have the word of Delmar Gross Cooke, the chief student of his criticism, that Howells and Henry Harper agreed in 1900 that the battle had been a losing one;³¹ in the "Easy Chair" of *Harper's Magazine*, which the veteran critic occupied from that time until his death, it was never actively renewed.

After *The Pit* little was published that added to its author's

The Nation, LXXVI, 276 (April 2, 1903): "The Pit" offers a wondrously vivid representation of the swirl and pull of the 'undiked Ocean of the Wheat' as it surges round the Chicago Board of Trade."

The New York Herald, quoted by *The Literary News*, n.s. XXIV, 34 (Feb., 1903): "In 'The Pit' he becomes more distinctly the founder of a new school, which preludes a French Norris."

Public Opinion, XXXIV, 121 (Jan. 22, 1903): "In this story of the wheat pit Mr. Norris has written his last and best work."

³⁰ Owen Wister in *The World's Work*, V, 3133 (Feb., 1903).

³¹ Delmar Gross Cooke, *William Dean Howells* (New York, 1922), p. 63.

reputation; this in spite of the fact that short stories, essays, and articles, all previously published in newspapers or magazines, were collected to the extent of five volumes.³² Norris was not an essayist, nor could he handle short fiction with more than average results. The scattered reviews of these books were not flattering;³³ the critics had come to expect something more from Norris than clever journalism.

More important than all of these was the posthumous *Vandover and the Brute*, which appeared in 1914. This novel, written as early as *McTeague*, contains two passages as fine as anything to be found elsewhere in Norris. Further, it is the only work in which he has throughout hewed to the naturalistic line; the romantic impulse for once was thoroughly subdued. In more recent times the comment has been widely and perhaps too emphatically made that the novel was so starkly realistic as to be unpublishable at the turn of the century. It is well to note that the theme of the book is essentially juvenile—the fatal struggle of a boy against his wicked tendencies. The tone is deadly serious and there is no perspective.

³² *A Deal in Wheat and Other Stories*, 1903.

The Responsibilities of the Novelist, 1903.

The Third Circle, 1909.

Collected Writings, Volume X of the Complete Edition, 1928.

Frank Norris of "The Wave," 1931.

³³ Of *A Deal in Wheat and Other Stories* Frederic Tabor Cooper, an idolatrous worshiper at the Norris shrine, wrote in *The Bookman*, XVIII, 311 (Nov., 1903): "To look to Frank Norris for short stories is as incongruous as to set a Rodin to carving cherry pits, or a Verestchagin to tinting lantern slides."

"The Rambler" in *The Lamp*, XXVII, 342 (Nov., 1903), wrote of *The Responsibilities of the Novelist*: "... as you read, the feeling grows that this book would never have appeared had the author lived to decide the question for himself."

The Nation, LXXVII, 411 (Nov. 19, 1903), said of *The Responsibilities of the Novelist*: "Assurance of his splendid possibilities can hardly survive the republication of these casual papers, which had better been allowed to perish, for they show defects—defects of knowledge, of judgment, of taste—that militate against achievement of greatness in any direction."

The Nation, LXXXVIII, 607 (June 17, 1909), remarked of *The Third Circle*: "The stories here collected are, says Mr. Will Irwin in his spirited introduction, 'the longest and most important of his prentice products. . . . They are an incomparable study in the way a genius takes to find himself.' This is putting it strong: the claim is scarcely borne out by the contents of the volume. They seem rather to show how a reporter with a realistic bent may become a writer of brilliant magazine stories."

In a review of Frank Norris of "The Wave," in *American Literature*, III, 349 (Nov., 1931), C. Hartley Grattan wrote of both that book and *Collected Writings*: "... it was already rather glaringly apparent that Norris's early journalism was no better and no worse than that of dozens of other talented newspapermen. From these two volumes of dredgings we learn precious little about why Norris was able to write a small group of first rate and important novels: *McTeague*, *The Octopus*, and *Vandover and the Brute*."

Few novels have found a more favorable opportunity for their début. The name of Norris had been publicized for fifteen years. There remained no one to cavil at his method or his "brutality," for the battle over naturalism, if indeed still alive, had been pushed far in the background. In addition, the facts given out concerning the discovery of the manuscript were highly romantic. They were news and were treated in that manner by most of the reviewers. Manuscripts have been lost, but when have they also passed unscathed through a disastrous fire and been certainly recognized after the author's name has been removed? On the whole, however, the reviewers did not greatly favor the novel.³⁴

Today Norris stands rather neglected, partly because it has been difficult to give his work a definitive criticism and partly because he has lacked a biographer.³⁵ In modern discussions of his period, he is usually subordinated to Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce, whose singleness of drive made them easy to place. Although reference to library withdrawal slips will show that his novels are still widely read, he receives otherwise little attention. *McTeague* is a case in point. Here is a novel which in the first twenty-five years of its life was issued, if one includes the first collected works in 1903, in ten editions; which has been believed one of the masterpieces of American literature by literary men as various as W. D. Howells, John Galsworthy, and H. L. Mencken; and which from its first publication has grown slowly but steadily in critical esteem. Yet it

³⁴ *The New York Times*, XIV, 181 (April 12, 1914): "... the truth in it will speak for itself," but the technique "it is not only kinder but fairer to leave undiscussed."

The Bookman, XXXIV, 445 (June, 1914): "... it ought to have been issued for private circulation only and placed in the hands of the few who would have regarded it as a human document and nothing more."

The Nation, XCVIII, 432 (April 16, 1914), reviewed very favorably: "... the unflinching moral conviction of the book lifts it to a place not far below 'McTeague' as a powerful private study."

The Outlook, CVII, 264 (May 30, 1914): "When he wrote 'The Octopus' and 'The Pit,' he had gone a long way in the direction of getting a larger perspective on life than when he wrote 'Vandover and the Brute'."

The Independent, LXXIX, 173 (Aug. 3, 1914): "*Vandover and the Brute* lacks the author's revision and is crude and unfinished in spots, yet it bears the impress of Frank Norris's genius."

The Atlantic Monthly, CXIV, 525 (Oct., 1914): "... it is little more than a medico-moral treatise of the school of Brieux. In its present shape it is too mediocre to be efficient or interesting, save as showing the writer's bent from the beginning."

³⁵ The lack has been partially supplied by Franklin Walker's *Frank Norris: A Biography* (New York, 1932).

is at present, along with all the rest of Norris, laid away in the moth-balls of a collected edition. Crane and Bierce are well represented in the popular library editions, but it has been impossible to buy anything of Norris in cheap reprint since 1928.

SALES OF FRANK NORRIS'S BOOKS⁸⁸

	Trade	Paper (50c)	Reprint	Week- end Library	Four- volume Set	Lamb- skin	Total
<i>Moran of the</i>							
<i>Lady Letty</i>	1,804	..	..	..	755	..	2,559
<i>McTeague</i>	3,974	27,629	26,000	5,163	960	3,546	67,272
<i>Blix</i>	4,076	3,756	10,000	..	..	1,197	19,029
<i>A Man's Woman</i>	5,334	21,511 (25c)	10,000	..	..	..	54,032
		17,187					
<i>The Octopus</i>	33,214	..	19,896	..	921	5,748	59,779
<i>The Pit</i>	94,818	..	87,560	..	954	6,113	189,445
<i>A Deal in Wheat</i>							
<i>and Other Stories</i>	5,869	2,506	2,500	..	..	..	10,875
<i>The Responsibilities</i>							
<i>of the Novelist</i>	499	..	..	..	..	..	499
<i>The Joyous Miracle</i>	..	2,824	..	..	..	..	2,824
<i>Vandover and the Brute</i>	9,107	..	..	..	..	..	9,107
Golden Gate Edition in seven vols. (92 sets)							644
Complete Edition of Norris in 10 vols. (525 sets of the Regular and 202 sets of De Luxe)							7,272
							423,337

⁸⁸ I am indebted to the Misses Anice Cooper and Ellen Crosby of Doubleday, Doran for making available the Company's sales records, which come down from the days of the S. S. McClure Company.

The complete record, if it could be accurately ascertained, would run over half a million copies. There are missing from the above table an early paper edition of *Moran of the Lady Letty* (Jamieson-Higgins, 1900), the first edition of *The Third Circle* (John Lane, 1909), and the Modern Library edition of *McTeague* (Boni & Liveright, 1919), the sales for all three being lost; a fair estimate of the total for these editions would be somewhere between ten and fifteen thousand. I also had to leave out of calculation an approximate total of 80,000 copies published and sold by Grosset & Dunlap, since I could not learn the figures for the individual novels (*Blix*, *McTeague*, *A Man's Woman*, *The Octopus*, *The Pit*).

The figures under Trade, Paper, and Reprint in the table represent sales before 1910 with the exception of *Vandover and the Brute*, not published till 1914; the Golden Gate Edition also was brought out in 1903. All other figures represent sales for the past two decades.

AUDUBON, JOSEPH R. MASON, AND JOHN NEAL

IRVING T. RICHARDS
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AUDUBON'S journal for the period October 12, 1820, to the end of the year 1821—the period denominated his “Æneid”—has recently been published.¹ It covers his trip down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to Louisiana and his life there until shortly after his family joined him at New Orleans. During this time he collected many of the specimens and made many of the drawings for his famous *Birds of America*. Throughout this entire period, and for about eight months thereafter, while the collecting and vivid recording went on about New Orleans and Natchez, his constant companion was a young lad named Joseph R. Mason. Audubon's references to Mason are so frequent in the now published journal as to leave no doubt of their intimacy in life and work. He seems especially, as one peruses the journal, to have valued Mason as a good shot—as one whose untiring patience and steady aim always bagged the most elusive specimens. He also enjoyed Joseph, however, as a good companion, and mentions several times his occupation or success with drawing.² In a letter to his wife written on May 23, 1821, while Joseph was his daily companion, Audubon remarked:

What will I do with Joseph Mason—as Long at least as I travel I shall keep him with me, I have a great pleasure in affording that good young man the means of becoming able to do well. His talent for painting, if I am a judge, is fine—his expenses very moderate and his Company quite indispensable. We have heard of his Father's death and on that a/c I am more attached to him—he now *draws flowers* better than any man probably in America, thou knowest I do not flatter young artists much, I never said this to him, but I think so—and to shew his performance will bring me as many pupils as I can attend to, anywhere.³

¹ Edited by Howard Corning and published by the Business Historical Society (Cambridge, Mass., 1929). Also a limited edition by the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1929). Mr. Corning has courteously shown me copies of all manuscripts at his disposal.

² *Journal*, pp. 109, 150, 199.

³ Manuscript property of Mr. Stanley C. Arthur, of New Orleans, who has kindly supplied the extract with full permission to use it.

Several years later, in a letter written to Thomas Sully the artist on December 22, 1827, Audubon re-affirmed his intimacy with Mason: Mr. Joseph Mason, who is now, I believe, an artist in your city, accompanied me on a hunting excursion, beginning at Cincinnati, and ending in the State of Louisiana, which lasted 18 months.⁴ He drew with me; he was my *daily companion*, and we both rolled ourselves together on buffalo robes at night.⁵

There can be no doubt that during this significant period of Audubon's life Mason was his inseparable and loved companion, prized as much for his skill as an assistant as for his good character and good-fellowship.

John Neal of Portland was an early subscriber to the *Birds of America*. Eventually, however, he did not accept the work, and his name does not appear among Audubon's final list of subscribers.⁶ He expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the price and with details relating to the binding; and finally, on September 18, 1836, when the third volume was ready for delivery, he withdrew altogether, asserting that he had "lost all confidence in the Author," who had "broken every promise he made to me."⁷ It was not, however, pure discontent with the terms of agreement and broken promises that prompted Neal's withdrawal. He had meanwhile investigated the author's history and had published the results of his investigation. Though Neal's credulity had perhaps been sharpened by dissatisfaction with the details of subscription, his published denunciation of Audubon certainly shows him to have built up an opinion of the naturalist not calculated to enhance his appreciation of the great work.

In the winter of 1833-1834, Neal had been in Cincinnati,⁸ where

⁴ Audubon underestimated the time. Mason was with him when he set out from Cincinnati on Oct. 12, 1820 (*Journal*, p. 3) and left him at Natchez on Aug. 23, 1822 (F. H. Herrick, *Audubon, the Naturalist*, New York and London, 1917, I, 321).

⁵ Quoted by Herrick, *op. cit.*, II, 69.

⁶ *Ornithological Biography*, V, 647-651. Republished by Herrick, *op. cit.*, II, 380-385. Neal is listed only in the second volume of the *Ornithological Biography*.

⁷ For further details consult the appendix to the present article.

⁸ This is clear from the fact that Neal refers below to a visit to Cincinnati, and the further fact that he and his wife were in New York in Oct., 1833, on their way "to the Western country" (Neal's *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, Boston, 1869, pp. 401-402, where the date is erroneously given "1834, or 1835"). Fortunately there is no lack of evidence for the time of the New York event there referred to. See William Lloyd Garrison: *The Story of his Life Told by his Children* (New York, 1885), I, 380 ff.; *African*

he had spent some time hunting up all the information he could gather about Audubon, and most significant of all, had become acquainted with Joseph Mason, who was then displeased with the treatment Audubon had accorded him. Whatever may have been the value of Mason's testimony—and there can be no doubt of his knowledge of the facts—it was sufficient to shatter completely Neal's faith in Audubon. With some further gleanings in Boston, and in Philadelphia, where Audubon had become intimate with Neal's old friends Thomas Sully and the Peales,⁹ and some hearsay recollections of Audubon's behavior on his trips to Maine and New Brunswick in 1832 and 1833, Neal was ready to open fire.

He was senior editor of *The New England Galaxy* for the year 1835, and in the very first issue of that year¹⁰ he expressed doubt of Audubon's good faith and honesty. He complained particularly of an evident attempt in the *Ornithological Biography* to conceal the place and date of the author's birth, and ironically conjectured that a certain rapturous passage¹¹ in the "Introductory Address" to that work was written by an English woman, and yet claimed as the author's own. Again in February¹² he adverted sarcastically to Audubon and promised a full exposure, but added characteristically:

Meanwhile, that the reader may not expect too much, we are willing to admit that Mr Audubon has published the most magnificent work in the world—a work which, if it turns out to be *entirely faithful, unexaggerated, unembellished*, cannot be injured by these little ostentatious improvidences . . . that he has labored faithfully and diligently in this particular department of Natural History . . . that he has affected wonders—related wonders—and that Mr Audubon is altogether a wonderful man.

He also asserted, reasonably enough, that he would dwell on apparently trivial matters of veracity in reporting experience and honesty in giving credit to others because

the value of Mr Audubon's great work, in the view of a Naturalist, however it may be with his wealthier and more liberal subscribers, must

Repository, IX, 246-247; *The Liberator*, III, 161-163, 167; *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York, 1870) pp. 168 ff.; or any New York newspaper of the first few days in Oct., 1833.

⁹ The writer is preparing a study of Neal, which will include letters of an intimate sort written by Sully to Neal during the latter's residence in London in 1824-1827, and evidence of Neal's intimacy with the Peales.

¹⁰ Jan. 3, 1835 (XVIII, No. 1).

¹¹ Edition of 1832, I, xv.

¹² Feb. 7, 1835 (XVIII, No. 6).

depend much, if not altogether upon his *perfect good faith* in subordinate affairs. Throw a doubt over a portion of the *Ornithological Biography*—though, if that portion had not been published it would never have been missed by a student of Ornithology; and straightway there are misgivings with regard to the essentials, and to the great work itself.

As a sample of what was coming, he expressed skepticism with regard to a number of Audubon's reports of personal experience—"wonderful adventures," no one of which has "ever been mentioned to his most intimate friends." Chief among these is assertion of meetings with Daniel Boone.¹³ Neal points out the impossibility of Boone's having presented such a magnificent physical stature as Audubon describes, particularly at an age when Audubon could have met him, and concludes, for this reason and because of the improbability of the anecdotes associated with Boone's name, "We rather think he never saw Daniel Boon in his life."¹⁴

In *The New England Galaxy*¹⁵ for April 18, 1835 (XVIII, No. 16), Neal brought forth his fullest and most damaging accusation. Before considering this, it is well to look at a letter that Mason wrote Neal in the preceding summer. This letter¹⁶ was the source of some of Neal's information, and it also affords unmistakable evidence that there were other letters, and that Neal had talked with Mason.

Cincinnati June 29th 1834

Dear Sir

I was much pleased on receiving [*sic*] your letter of 27 May ultimo, and shall proceed to answer it.

I shall commence my reply to you by taking the heads of your letter.
1st Your remark that I have broken my promise by not writing to you.

¹³ *Ornithological Biography*, I, 293-294 and 503-506.

¹⁴ The same accusation had been made elsewhere (*The Western Monthly Magazine*, published at Cincinnati, July, 1834, II, 337-350), but there is no evidence that Neal is not presenting his own personal deductions.

¹⁵ The Widener Library (Harvard University) has an excellent file of this now rare periodical from 1823 through 1838. It was united for the last two years with the *Boston Pearl*.

¹⁶ The manuscript was the property of Neal's granddaughter, the late Mrs. Henry F. Picking, who kindly placed it at the disposal of the writer. It is a part of a collection of letters made by Neal himself, of which the arrangement and numbering show clearly that it must once have included many others, probably destroyed in the fire at Portland on July 4, 1866, which burned Neal's office building and many prized documents (*Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, pp. 1 ff.).

All I can say to this is that I have sent you *two* letters since your visit here addressed as you directed, to the care of Mrs Summer [*sic*]¹⁷ N. York.

2ndly After the return of Mr Audubon from Engld. he employed a young Frenchman, whose botanical drawings were said to be wonderful" [quots *sic*]. Please enquier [*sic*] of the Editor of Audubon's book at Philda. requesting [*sic*] the name and appearance of this "Young Frenchman," and about what year it was. I myself may be the person refered [*sic*] to by Dr. McMurtree [probably Henry McMurtrie], who mistook me for a Frenchman.

3rdly I perfectly agree with you, from all I can learn, that "there is foul play somewhere"; and glad when you say as follows "and I am determined to go to the bottom of it." Whatever information I can furnish you in your laudable undertaking I will most cheerfully send to you. I must rely however altogether on my memory. I took no notes whilst I was with Mr Audubon; and I was also at that time, only a lad. Besides this I looked on him as my greatest friend; and it never once entered into my mind that he wd do me injustice when he came to publish his work. This it appears he has done. That his wonderful tales wh. I have seen published in the newspapers, and which are said to be contained in his Biography, a book I have not yet had the satisfaction of seeing are, in part entirely fabulios [*sic*], and that part of them which may be true very highly coloured, I have not the shadow doubt of it; [*sic*] "That you have caught him in half a dozen whappers," I can easily imagine; but I fully agree with you that unless some shall be found out that touch "the character of his work for faithfulness," it wd. be well enough to "let him off easy." So far as I am concerned I shall neither "falter nor forbear." That you may rely upon. If I could see a copy of the work many things wd. present themselves I have no doubt, by wh. my memory wd. be greatly refreshed. 4thly Respecting the Alligator Story. I must confess that I do not at this moment remb. the particular story to wh. you refer. I am in possession of several laughable things respecting this man Audubon; but it would occupy a whole sheet of paper to tell any one of them; *i.e.* if I undertook to tell it well. In your next letter, refer if you please, to some of the incidents of the Alligator Story; and then, if you wish, I will detail it to you. 5thly As I have not yet seen the work I can say nothing about the Engravings. That my drawings may have been "copied, altered, or rearranged by somebody," Great as the labour must have been I am prepared to believe, if Mr Audubon thought such a course wd. serve his purposs [*sic*]. He never shrinks from labour or expense

¹⁷ Probably Mrs. George W. Sumner (170 E. 19th Street), a cousin of Neal's wife's.

prosecuting his planes [*sic*]. Of these he is as regardless as he seems to have been regardless to truth in writing those wonderful western stories, published in the newspapers. You ask me to send you a particular discription [*sic*] of some my drawings [*sic*]. The drawings I made for Mr A. during the two years tour, amt. in number to from one hundd & fifty to two hundred. Of all these I do not remb. making more than three or four duplicate copies; and these I took for presents for my friends. I cannot therefor [*sic*] be very satisfactory in sending you a discription [*sic*] of any of them. I will however call your attention to the Pine Creeper¹⁸ (Mason's P.C.). This P bird is painted on a pine limb to wh. a bur [*sic*] is attached. The bird is represented carefully examing [*sic*] the bur, seeking food there. Another of my drawings is a branch of the large and beautiful magnolia tree of the South, with its lovely white flower and deep green leaves.¹⁹ Another is a branch of the same tree, with a bur bursting and presenting to you several of the red seeds about to drop out.²⁰ Another, of the Coffee plant, with a fly on one of the leaves, and a bird on one of the twigs [Plate xxxv, Children's Warbler], and another of the Locust in full bloom with a bird also on it.²¹ But I can not recollect the birds so as to discribe [*sic*] them.

Please present my respects to Mrs. Neal. I shall be happy at all times, to hear from you by letter, or in any other way. Wishing you heath [*sic*] and happiness. My brother's compliments to you.

I subscribe myself

Your Obt Servt

JOSEPH R. MASON.

Black & white C. (Neal's penciled note wth reference to Plate xc.)

Blk larch—16 burrs. (Neal's penciled note.)

Pinus Pendula. (Neal's penciled note.)

In his *New England Galaxy* exposure of April 18, Neal begins by detailing certain "tough stories" attributed to Audubon as indicative of his reputation for exaggerating and favorably misrepresenting his common experiences. Then, with a thrust at *Blackwood's Magazine* for its gullibility in respect to Audubon, and after satirical reference to his being "created," since he is devoid of a birthplace, Neal

¹⁸ Black. (Neal's penciled note.)

¹⁹ Blk billed cuckoo—magno. grandiflora XXXII. (Neal's penciled note.)

²⁰ Bonaparte's Flycatcher. (Neal's penciled note.)

²¹ Honey Locust—nest & 4 birds [actually 5], Orchard Oriole. (Neal's penciled note.) This is Plate xlii. It represents the Honey Locust without flower. Plate civ, the Chipping Sparrow, shows the flowering Black Locust with one bird.

recounts the results of his personal inquiry in Cincinnati, where he has been able to find only a few paltry relics of Audubon's reputed artistic skill, and where Mason has never been able, though he "ransacked the whole Western Country," to lay his hands on a copy of either the *Birds of America* or the *Ornithological Biography*.²² He then proceeds as follows:

A young portrait painter, now living in Cincinnati, by the name of Joseph Mason, was with Mr. J. J. Audubon from Oct 17, 1820 to the fall of 1822. During this period they traversed the Mississippi together, Louisiana, and afterwards branched off to the Arkansas. This was after Mr Audubon's return from France—before he went thither, his drawings were wretched,²³ though he was passionately fond of birds and sacrificed every other object in their pursuit. He had never any instruction in water colors, and took it up after Mason who had been a pupil of his at Cincinnati, while yet a boy; the first and only bird ever painted by the latter was a meadow-lark of considerable truth and sprightliness, painted in 1824,²⁴ when he was about sixteen. He has it now. After they started together, and up to the day of their separation, Mason did *all the botanical drawings*,²⁵ and used to paint the feet, legs, eyes and beaks²⁶ of all the birds in water colors—the rest being done by Audubon,²⁷ who rubbed the colors

²² Neal affirms that the only subscriber to Audubon's works in Cincinnati was the proprietor of the museum that employed him there; but the name of Daniel Drake, under whom Audubon was employed in the Western Museum at Cincinnati, does not appear among Audubon's published list of subscribers, nor does that of any Ohio person or institution.

²³ That Audubon's early drawings were not wretched, though his work naturally improved, is attested by plenty of still extant dated sketches. One hundred of these have recently become the property of Harvard University through the will of Mr. Joseph Y. Jeanes of Philadelphia. Several of them have been reproduced by Herrick in his *Audubon, the Naturalist*.

²⁴ Audubon recorded in his journal under date of Jan. 6, 1821, "Joseph Made his first attempt from Nature on the femelle [tern]—I was very much pleased with his assay" (*Journal*, p. 109).

²⁵ Under date of "April Sunday 22d 1821" Audubon remarked, "Joseph Drawing Flowers all day" (*Journal*, p. 150); and again on Oct. 25, 1821, "Joseph found the time rather Lost to himself Not a Thing to be found to Draw" (*Journal*, p. 199). On Nov. 9, 1821, he wrote "Carried My Port follio to Mrs. Dimitry this morning to Show Miss Euphrosine the Progress of Joseph" (*Journal*, p. 209).

²⁶ If this is so, then Audubon trusted to Mason a very vital part of his task. He wrote Robert Havell about the preparation of the drawings for his great work, "Allow me to ask of you to see that the *Bills legs, & feet* are *carefully* copied from my Drawings—to Naturalists, these points are of the greatest importance" (April 20, 1833, *Letters of John James Audubon 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning, Boston, 1930, I, 212).

²⁷ Can this method of work have prompted Audubon to his ill-received request for employment filling in backgrounds for John Wesley Jarvis, the portrait painter, at New Orleans (*Journal*, pp. 116 ff.)?

on dry. There are about two hundred and fifty pieces²⁸ in all, every part of which, except the *bodies* of the birds, were done by this boy, *between the ages of twelve and fourteen!*²⁹ He is only twenty-six now. When he last saw the drawings, his name which had originally been written with pencil³⁰ by Mr Audubon, while his own was written with Indian ink,

²⁸ Mr. Stanley C. Arthur of New Orleans, who has made an exhaustive study of the drawings, and of all Audubon biography, asserts in a recent letter to the present writer, "My count indicates, from an examination of the original drawings, that Audubon made 157 of the 435 bird plates in Louisiana."

On Oct. 26, 1821, Audubon wrote (*Journal*, p. 199), "Since I left Cincinnati Oct^r 12th 1820 I have finished 62 Drawings of *Birds & Plants*." On Dec. 30, 1821, he recorded his bargain to receive and draw one specimen a day furnished by a certain "Robert the Hunter" for one hundred consecutive days (*Journal*, p. 226). See also Mason's letter above.

²⁹ Audubon recorded that Mason was "about 18 years of age" when they left Cincinnati on Oct. 12, 1820 (*Journal*, p. 3. The manuscript journal shows this figure "18" with unmistakable clearness.) Once, also, Audubon remarked (*Journal*, p. 37), "Joseph went to his station and I to Mine, i.e., he rowed the skiff and I steering it." It seems incredible that he could have thought a thirteen-year-old boy then in his presence actually five years older, or that he would have permitted so young a lad to do most of the rowing. Yet Mr. Arthur has kindly made the following recent communication: "You will be interested, I know, to learn that I located a relative of Joseph Mason, who has supplied me with full data on his uncle, and Neal was nearer right as to the boy's age than was Audubon—Mason was just a little over thirteen when he went down the river with J. J. A." Mr. Arthur has also told me of a note in his possession regarding the offer of the clothes of an eighteen-year-old boy to Mason at this time (cf. *Journal*, p. 195). He may have been very large for his age.

³⁰ Herrick records (*op. cit.*, I, 316, note) that the original drawing of the Pine Creeping Warbler (*Birds of America*, Plate cxi) bears the words in Audubon's hand, "Drawn from Nature by John J. Audubon, James Pirrie's Plantation, Louisiana, July 10, 1821. Plant, J. R. Mason."

Mr. Arthur's conclusions, kindly communicated to me, are even more confirmatory of Neal: "The original drawings that bear the penciled notation in Audubon's handwriting 'Plant by Jos. Mason,' are as follows:

- 5 Bonaparte Cypress Swamp Flycatcher [Bonaparte's Flycatcher]
- 15 Blue Yellow-back Warbler
- 95 Blue-eyed Yellow Warbler [Yellow-poll Warbler]
- 119 Yellow-throated Vireo
- 140 Pine Creeping Warbler

"After examining these so designated I carefully observed the floral work on the other drawings made during the time Joseph Mason was with him and found it easy to distinguish Mason's floral work from Audubon's, just as easily as one can determine which Miss Maria Martin, or Charles Lehmann drew. It is my belief that the floral decorations in the following were painted by Mason:

- 2 Yellow-billed Cuckoo
- 3 Prothonotary Warbler
- 8 White-throated Sparrow
- 12 Baltimore Oriole
- 13 Snow Bird (Junco)
- 14 Prairie Warbler
- 17 Turtle Doves [Carolina Turtle Dove]
- 20 Blue-winged Yellow Warbler
- 24 Roscoe's Yellow-throat
- [32] Black-billed Cuckoo

was carefully obliterated. This was at the Botanical gardens near Philadelphia—(Bartons?) where Audubon was either taking lessons of Sully the elder,³¹ or profiting most assiduously in some other way, of Sully; fine taste, great knowledge, and most admirable eye for color, while Mason was employed in retouching the botany. At any rate if Mr A. did not take lessons of Sully—he borrowed his *palette* or obtained it in some other way, for a friend saw him with it one hot Sunday in a room where young Mason was found painting the legs of a bird in the last stages of putrefaction, for Mr A.

Upon that magnificent magnolia which has been so celebrated, in Mr Audubon's great work, this poor boy labored four whole days in the depth of a flowing wilderness—till he was almost blind in fact; touching and retouching the leaves with live carmine. At that period, our great Ornithologist, who cannot bear to see anybody unthankful, and who, if you may judge by his language,³² does not appear to understand what is meant by ingratitude, forgot himself so far as to acknowledge his obligation to the poor boy—or it may be his heart was softer then, or he wanted the courage he has now; for on being complimented by a person at the botanical gardens, who expressed the greatest admiration of his industry, and asked him how he found time to do all these things—he answered, pointing to Mason, with a good-natured smile—'that young rascal did all the botany.' When they parted, after two years of such trying and perilous companionship, the boy was left without a farthing to bless himself with, or to use his own language, without 'a single *fip*.' Afterwards, at Philadelphia, where they met again, Audubon, who had promised

38 Kentucky Warbler

40 American Redstart

44 Summer Redbird

47 Ruby-throated Hummingbird

54 Rice Bunting [Rice Bird]

63 White-eyed Flycatcher

64 Swamp Sparrow (This is the famous plate wherein Audubon penciled 'Mr. Havell will please have Lucy Audubon name on this plate instead of mine.' It proves to be one of the Bayou Sara drawings and the May Apple is without doubt the work of Mason.)

122 Blue Grosbeak

156 American Crow

"Naturally, the above is only a partial list of those drawings on which Joseph Mason undoubtedly assisted."

³¹ Audubon spent most of the summer of 1824 in Philadelphia (April 5 to Aug. 1), where he first met Sully.

³² Neal had previously (*New England Galaxy*, Jan. 3, 1835) called attention to Audubon's words, "There are persons whose desire of obtaining celebrity induces them to suppress the knowledge of the assistance which they have received in the composition of their works. . . . This want of candour I never could endure" (*Ornithological Biography*, I, xviii).

among other things to be a father to him, and to make his fortune, tried to persuade him to go to London with him, offering five hundred dollars a year and his expenses—he had already been offered sixty dollars a month to go into the gardens and paint flowers. But the boy had begun to have the feelings of a man. Audubon had solemnly promised him that his name should be engraved on the plates; and now when he saw no vestige of the pencil-mark, on the drawings, he began to ask himself why Audubon's had been so carefully written with Indian ink, while his, under the sanction of such a promise, had been trusted to the perpetuity of a lead pencil scratch. Nay more—on one particular occasion, when after spending half a day in pursuit of birds, without success the boy shot one which turned out to be a *non-descript*, Audubon promised to call it *Mason's* hive-creeper.³³ This occurred about fourteen miles from St Francesville, where Audubon taught the muses—drawing; and where, in the absence of Audubon, Mason took his place, and though laughed at for a boy, the first day he appeared, was very soon treated with especial consideration. We are told that he kept journal during the time they were together; and if so—the sooner it is published the better.³⁴

After expressing skepticism based on Mason's ignorance of the reports in the *Ornithological Biography* of the hunting of cat-amounts along the Mississippi³⁵ and of the destruction of drawings by rats³⁶ and after ridiculing as "perfectly French!" what he considers the affected falsification of Audubon in arranging his dead models in life-like poses by means of artificial devices, Neal thus continues his account of the two companions:

While Mason was with Audubon, the latter painted about two hundred and fifty birds in all. The former began to work his wonders in partnership, at the age of twelve.—They used to copy every description from Wilson, *to save trouble!* Neither of them knew anything of Botany, and as for Audubon, he is still as ignorant as heart could desire. Mason is very fond of Natural History, and wants to go to the Rocky Mountains with Catlin³⁷—a capital fellow, by the by, of whom a word or two hereafter.

³³ This must be a misprint for "pine-creeper," the bird drawn on July 10, 1821. See Mason's letter above.

³⁴ A reference, of course, to the journal recently published for the years 1820 and 1821.

³⁵ *Ornithological Biography*, I, 205-210. See also *Journal*, p. 83.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

³⁷ Without doubt, the man meant here was George Catlin, famous as painter of, and writer on, the American Indians. Neal seems, characteristically, to have forgotten entirely his promise to say more of Catlin. There is no mention of Mason in Catlin's extensive notes of his travels, though he seems regularly to have taken pains to identify his companions.

The first joining of Audubon and Mason together on the enterprise which resulted in the publication of the great work, for which the former is about to be canonized—in the New England Galaxy, if no where else on earth—was toward Louisville; and the very first thing they killed on the way, was a little wren,³⁸ which was painted with a quantity of sweet briar. Mason himself shot the huge hen turkey,³⁹ followed by her brood, the subject of another fine plate and killed two of the *pouts*; she was so large and strong, and he so *much a boy* that she threw him down in the water no less than three times before he mastered her, and nearly drowned him.

The preceptor and pupil when together, used to draw and eat and sleep on the same table. On one occasion, the latter was left four or five weeks without a penny, on board a barge at New Orleans—where all he had to eat was a little soup now and then. Of the five dollars outfit which he obtained from his father on setting off to seek his fortune, with his old preceptor, the French drawing master and flute player of Cincinnati, two dollars and fifty cents had gone to pay the washing bills of both, and the remainder for bread and cheese or whatever happened to fall in the way when he was famished with hunger. Audubon used to spend every farthing he could rake and scrape together upon the birds that were brought to market for sale, and had always a number of hunters on the look out for him. Occasionally when he could stand it no longer, he would mention to Audubon that their money was out: upon which the Ornithologist would start off with his portfolio under his arm, and make a crayon sketch of the first person he could persuade to hold still long enough for his purpose—not five minutes work to Mason himself, at this time—hurry back to the barge, where Mason would work up the drapery, while Audubon put in the ears and eyes, and other particulars—for which they had the audacity to ask, and the good luck to receive no less than twenty-five dollars when the job was completed.

Once, to show how exceedingly fruitful in expedients our backwoodsman is—but for his own story, we'd swear he was a Yankee—once he proposed to offer himself, and Mason as an *Italian* scene-painter with his *boy*,

³⁸ Audubon seems to have begun his journal with the intention of accounting circumstantially for each day's kill. On Oct. 15, three days after the start, he records, "Killed a Great Carolina Wren" (*Journal*, p. 7); but meanwhile he had recorded quite an assortment of other quarry, and at least one drawing, that of the young of the Yellow Rump Warbler, made Oct. 13 (*Journal*, p. 4). The Great Carolina Wren (Plate lxxviii) is not painted on the sweetbrier.

³⁹ After recording the shooting of a number of turkeys, Audubon wrote on Oct. 19, "3 Turkeys, Shot at once by Joseph who was not a little proud when he heard 3 Cheers given him from the Boats this was his first essay on Turkeys" (*Journal*, p. 10).

'both first chop!'⁴⁰ He made the attempt, demanding eight dollars a day for himself, and five dollars a day for *his boy*; but the idea, though a good one, didn't appear to take with the managers; they were up to trap. How perfectly of a piece with a multitude of other enterprizes!

The white Crane⁴¹ was the only artificial bird they got at New Orleans, after all their labor—they obtained a few ducks to be sure, and Mason shot a '*frintail*,'⁴² going down the river. On the 25th July, 1821,⁴³ they left New Orleans for Natchez. Mason is quite sure that Audubon always told him that he was born in St Domingo;⁴⁴ and remembers

⁴⁰ Neal may possibly have reference to the event Audubon reports as an offer of one hundred dollars a month made him on recommendation of a local Italian artist to paint theatrical scenery at New Orleans (*Journal*, p. 115).

⁴¹ The *Journal* shows that it was Audubon's morning habit to visit the New Orleans market while in that city, and that, though frequently disappointed in the condition of the birds, he acquired some valued specimens there. Entries concerning white cranes in the market are as follows:

"Remarked in Market . . . 1 White Crane . . ." (Jan. 11, 1821, p. 115).

"This Morning the Market Was plentifully supplied . . . I also saw a white Crane" (March 17, 1821, p. 135).

"In Market this Morning . . . Saw a beautifull White Crane but without legs" (March 24, 1821, p. 140).

⁴² Mason's capital "P" looks much like an "F." The bird meant here may possibly be the Pintail Duck, or *Anas Acuta* (*Journal*, p. 232).

On the other hand, Audubon records gleefully (*Journal*, pp. 23, 24, 25, 27, 98) his discovery of a new species of duck that he named the "Fin Tail," or "Fintail." Consultation of the manuscript journal, however (in the Agassiz Museum at Harvard), shows the words "Ruddy Duck" written in a blacker, newer-looking ink, such as has been used in making other insertions, over the account of the discovery of the supposed non-descript (MS., p. 33; published *Journal*, p. 23). No "Fintail Duck" is included in the *Birds of America*; but the plate of the Ruddy Duck there, and the description of the Ruddy Duck in the *Ornithological Biography*, accord very well with Audubon's description of the "Fintail Duck" in his journal. It seems perfectly apparent that he later identified his supposed newly discovered species with Wilson's Ruddy Duck (*Anas Rubidus*). Mason, on the other hand, whose ornithological knowledge must never have been great, and who had not seen copies of Audubon's published work, may well have still had rather vivid recollections, which he communicated to Neal, regarding the supposed discovery. Not he, however, but another, is credited by Audubon with shooting the first specimen of the "Fintail Duck" (*Journal*, p. 23), and Audubon himself bagged the second (*Journal*, p. 24).

⁴³ Audubon records that he and Mason left New Orleans on June 16, 1821, "about ½ past 12 o'clock—in the Steam Boat Columbus Cap^e John de Hart—bound to Shippingport Kentucky" (*Journal*, p. 156). They proceeded, however, only as far as the plantation of James Pirrie, near St. Francisville and Bayou Sara Creek, where they remained until October 20, and then returned to New Orleans (*Journal*, p. 190). In the face of such circumstantial contemporary record, there can be no doubt of Neal's error.

⁴⁴ In *The New England Galaxy* for Jan. 3, Neal had written: "Others, and among them one who was intimate with him for years—who travelled with him, and encountered all sorts of hardships with him, and for him, [aver] that he was a native of St. Domingo, from which place he escaped with a load of coffee in bulk, among which a quantity of dollars had been concealed by a slave, who protected the family during the terrible commotions there." Though these may not be wholly trustworthy statements, they throw some new light on the

distinctly how he said he escaped, and how he maintained himself at New York. A faithful negro, who afterwards became a General in the French army! got the whole family off, in the time of the troubles there by *black-ing their faces*, loading coffee in bulk for them, and throwing in forty or fifty thousand dollars loose among the cargo: Audubon was ordered to New York, where his father's partner was directed to keep him close and without money, till farther orders—and where he supported himself making and selling finger-rings fashioned of white bone, which is bound with black horse hair and lettered with white!—Such was the story of the great Ornithologist himself!

After several interesting anecdotes of their experiences together, Neal thus concludes his account of Audubon and Mason:

The goat sucker was also shot by the boy, but with great difficulty, and after a long and most fatiguing pursuit, pop—pop—pop. According to his recollection, the fine creeper⁴⁵ which he shot, and which Audubon promised to name for him, was painted with a pne [*sic*] branch, having a tuft at the end. If so, the drawing has been altered since, and so if we recollect rightly is the sweet-briar.—⁴⁶ We have no time to refer to the work itself. The greatest difficulty he found was in getting the true color of the humming birds and the wild tulip.

The Philadelphia editor of the American Ornithological Biography would perhaps acknowledge if he were pressed that though he hardly altered a word of the manuscript, merely seeing it through the press, he left out passages and parts as a *little too tough*; and that, could he have had his own way, he would have reduced the work to 150 or 200 pages at most. In the last conversation he ever had with Mr. Audubon—we appeal to the consciences of both here—he advised him to *keep his birds*—to salt 'im, skin 'im—anything. Why so, said Mr. Audubon. Others are believed without such evidence, and why should not I? Besides, it would take a wagon and sixteen horses. No! not for new species.—Cuvier did so, and so have others, and so ought you. At any rate, you may preserve head and feet, if nothing more.—We wonder if his conversation was had

vexing question whether Audubon knew the place of his birth, and Mr. Arthur writes (in a letter of May 5, 1931), "I do not believe there is any doubt . . . that Audubon confided the secret of his birth to Mason while the two were together."

⁴⁵ Pretty certainly a misprint for "pine creeper." The plate of the Pine Creeping Warbler in the *Birds of America* (cx1) shows no tuft at the end of the pine branch.

⁴⁶ As remarked above, the Great Carolina Wren in the published plate (lxxviii) is not painted on the sweetbrier. The Yellow-breasted Chat (Plate cxxxvii), however, is.

before the appearance of the *Hinda Jay*.⁴⁷ Were Audubon a great ornithologist with his disposition for *effect—scene painting—personate coups de theatre*—and story-telling—we should have our doubts with regard to a few species which we are willing—as at present advised—to swallow for authentic. It needs a master to deceive adroitly in the manufacture of mermaids.

The value of these drastic accusations of Neal's is of course mainly dependent upon Mason's veracity. Neal seems to have believed him implicitly. And Audubon, who knew him intimately, thought well of him. In the face of this mutual faith in him, there seems no reason for an uninformed posterity to doubt his word. Yet certainly allowance must be made for the fact that both he and Neal had individual grievances against Audubon, and that his communication to Neal was fragmentary, and perhaps largely oral, so that assertions may have been warped in transmission. Mason, indeed, warns Neal that he must rely upon the facts of more than a dozen years before, years of comparative immaturity, and seems not to have been a very skilful letter writer; and Neal, for his part, had a very susceptible imagination. Yet Neal certainly, and probably Mason, was fundamentally honest. Mistakes they may have made, and perhaps their word is no better than Audubon's, or not so good for facts recorded in his journal at the time of occurrence; but it seems the part of wisdom to weigh their word against Audubon's, and to prefer their assertion to Audubon's silence.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The reference here is probably to the Columbia Jay, the orthographic confusion of the words "Hinda" and "Columbia" not being so altogether impossible as at first appears. The giant Columbia Jay (*Corvus Bullockii*) was pictured in the first edition of the *Birds of America* (Plate xcvi) and hesitantly described in the *Ornithological Biography* (I, 483-485) as the single species that Audubon had had no opportunity to observe in its native habitat, he being entirely dependent upon a specimen supplied by a friend. The bird was quietly dropped from later editions, in a manner that vindicated Neal's earlier skepticism.

⁴⁸ The only notice Audubon seems ever to have taken of Neal's accusations was a remark in a letter to his friend John Bachman (July 20, 1835): "As to the . . . lucubrations of Mr Neal, who by the bye is a subscriber to the *Birds of America* (bona fide) I really care not a fig—all such stuffs will soon evaporate being mere smoak from a Dung Hill" (*Letters of John James Audubon 1826-1840*, II, 77). Neal repeated his accusations as editor of *Brother Jonathan*, the New York periodical, on Sept. 30, 1843 (VI, 135-136).

APPENDIX ON NEAL'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE *BIRDS OF AMERICA*

Any estimate of Neal's accusations against Audubon should take into consideration the circumstances under which Neal withdrew his subscription to the *Birds of America*. Audubon mentioned Neal's subscription in a letter to his son Victor dated "New York, April 1st 1833,"¹ and expressed the hope in a letter of April 28 that Neal's copy of the first instalment would arrive soon.² On September 23, he again wrote Victor from New York, "John Neal of Portland is absent and has not received his part as yet";³ and on December 21, from Charleston, "John Neal has received his copy, but I do not know yet if he has or not paid in to Doc^r Parkman, who is our kind Friend and agent for that portion of the Country."⁴

The subsequent correspondence, so far as it has come to light, was as follows:

LETTER OF NEAL TO GARDNER, AUDUBON'S LOCAL AGENT

Mr. Neal has two objections to the manner in which Mr. Audubon proposes to comply with his contract.

The first is the charge of 20 dollars for $\frac{1}{2}$ binding in boards, one vol. This is *at least*, as he believes, double price. Ten dollars a vol. he is willing to pay.

The second is—that as it would be impossible for him to *match* the binding and lettering, he would have it stipulated in the 100 dollar note, that the second & all subsequent volumes are to *match* the first, and to be exchanged for the plates now in the hands of Mr. Neal—to be delivered without further expense to him (beyond the subscription price & the binding at a fair charge.)

J. N.

Mr. Gardner⁵

POSTSCRIPT LETTER OF GEORGE PARKMAN, AUDUBON'S BOSTON AGENT, TO AUDUBON

Boston, March 18th., 1834.

P.S. I have communicated to you all I know of Mr. Neal.⁶

¹ *Letters of John James Audubon 1826-1840*, I, 203-204.

² Herrick, *op. cit.*, II, 39.

³ *Letters of John James Audubon 1826-1840*, I, 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 274.

⁵ Manuscript property of Mr. Victor Morris Tyler of New Haven, Conn., through whose kindness a copy has been supplied for reproduction here. Neal's letter is undated, but was forwarded to Audubon by Parkman with a note on another subject added and dated Dec. 30, 1833.

⁶ Manuscript property of Mr. Victor Morris Tyler, through whose kindness a copy has been supplied for reproduction here.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY AUDUBON IN NEW YORK TO
HIS SON VICTOR IN LONDON ON APRIL 6, 1834

John Neal is a scamp and I have written to Doc^r Parkman to take the Work back & hold it to order, or dispose of it should opp'y. offer.⁷

LETTER OF PARKMAN TO AUDUBON

Boston, Apr., 6th., 1834.

Would it not be well for you to write to or for Mr. Neal in compliance with his wishes as far as may be for your interest, precisely? The affair does not seem so desperate that it must be abandoned. You have his let's from which your exact answers can be framed.⁶

LETTER OF PARKMAN TO NEAL

Boston, Ap'l. 25th—34.

J. Neal Esqr.

Sir,—

I hope in my endeavour to give satisfaction, I may not seem to cause unnecessary trouble. Had I seen a way of removing the deposit fr. the bk. 18 mos. ago, I should have followed it.—Mr. A. wrote “11th. Sept'r., 1833 I have read Mr. Neal's let'r.—deliver to him the Vol. & nos. & receive \$250, & his note \$100—1 yr”—“Ap'l. 13th, 1834. Mr. Neal cannot expect to have the Work at a less price than any other person.” One of the firm of Hilliard, Gray & Co, booksellers here, a subscriber to Mr A.'s Work, tells me that he pd. to a bookbinder here, for Col. Thayer, engineer, about \$18 for a binding like Mr A's—The other subscribers pay the \$220 pr. vol.—From the satisfactory spirit expressed in your let, for wh. please accept my thanks, & from your respect for the cause wh. the work is hoped to serve, I pray you to receive the vol. from Mr. Gardner, with my regrets that you have been parted from it; & to remit to me, directly, or through him, as you may prefer, such sum, as in view of the business you consider to be proper.—I shall endeavour that your wishes may be satisfied, as far as I may have occasion to appear in the future steps of the Work.

I am sure that Mr. A'n. will not fail in a due sense of the spirit which actuates yourself & the other Liberal Subscribers to his great

⁷ *Letters of John James Audubon 1826-1840*, II, 20.

undertaking.—Should you visit Boston, I shall be gratified in having an opportunity on His behalf & my own, to present respects to you.

Your ob. st.

GEO. PARKMAN.⁸

LETTER OF NEAL TO PARKMAN

Portland, Ap'l 28, 1834.

Dear Sir,

Immediately on receiving your letter, which arrived Saturday, I called at Mr. Gardner's three several times to settle the business, but was unable to see him.—Today however I have paid his brother 200 dollars* Inc'd the first volume, subject to future arrangements with respect to binding and exchange.

The basis of my calculations is as follows—*first* Mr. A's own representations with respect to the *whole cost* of the work, Carey & Lea having told me it was 900 dollars, which Mr. A.—said was an error of 100 dollars.—2ndly. The rate of exchange & *probable* cost of binding in England. I have had books bound there, & *know* that the cost there is only about $\frac{1}{2}$ as much as here.—

1 Vol. 20 numbers @ 2 guineas	39.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
** Exchange 2 pct.	18 $\frac{2}{3}$
	39.52 is \$190.40
Allowed for binding	9.60
	\$200.00

Allow me to thank you for your politeness, & to say I shall try to profit by it hereafter.

Yours with respect,

JOHN NEAL.

** Exchange has varied from
2 below par to 6 above
since I subscribed—I take the average.

P.S.

If it would be more agreeable to you Sir, I will receive the *numbers* now lying loose in the box, which I have left with Mr. Gardner, and be *answerable for their safety* till the second volume

¹² Manuscript property of the late Mrs. H. F. Picking, kindly placed at the disposal of the writer.

is ready to be exchanged for them, at which time all the business may be settled. They would be safer with me than in any Commission house, & w'd be insured—Your order to Mr. G— might be necessary to authorize his delivery thereof.—

Yours with resp't

J. N.⁹

* Not to G. P. 194—

LETTER OF AUDUBON TO HIS SON VICTOR FROM LONDON

ON JULY 4, 1834

I have received 2 letters from John Neal through Doc^r Parkman who has received the value of the 1^t vol from the forum with certain deductions for the¹⁰

LETTER OF GEORGE C. SHATTUCK¹¹ TO NEAL

John Neal Esq.

My Dear Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the 3d Vol. of Audubon's Birds of America half bound has been forwarded to me by the author marked with your name—it came in a box with three others for S. Appleton, J. P. Cushing, and Col. T. H. Perkins, all of which have been delivered with the exception of your's. You will please advise me what is to be done with your's & oblige.

Your Obt. Srvt.

GEO. C. SHATTUCK¹²

Boston Sept. 15th. 1836.

P.S. \$220 is the price of the
half bound vol.

LETTER OF NEAL TO SHATTUCK

Portland, Sep't 18, '36.

My Dear Sir,

Having lost all confidence in the Author—I have determined to have nothing more to do with his work. He has broken every

⁹ Manuscript property of Mr. Victor Morris Tyler, through whose kindness a copy has been supplied for reproduction here.

¹⁰ This manuscript, the property of Mr. Tyler, has been mutilated and the rest of the communication cut away.

¹¹ Shattuck, like Parkman, aided Audubon in the distribution of his work.

¹² Manuscript property of the late Mrs. H. F. Picking, kindly placed at the disposal of the writer.

promise he made to me. The bound volume I hold, he may have back, just as I received it, for 25 d'llrs less than I paid for it. The prints of the second volume, which I refused to receive, not being able to get them bound here to match Vol. I, and which were to have been replaced nearly two years ago by the bound volume, are subject to his order, and if left any longer with me must be left at the risk of Mr. Audubon. I have had trouble enough with them.

I am dear Sir,
Respectfully yours

JOHN NEAL.

Mr. George C. Shuttuck, Boston.

P.S. On opening the box to satisfy myself that the plates were all in good order, I find 65 numbers instead of the third Vol. complete, and I now recollect that they were not represented to be complete when I refused to receive them. The weather having cleared off I shall send the box to Mr. Bancroft this afternoon.

Respectfully my dear Sir, I am

JOHN NEAL¹³

¹³ Manuscript property of Mr. Victor Morris Tyler, through whose kindness a copy has been supplied for reproduction here.

LONGFELLOW SELLS THE SPANISH STUDENT

LAWRANCE R. THOMPSON

Columbia University

“A GOOD idea! Yes, I will write a comedy,—‘The Spanish Student’,” wrote Longfellow in his journal on March 28, 1840. This enthusiastic decision was the outcome of the young Harvard professor’s intensive reading in Spanish drama in preparation for a series of lectures on that subject to be delivered to his classes. The good idea was to suffer many vicissitudes before it was to take final form, and *The Spanish Student* was rejected by several publishers before it finally appeared in *Graham’s Magazine* for 1842. The following narrative and analysis of these vicissitudes and rejections reveal perhaps the most peculiar series of difficulties Longfellow ever encountered in his search for a publisher.

Longfellow spent nearly nine months completing his first draft of *The Spanish Student*, but was not satisfied to relinquish it until he might devote more time to revising and polishing it. The main hindrance to revision was his growing interest in translating and imitating ballads. The popularity of these poems was immediate, and Longfellow found it easy to sell them to Park Benjamin for his mammoth sheet, *The New World*, and to Lewis Gaylord Clark for *The Knickerbocker*. Convinced that the ballads merited separate publication in book form, Longfellow considered them of minor significance in comparison with *The Spanish Student*. He had kept the writing of the play a secret to be confided only to his father and to his most intimate friends. To one of the latter, Samuel Ward of New York, he wrote in September, 1841:

I have two or three literary projects; foremost among which are the ‘Student’ and the ‘Skeleton.’ I have been thinking this morning which I shall bring out first. The ‘Skeleton,’ with the few other pieces I have on hand, will, it is true, make but a meagre volume. But what then? It is important to bring all my guns to bear now, and though they are small ones, the shot may take effect. Through the breach thus made, the ‘Student’ may enter the citadel in triumph.¹

¹ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, Ticknor and Company, 1886, 3 vols.), I, 383.

There were several reasons why Longfellow believed that *The Spanish Student* was to be his most important publication to date. First of all, this play was the most sustained poetical composition he had yet attempted. A second reason may be found in Longfellow's belief that drama had unusual possibilities at that particular time. *The Spanish Student* could appear in a magazine; it could be published thereafter as a separate book; it could be included in a later collection of his poems; and finally it might be produced on the stage. All of these hopes are to be found recorded in his letters and journal entries for this period. N. P. Willis was reaping a small fortune from the success of his plays. While Longfellow was still at work on the first draft of his comedy he had written to his friend George W. Greene:

Nat Willis . . . says he has made ten thousand dollars the last year by his writings. I wish I had made ten hundred. He has just published three plays in London. They are full of poetry and do him honor. Those who read the modern English plays—for instance, those of Bulwer, Knowles, etc.,—which I do not, give the preference to Willis; his are decidedly the best; which, after all would not be saying much, I fancy.²

If Willis could make a go of play-writing, Longfellow seemed to think his own chances of success were good. A further reason for feeling that *The Spanish Student* was to be a significant publishing venture may be found in Longfellow's interest in the financial return from such a long composition. Perhaps his rather commercial attitude toward the literary profession had grown out of his early wish to prove that his father had been wrong when he had thwarted the Bowdoin senior's desire to devote his life to writing by his assertion that "there is not wealth enough in this country to afford encouragement and patronage to merely literary men."³ Whatever explanation may be made of this primary interest in the size of the honorarium, the fact remains that Professor Longfellow rarely permitted his poetry to be published unless he were promised substantial remuneration. Since difficulties in regard to payment caused Longfellow considerable embarrassment in regard to the publication of his comedy, it may be worth while to introduce a more definite corroboration of the above assertions. When Evert A. Duyckinck

² *Ibid.*, I, 356.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 56.

wrote Longfellow in 1840, outlining plans for the publication of the New York periodical *Arcturus*, he asked Longfellow to aid the worthy cause by contributing, *gratis*, one original poem. Longfellow's reply from Cambridge on November 24, 1840, was, in part, "as to the poem you speak of, I cannot provide it; because I rely somewhat on my pen to stretch out the ends of my moderate income."⁴ This letter was written to Duyckinck shortly after the publisher John Owen had informed Longfellow that public demand made it necessary to print a third edition of *Voices of the Night*, concerning the success of which the author wrote his father, "In addition . . . I get a great deal of praise, and constant applications to write for periodicals at my own price."⁵ To be sure, three editions of his first book of poems, and a regular outlet through magazines for subsequent writings did not imply that Longfellow was rolling in wealth. Yet he had *begun* teaching at Harvard as Smith Professor of Modern Languages in 1837 with a salary of fifteen hundred dollars. In the light of these facts, it seems quite apparent that he did not need to rely too heavily on his pen to stretch out the ends of his not too moderate income.⁶

For a time Longfellow continued to prepare the way for *The Spanish Student*. His thin book of *Ballads* was published by John Owen in December of 1841, and was well received. The "breach" had been made, and the time was at hand to "enter the citadel in triumph." Certain hindrances arose, however, to delay the entrance. Wearied by the incessant and somewhat irksome grind of professorial duties, Longfellow had planned a trip to Germany for his health and had obtained a six-months' leave of absence from Harvard for this purpose before *Ballads* appeared. He hoped to leave for Germany early in the spring of 1842. This necessitated finding a publisher immediately if *The Spanish Student* were to make its triumphal appearance according to the original plans. Circumstances were favorable, since Longfellow's contributions were solicited at this time by *Graham's Magazine* in Philadelphia, a periodical then rapidly increasing in popularity, and eager to obtain the

⁴ *New York Public Library Bulletin*, I, 245 (1897).

⁵ *Life*, I, 361, 338.

⁶ Perhaps it was the prick of conscience which caused Longfellow to change his mind, and to send as a "Christmas present" to Duyckinck his poem "Blind Bartimeus" the year following. It appeared in *Arcturus*, Dec., 1841.

prestige of printing the name of the author of *Voices of the Night* on its front cover. When Edgar A. Poe had written to Longfellow in May, 1841, asking him to write for *Graham's*, the latter had declined on the ground that he was too busy. What Poe had failed to accomplish, however, Park Benjamin succeeded in doing. Samuel Ward and Benjamin had both served Longfellow as informal press agents in New York. Ward had already placed many of his friend's poems in most advantageous hands; Benjamin used what he liked for his *New World*, and passed on the rest to other editors. On October 19, 1841, Benjamin wrote Graham, "Would you like to have an occasional poem from Professor Longfellow? I think I could get him to write for you at \$20. He asks \$25."⁷ The idea seems to have been most acceptable to Graham, for on December 4 of the same year Benjamin opened negotiations for Graham by writing Longfellow:

I write to ask you to furnish an occasional prose article and poem for *Graham's Magazine* . . . of which Edgar A. Poe is one editor; by far the best of this class of periodicals. It will pay liberally and punctually.⁸

Longfellow had good reason to believe that *Graham's* might aid him in presenting *The Spanish Student* to the best advantage. This magazine would furnish an unusually large number of readers for his comedy, and at the same time would permit him to have his name associated with the names of such prominent contributors as Bryant, Dana, Cooper, and Poe. Later, should his expectations of success be realized, he could find a publisher to bring it out in book form. Owing to the unsettled conditions caused by the financial panic of 1837, it would be quite as well not to risk the dangers of printing the book until the play had become known. Then, too, it would not be an easy matter to find anybody willing to undertake the launching of *The Spanish Student* in independent form during such unfortunate times. Coleman, who had published *Hyperion*, had failed in 1840, and John Owen was on the verge of bankruptcy. So Longfellow, after he had opened the breach in *Graham's* with one prose article ("Heine") and one poem ("The Goblet of Life")

⁷ *Passages From the Correspondence of Rufus W. Griswold* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), p. 100.

⁸ *Life*, I, 392.

informed Benjamin that he would next like to send Graham his new play. Benjamin wrote, on February 1, 1842: "Your plan of publishing *The Student of Alcalá* in *Graham's Magazine* is good. Send me the first Act as soon as you please."⁹ Longfellow did not continue, however, to deal with *Graham's* through Park Benjamin. He wrote directly to Graham, who answered on February 17, expressing his eagerness to have the Harvard professor contribute regularly to his magazine. Graham seemed troubled, nevertheless, concerning the purchase and publishing of *The Spanish Student*, for he concluded his letter:

But in regard to the play, at what rate would you dispose of it? Of its worth we cannot judge as well as yourself—though I would gladly give \$150—which you will probably deem "no consideration"—If so, say the word, and we will see if we can do better, though candidly, everything is pilfered by the weekly papers so soon after the magazine is out, that the original publisher may well doubt, whether his labours are rewarded.¹⁰

Graham's letter gave Longfellow pause. Despite the handsome offer of \$150, he began to consider the advantages of avoiding "pilfering" by publishing immediately in book form. He presented the problem to Samuel Ward, whose reply should have been reassuring:

Reserving for yourself the copy-right I would undoubtedly let Graham publish *The Student of Alcalá* for \$150—a very snug sum in these hard times—lose no time in closing with Graham. Let him publish in two Nos.—or 3. Owen can get an Edition out in the summer.¹¹

Longfellow had other reasons for cautious action. He had lost some of his faith in the empty promises of remuneration from magazine editors. *The Knickerbocker* made boasts of its liberal payments to contributors; yet from 1837 to 1840 it had accepted Longfellow's poems without paying him for them.¹² There was, to be sure, some excuse for such treatment since no business enterprises had suffered more severely during the financial difficulties of 1837-1841 than had the publishing houses. It was largely as a consequence of this de-

⁹ From the original letter in the Longfellow House at Cambridge. Other letters from the same source which are quoted below are identified in footnotes by "Longfellow House."

¹⁰ Longfellow House.

¹¹ Ward to Longfellow, dated "Feb. 1842" (Longfellow House).

¹² *Life*, I, 341.

pression that William Cullen Bryant had encountered trouble in finding a publisher for the younger Dana's *Two Years before the Mast*. Two years later James Russell Lowell, deluded by the failure of his *Pioneer*, wrote his friend Poe concerning the latter's proposed venture into independent magazine publication, "Be very watchful of your publishers & agents. They must be driven as men drive swine,—take your eyes off them for an instant & they bolt between your legs & leave you in the mire."¹³ During the same period Longfellow tried to secure a publisher for some letters of travel in Europe written by George W. Greene, and sought the influential aid of Epes Sargent. Longfellow wrote Greene:

After some delay I got an answer from Sargent showing that nobody pays now-a-days: "The fact is that all our publishers, whether of books or periodicals are desperately poor at present. Money is not to be had." And this is very true; you have no idea of the state of things.¹⁴

Many of the magazines of this time did not survive to witness "the golden age of periodicals," which began around 1843. Since George Rex Graham was but a beginner in a difficult time, Longfellow was naturally reluctant to surrender to him the manuscript of *The Spanish Student* in exchange for nothing save the promise to pay \$150. Even the amount of this offer was at that time sufficient cause for suspicion. For these reasons Longfellow expressed his desire to Graham for a more definite financial proof of Graham's sincerity before the former would part with the manuscript. Graham's pride was hurt by this demand; his eager solicitations ceased, and the correspondence between Graham and Longfellow was temporarily suspended.¹⁵

Weary in mind and body, Longfellow began to relinquish his high hopes for the success of his comedy. Nothing seemed important to him save his imminent departure for Europe. For some time his nervous condition had produced a despondency which contributed to his loss of interest in other projects. In January of 1842 he had written to Samuel Ward:

¹³ George E. Woodberry (ed.), "Lowell's Letters to Poe," *Scribner's Magazine*, XVI, 172 (Aug., 1894).

¹⁴ Longfellow to Greene, Jan. 2, 1840 (*Life*, I, 341).

¹⁵ See letter, Hillard to Griswold, June 15, 1842, quoted below.

As to the Student of Alcala I have no longer any courage to look at it. Neither you, nor Sumner, nor Ticknor, nor Felton likes it; and I am so weary that I cannot nerve my mind to the task of correcting it. I shall probably throw it into the fire.¹⁶

Ward's jesting reply of February 22 was an obvious attempt to cheer the weary poet:

I want you to lose no time in taking up the Spanish Student—Purify it and publish it as a dramatic poem and it will sell like bread—set at once about Preciosa. Let me have one peep under her—before you let the veil fall away, and the drapery and expose the modest and lovely ideal to the public gaze. But let her postures, and those of personages grouped around her be decent and let no lecherous Satyr mar the delicacy of the tableau.¹⁷

The encouragement was in vain. Convinced that he had been wrong in his earlier anticipations, Longfellow left for Europe on April 24, without bothering to find a publisher. Just before his departure he turned the manuscript over to his legal attorney and friend George S. Hillard, giving him entire power to dispose of it as he saw fit. Hillard and Charles Sumner, law partners in Boston since 1834, showed a keen interest in the fate of *The Spanish Student*. Despite their efforts, however, they were unable to elicit further enthusiasm from either Graham or other publishers. On May 16, Hillard wrote Longfellow:

Nothing has been heard from Graham about the play, and Little and Brown expressly decline publishing it at present, saying it would be entirely useless to print it now, as it would not, in any event, sell until the autumn.¹⁸

Graham never did deal with Hillard directly concerning the subsequent purchase. When Griswold succeeded Poe as editor, however, Graham gave him instructions to communicate with Hillard. Under date of June 15, 1842, Sumner informed Longfellow of the new development:

Hillard has read a letter from Griswold, now one of the editors of Graham's Magazine, in which he says that Graham does not want your play

¹⁶ Henry Marion Hall, "Longfellow's Letters to Samuel Ward," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, III, 302 (Dec., 1907).

¹⁷ Longfellow House.

¹⁸ Longfellow House.

for this year—that this year is fairly started, but that he will take it & pay \$150 to appear the *first* of January 1843—it would be printed in November but not published till January—you to stipulate that it should not appear in the meantime in Europe. What say you? Shall Hillard make the bargain, deliver the play & receive the money?¹⁹

Graham's proposal suggests that he had not entirely recovered from his coolness toward Longfellow, and that he was not too enthusiastic in his willingness to publish the play. For some reason, however, Griswold succeeded in making Hillard a better proposition, which Hillard passed on to Longfellow under date of July 2:

Griswold has made me another offer, to take the MS now and pay \$150 for it and publish it in October—and this I have accepted, and have sent it to him. Of course, I have reserved the right for you to publish it in a volume after it has appeared there.²⁰

In these two letters from Griswold to Hillard there must have been definite reference to the existing estrangement between Graham and Longfellow, since Hillard made excuses for Longfellow's conduct in his reply to Griswold under date of June 28. Since this letter explains much concerning the entire transaction, it is quoted almost entire:

I duly received both of your letters, and am quite ashamed of myself for not having sooner replied to the first one, of June 9th. . . . As to the proposal contained in that letter, I thought it best to submit it to Prof. Longfellow himself, there being time enough to do so and receive an answer before you wanted it, and accordingly Mr. Sumner mentioned your proposition in a letter which went by way of the last steamer. But the terms which you propose in yours of the 25th are such that I feel warranted in accepting them at once on my own responsibility, and accordingly do so, and will forward the M. S. to your address by Harnden, as soon as I can get it from Cambridge.²¹ The work cannot be printed anywhere in this country, without my consent, as I am Mr. Longfellow's sole

¹⁹ Longfellow House.

²⁰ Longfellow House.

²¹ Hillard sent the manuscript to Griswold on July 1. (The accompanying letter, Hillard to Griswold, is among the Griswold papers, Boston Public Library.) Before the proof sheets had been printed, Griswold wrote James T. Fields (July 10): "Speaking of Longfellow—the MS. of his *Spanish Student* I shall have bound in green and gold—would you not like to have it? Such autographs are not to be picked up every day" (*Griswold Correspondence*, p. 113). The bound manuscript remained in the possession of Griswold and at his death was placed in the New York Historical Society.

attorney & have the entire control of the M.S. and that it will not be printed in Europe, I feel entirely confident, from the fact that he took no copy of it with him, and besides he will not be in London till the autumn. I should like to have it appear earlier than the October No., if possible, say in September No.? Can that be done? Of course I wish to reserve to Mr. Longfellow the right to publish it in a volume, either in Europe or America, *after* it shall have appeared in the Magazine.

I regret to learn that anything has transpired between Mr. Graham and Mr. Longfellow to wound the feelings of the former. He must not cherish the remembrance of it but pardon it to the impatience of a man of genius, ignorant of business, in the hurry of an approaching departure and who has had some painful experiences of the hollow promises of editors and publishers. The scalded child dreads cold water, you know. I am well aware of Mr. Graham's honorable character for liberal and prompt payment to his contributors.²²

Under date of July 23, Griswold sent to the Sumner-Hillard office a draft for \$150, together with the proof sheet of the first act. Sumner, handling the business while Hillard was away on vacation, acknowledged receipt of the draft, and in the letter of acknowledgment, dated August 2, pointed out one final error:

The proof sheet came also. I trust you received it in proper season. But I have seen a sheet of only *one act*. Was it not intended to print the whole play in one number of the Magazine? The reputation of the Author would be best consulted by this course, if not the interests of the Magazine.²³

Griswold's explanation of this division was relayed to Longfellow by Sumner in a letter dated August 29:

The 1st Act of the *Spanish Student* graces the Sept. no. of *Graham's*. The 2d & 3d will follow—The publication in separate numbers was a device of the publisher to which Mr. Griswold unsuccessfully objected. Griswold has written me about you in terms of warm admiration. He hopes you will enable them to print something from you in every number of their magazine. I think the Student reads well in print—better by far than in MS.²⁴

Since his departure for Germany Longfellow had made scarcely a single reference to the fate of *The Spanish Student*. Not even the

²² From the original letter in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²³ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²⁴ Longfellow House.

chopping of it into three numbers seemed to arouse any reaction. Apparently his interest in the project had almost entirely ceased. Certain it was that his friends continued to think little of the play, and were merely polite in their words of commendation. C. C. Felton, for instance, writing from Cambridge on September 17, avoided serious criticism in this pleasant fashion:

The first act of the *Spanish Student* is out and has made some considerable sensation here. Sally Lowell was at first a good deal troubled and shut herself up several days. Since then she has emerged into daylight, and is now doing as well as can be expected. Several old women have laid it under ban and forbidden their daughters to read it. This only makes the daughters the more earnest to get hold of it, and they have been not a little disappointed to find it no worse.²⁵

The second and third parts of *The Spanish Student* appeared as planned, in the October and November numbers of *Graham's*. After his return from Europe Longfellow became a regular contributor, and in 1844 made an agreement whereby he wrote for a time exclusively for *Graham's Magazine*.²⁶

²⁵ Longfellow House.

²⁶ *Life*, II, 19.

EMERSON AND THE OFFERING FOR 1829

RALPH THOMPSON
Columbia University

THE *Offering for 1829* is a little collection of prose and verse compiled late in 1828 by Andrews Norton, then professor in the Harvard Divinity School. Illustrated with a few lithographs and made up of contributions from about twenty men and women, the volume is similar to any of a dozen better-known American gift books, and in format and letterpress is distinctly inferior to some of them. Despite this, however, *The Offering* merits especial attention, for in its pages appeared the earliest known published work of Ralph Waldo Emerson.¹

I do not know how Emerson came to contribute to *The Offering*. Later on in life, after he had achieved a reputation, he sent essays and poems to a few other gift books, but it is probable that he at no time admired the holiday volumes and the literary sweetmeats they purveyed. His interests were of another sort. In 1828, however, the young divinity student may have welcomed the chance to associate himself with a publication issued "from the very atmosphere of learning"—as an indulgent reviewer put it. What is more, he may have thus early in his career entertained a high opinion of his one-time mentor and future critic, Andrews Norton, and in all probability he believed in the advancement of infant education, to which charitable purpose *The Offering* was devoted.

Only one of Emerson's contributions to Norton's volume has been generally recognized—the unsigned poem called "Fame." It is now clear that he wrote also the unsigned piece entitled "An Extract from Unpublished Travels in the East," which may be marked as his first printed work in prose. Still a third would appear to be

¹ *The Offering for 1829* was issued with the imprint "Cambridge, Hilliard and Brown, 1829." Norton's editorship is assumed on the basis of editorial notes signed "A. N."—most of which concern Felicia Hemans, with whom Norton was acquainted. The volume was published late in December, 1828, for by Jan. 1, 1829, it was being sold by a book-dealer (see James Loring's advertisement in *The Boston Recorder and Religious Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1829), and, according to its preface, it "had not been thought of at the beginning of November." A more detailed account of *The Offering* will be given in my history of American gift books now being prepared for publication.

Emerson's, even though sufficient evidence to permit a positive statement in this regard has not come to hand.

I

Four stanzas of "Fame" were written into Emerson's journal during 1826, a fifth in June, 1827. Their form in the printed *Journals*² differs somewhat from that in *The Offering*³ and also from that used in the collected *Poems*.⁴ The only other printing of "Fame" seems to be that in *The Radical* for August, 1871;⁵ "T.W.H." (Thomas Wentworth Higginson?) in some way or other recognized the verses in the gift book as Emerson's, and copied them out for the magazine. There are, therefore, three versions of the poem (disregarding details of punctuation, capitalization, and spelling): those of the *Journals* (1), *The Offering* (2), and the *Poems* (3). The following are the variant lines:

1. From East to West, from Beersheba to Dan
2. From East to West, from Beersheba to Dan
3. East, West, from Beer to Dan

1. Pray was it never heard
2. Say, was it never heard
3. Say, was it never heard

1. Who sells his sinews to be wise
2. Who gives his sinews, to be wise
3. Who sells his sinews to be wise

1. And crawls half-dead, a paralytic
2. And crawls through life a paralytic
3. And crawls through life a paralytic

1. Is it not better done
2. Is it not better done
3. Were it not better done

1. Put love, joy, health upon the shrine
2. Put love, joy, health, upon the shrine
3. Put youth, joy, health, upon the shrine

² *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1909-1914), II, 80-81, 210.

³ Pp. 52-53.

⁴ (Boston, 1884), pp. 311-312.

⁵ IX, 52.

1. Thyself, poor dupe! for praises barter
 2. Thy hapless self for praises barter
 3. Being for Seeming bravely barter
-
1. And die to Fame an honoured martyr
 2. And die to Fame an honored martyr
 3. And die to Fame a happy martyr

But few comments need be made upon these variants. It is clear that Emerson altered the grammar of one line to acknowledge a subjunctive nicety, and perhaps it was on ethical grounds that in another he substituted "youth" for "love." The more significant alterations are no doubt those which enhanced the poem's stylistic peculiarities—when "East, West, from Beer to Dan" took the place of a less succinct original, and when "Being for Seeming" supplanted more concrete and conventional phraseology.

II

"An Extract from Unpublished Travels in the East" may be added to the Emerson canon because the tale is but an altered version of a passage from the *Journals*⁸ dated October, 1822. I give it here in full as it appeared in *The Offering* (pp. 8-10) because the introductory paragraph apparently has never been reprinted in any form and because the body of the story differs somewhat from the entry in the printed journals.

After the feast of the house of the Bey in Samarcand was concluded, the company were entertained by narratives told with great spirit by some of Shah Lufi's friends. Old Yelghar, who had seen an English organ at Bombay, before he came hither, related a marvellous anecdote, of which this is the substance:

"When I was a lad," said the bearded islander, "we had a kind of vast musical apparatus in the Pacific islands, which must appear as fabulous to you, as it proved fatal to us. On the banks of the Lagoons, in the Bread Islands, there grew an abundance of Siphar trees, which consist of vast trunks perforated by a multitude of winding tubes, and having almost no external verdure. When the roots were artificially connected with the water of the creek, the water was instantly sucked up by some of the tubes, and discharged by others, and the operation attended (especially, if properly echoed) with the most beautiful musical sounds in the world.

⁸I, 170-173.

My countrymen built their temples to the great Zoa, upon the margin of the water, and enclosed a suitable number of these trees, with the design of entertaining the ears of the god, with this sweet harmony. Finding, however, by experience, that the more water the pipes drew, the more rich and various were the sounds of their organ, they constructed a very spacious temple, with high walls of clay and stone, curiously adapted to reverberate the sound, and enclosed a hundred large Siphars.

When the edifice was complete, the people from all the country round assembled, in throngs, to hear the concert. After they had waited a long time, and the tide began to rise, the instrument suddenly emitted the finest notes imaginable. Through some of the larger pipes, the water rushed with the voice of thunder, and through others, with the sweetness of one of your lutes. In a short time, the effect of the music was such, that it seemed to have made all the hearers mad. They laughed and wept alternately, and began to dance; and such was their delight, that they did not perceive the disaster which had befallen their organ.

Owing to the unusual height of the tide, and to some unaccountable irregularity in the ducts, the pipes began to discharge their contents within the building. In a short time, the evil became too apparent; for the water rose in spouts from the top of the larger ducts, and fell upon the multitudes within.

Meantime, the music swelled louder and louder, and every note was more ravishing than the last. The inconvenience of the falling water, which drenched them, was entirely forgotten, until, finally, the whole host of pipes discharged every one a volume of water upon the charmed congregation. The faster poured the water, the sweeter grew the music; and the ground being covered to the height of two or three cubits, with the torrent, the people began to float upon it, with intolerable extacies. Finally, the whole multitude swam about in this deluge, holding up their heads with open mouths and ears, as if to swallow the melody, whereby they swallowed much water. Many hundreds were immediately drowned; and the enormous pipes, as they emptied their rivers, swelled their harmony to such perfection, that the ear could no longer bear it, and almost all who escaped drowning, died of the exquisite music.

Thenceforward, there was no more use of the Siphar trees, in the Bread Islands.

I have not been able to determine where Emerson picked up this strange story. There is, of course, a chance that he invented it, but the bearded islander's account does not read like the invention of a

youth still in his teens. Apparently there is no such tree as the Siphar (the name may have been suggested to Emerson by the siphonic function of the roots), nor do there seem to be islands called the Bread Islands. The god Zoa is also puzzling; if Zoroaster was the inspiration for the name, there is little logic in his being assigned adherents among the inhabitants of a South Sea archipelago. But Emerson's early Oriental writings were not always historically or logically correct; the fragment called "A Venture in Romance" in the *Journals*⁷ combines Cashmere, Arabian harvests, Omar, and an Indian moon in the same paragraph, and the scheme of a Pacific Islander's telling his story in far off Turkestan—even after a voyage *via* Bombay—may have also been the creation of an enthusiastic rather than an ordered knowledge.⁸

III

The third piece under discussion, an unsigned poem called "William Rufus and the Jew," may be tentatively assigned to Emerson for various reasons. First of all, the manner and method of the verse are rather Emersonian. But more compelling is the fact that there

⁷ I, 108-109.

⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Christy for this analogy. Dr. Christy has also pointed out to me that Emerson transformed "Saadi" into "Seyd"—and hence may have coined "Zoa" from "Zoroaster." In a revision of "Fame," as has been shown, "Beersheba" became "Beer."

Dr. Ralph L. Rusk has called my attention to William Blake's use of the word "Zoa" in *Milton* (1804) and *Jerusalem* (1804) and in *The Four Zoas*, which was not published until many years after *The Offering* appeared. What Blake meant the Zoas to be is not clear; at one time they are described as gods, at another as elements, at another as the Eternal Senses. The editors of Blake's *Prophetic Writings* (Oxford, 1926), II, 256, suggest that he may have derived the term "from the Greek text of Revelation where it stands as the original of the 'beast' of the Authorized Version. . . . It is not unlikely that, re-reading the Apocalypse in Greek and English concurrently and meeting the word ζῷα (e.g., Rev. iv. 6), he thought he saw in it a compendious term for cumbrous periphrases." Messrs. Sloss and Wallis further remark that at one time they thought "that the term 'Zoa' might have been taken from the name of a chap-book heroine. Leigh Hunt, in *The Indicator*, No. lx, speaks of a legend of this kind entitled: 'The Story of the Beautiful Zoa, who was cast away on a desert island. . . .' But this Zoa was a maiden, while Blake's Zoas were masculine, besides that the reading of the Greek Testament at Felpham is, chronologically, more apt as a source, and more characteristically Blakean."

I see no reason to suspect that Emerson was led to the name by a reading of Blake's work or reviews of his work—although either is possible. His first comment on the poet in the *Journals* was entered in 1863—more than forty years after the sketch which became "An Extract from Unpublished Travels in the East" appeared there. He may, of course, like Blake, have come upon the word in the Greek Testament, which was read by Harvard undergraduates, as the University catalogue for 1820-1821 shows. As for his use of the name because of the chap-book stories, that chance seems altogether remote.

are in existence two copies of *The Offering* with handwritten ascriptions of authorship—and both credit Emerson with this poem as well as with “Fame” and “An Extract from Unpublished Travels in the East.” Whoever the annotators were—and they seem to have worked independently of each other—they were well-informed; I have been able to verify some of the other notes of authorship which they set down, and in no instance have their ascriptions proved misleading. Furthermore, the two lists of annotations are at variance only in so far as one or the other fails to indicate the author of a particular piece of prose or verse; no article is assigned to one person in one of the copies, to another in the second.⁹

“William Rufus and the Jew” appears in *The Offering* (pp. 17-18) as follows:

“May it please my lord the King,—there’s a Jew at the door.”
 —“Let him in,” said the king, “what’s he waiting there for?”
 —“I wot, Sir, you come from Abraham’s loins,
 Love not Christ, eat no pork, do no good with your coins.”
 “My lord the king! I do as Moses bids;
 Eschewing all evil, I shut my coffer lids;
 From the law of my fathers, God forbid I should swerve;
 The uncircumcised Nazarite, my race must not serve;
 But Isaac my son to the Gentiles hath gone over,
 And no means can I find my first-born to recover.
 I would give fifty marks, and my gabardine to boot,
 To the Rabbi that would bring him from the Christian faith about;
 But phylacteried Rabbins live far over sea,
 I cannot go to them, and they will not come to me.
 Will it please my lord the king, from the house of Magog,
 To bring my son back to his own synagogue.”
 —“Why I’ll be the Rabbi,—where’s a fitter Pharisee?
Count me out the fifty marks, and go send your son to me.”
 The king filled his mouth with arguments and jibes,

⁹ One annotated copy, with the name of Anna L. Quincy on the fly-leaf, is now in the Harvard College Library; the other, which bears no owner’s name, is in the library of the New York Historical Society. The compiler of the catalogue entitled *The Stephen H. Wake-man Collection of Books of Nineteenth Century American Writers* (New York [1924]) notes under *The Offering* (item 158) that Emerson was the author of “William Rufus and the Jew” as well as of the two pieces discussed earlier in this article—this apparently on the reference of P. K. Foley. How Mr. Foley came to his conclusions is not divulged, and it may have been that he had seen one of the annotated copies mentioned above, or another one like them.

To win the boy back to the faith of the tribes,
 But Isaac the Jew was so hard and stiff-necked,
 That by no means could the king come to any effect;
 So he paid the Jew back twenty marks of his gains;
 Quoth he, "I think I'll keep the thirty for the payment of my pains."

The story retold in the poem is an old one, and appears in at least two histories with which Emerson was familiar: Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* and David Hume's *History of England*.¹⁰ Originating apparently with the English historian Eadmer, a contemporary of William Rufus, the tale has found its way into many reviews of English history—with one slight variation. In both Holinshed and Hume the Jew gives the money to the King before the latter attempts the second conversion of the young man; in Eadmer¹¹ and in other accounts,¹² however, no money changes hands until the very end, and only then does the Jew pay reluctantly a portion of the promised sum. All the histories which I have consulted, though, agree upon the fact that the original bargain called for sixty marks—not fifty, as the poem has it. Since the demands of euphony or metre do not seem to order "fifty" rather than "sixty" in this case, it may be that the immediate source of the story used in this poem (be it Emerson's or not) is the work of that writer who has pictured William II of England as exacting for his "pains" not a paltry fifty per cent of the stipulated reward, but a royal three-fifths.

¹⁰ For Emerson's acquaintance with these works see the *Journals*, I, 86; II, 35. In an edition of Holinshed which he may have used (London, 1807), the story appears in II, 45-46; in Hume (London, 1822), I, 300-301.

¹¹ *Historiae novorum* (Londini, 1623), p. 47.

¹² For example, Sharon Turner, *The History of England During the Middle Ages* (London, 1830), I, 163-164, or Edward A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First* (Oxford, 1882), I, 163-165.

ROWE'S TAMERLANE AND THE PRINCE OF PARTHIA

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AN UNUSUAL interest attaches to any professionally acted drama which may have influenced Thomas Godfrey in writing *The Prince of Parthia* precisely because *The Prince of Parthia* owes its unique place in American drama not so much to its literary merit as to the fact that it was the first American play to be produced on the professional stage. Hence any connection between *The Prince of Parthia* and the professional theater deserves careful study. The fact that Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* may have been an influence on *The Prince of Parthia* has been recognized by scholars.¹ But the interesting possibility that Rowe's tragedy was the particular acted drama which inspired Godfrey's emulation, as well as the possibility that it had a very important part in shaping *The Prince of Parthia*, has led me to examine in detail the extent of the influence.

A comparison of the two plays reveals a number of elements, especially situations, types of character, and turns of plot, which the plays have in common. It is perhaps significant that these are all details of dramatic framework—such details as a boy (*Tamerlane* was produced in Philadelphia in 1754, when Godfrey was seventeen)² might have remembered from a play he had seen.

In the first place, the opening speech of *The Prince of Parthia* contains a definite echo of lines in the earlier play. In Rowe's tragedy, a victory of Tamerlane's is hailed with the words,

From this auspicious day the Parthian name
Shall date its birth of empire. (II, 2)

In *The Prince of Parthia*, of a victory of Arsaces it is said that

This day shall shine in Ages yet to come,
And grace the PARTHIAN story. (I, 1)

¹ Notably Archibald Henderson, *The Prince of Parthia* (Boston, 1917), p. 34, and Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1923), p. 24.

² For details concerning this production of *Tamerlane* by the Company of Comedians from London, see my *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), pp. 10 and 76.

And the opening lines of *Tamerlane* in honor of the sun, which begin, "Hail to the sun! from whose returning light . . ." may very possibly have suggested Godfrey's "Hymn to the Parent of Light" which opens the fifth scene of *The Prince of Parthia*.

A number of scenes in Godfrey's tragedy are in their framework strikingly similar to scenes in *Tamerlane*. In both plays there are scenes in which a haughty captive of noble birth upbraids a king, his captor. In Rowe's play the captive Bajazet, though in chains, criticizes Tamerlane, his conqueror, with unbridled spirit and language (II, 2). In *The Prince of Parthia* the captive Bethas, also in chains, lectures the king Artabanus, his captor, with unbridled spirit if somewhat less extreme language (I, 5).

The scene (I, 1) in which the hero of *Tamerlane* treats a prisoner, Moneses, with noble admiration and gives him his liberty foreshadows the scene in *The Prince of Parthia* (II, 6) in which the hero, Arsaces, treats a prisoner, Bethas, with even more noble admiration and gains for him his liberty.

In Act Four, Scene Two, of *Tamerlane*, as the curtain rises Arpasia is discovered lying asleep on a couch. There is music, a "Song to Sleep," after which Arpasia wakes. Shortly afterward, Tamerlane enters. In *The Prince of Parthia* the fifth act opens in a closely similar fashion. "The curtain rises, slowly, to soft music, and discovers Evanthe sleeping on a Sofa; after the music ceases, Vardanes enters." Then there is a song, following which Evanthe wakes and embarks on a speech the thought of which echoes the thought of the "Song to Sleep" in the parallel scene from *Tamerlane*.

The first scene of Act Five of *Tamerlane*, in which the villain, Bajazet, tries to secure the favors of Arpasia by threatening her lover, Moneses, with torture and death, is repeated in the first scene of Act Five of *The Prince of Parthia*, in which the villain, Vardanes, tries to secure the favors of Evanthe by threatening her lover, Arsaces, with torture and death. In *Tamerlane*, Bajazet says:

That Grecian Dog, the Minion of thy Wishes,
Shall be dragg'd forth, and butcher'd in thy Sight;
Thou shalt behold him, when his pangs are terrible,
Then, when he stares, and gasps, and struggles strongly,
Ev'n in the bitterest Agony of dying.

In *The Prince of Parthia*, Vardanes says:

Not only shall he die, but to thy view
 I'll bring the scene, those eyes that take delight
 In cruelty, shall have enough of death.
 E'en here, before thy sight, he shall expire,
 Not sudden, but by ling'ring torments; all
 That mischief can invent shall be practis'd
 To give him pain; to lengthen out his woe
 I'll search around the realm for skillful men,
 To find new tortures.

Turns of plot are brought about in both plays by similar bits of reasoning. In Rowe's tragedy, *Tamerlane* condemns a dervish to death, but when the dervish welcomes death, he decides to let him live, reflecting, "It shall be so—to die! 'twere a reward—" (Act III). In *The Prince of Parthia* Thermusa goes down to kill Arsaces, but when he welcomes death, she decides to let him live, saying:

No: now I'd have thee live,
 Since it is happiness to die. (IV, 5)

The dreadful night of the fifth act of *Tamerlane* during which deeds of evil are committed descends again in the second act of *The Prince of Parthia*, presaging and obscuring the murderer's crime. Of course *Julius Caesar* (and other plays) also could have given Godfrey the suggestion for this device, but as the young dramatist in all likelihood saw *Tamerlane* on the stage, the latter play must be regarded as the more probable influence.

Both the villain's accomplice and the villain of *Tamerlane* are repeated in *The Prince of Parthia*. The villain's accomplice in *Tamerlane* is Omar; in Godfrey's play, Lysias. In the earlier tragedy, Omar, an officer of the court, turns traitor because he feels himself insulted when the emperor denies him a girl he wants, deserts to the enemy, and allows the villain to enjoy a temporary ascendancy. In *The Prince of Parthia* similar motivation is used to achieve a like result. Lysias, an officer of the court, turns traitor because he feels himself insulted by the king and kills the king, thereby helping the villain to enjoy a temporary ascendancy.

In *Tamerlane* the villain is Bajazet, a man of overweening arrogance. He is described as

proud, impatient
Of aught, e'en of Heav'n that made him.
Fond of false glory, of the savage pow'r
Of ruling without reason. (I, 1)

Fall'n, like the proud archangel, from the height
Where once (even next to majesty divine)
Enthron'd he sat. (II, 1)

When Tamerlane says to him:

The world!—'twould be too little for thy pride:
Thou wouldst scale Heav'n—

Bajazet replies:

I would:—Away! my soul
Disdains thy conference.

And Tamerlane rejoins:

Thou vain, rash thing,
That, with gigantic insolence, hast dar'd
To lift thy wretched self beyond the stars,
And mate with pow'r almighty: thou art fall'n! (II, 2)

The villain of *The Prince of Parthia*, Vardanes, also a man of overweening arrogance, is sketched in similar words:

That haughty Prince eyes with a stern contempt
All other mortals, and with lofty mien
He treads the earth as tho' he were a God,
Nay, I believe that his ambitious soul,
Had it but pow'r to its licentious wishes,
Would dare dispute with Jove the rule of Heav'n;
Like a Titanian son with giant insolence,
Match with the Gods, and wage immortal war,
'Til their red wrath should hurl him headlong down,
E'en to destruction's lowest pit of horror. (I, 1)

And finally, *Tamerlane* gave the setting for *The Prince of Parthia*. It answers the curious question, Why should a Philadelphia boy in the middle of the eighteenth century have been inspired to write a play about Parthia? The very title of Godfrey's tragedy

occurs in the earlier play when Omar calls Tamerlane a "petty prince of Parthia" (IV, 1).

* * * * *

Everyone who knows *The Prince of Parthia* will realize that the details here isolated are by no means the whole play, or even an important part of its merit. But they are essential elements in its framework, and they indicate, I believe, that Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia*, the first American drama to be professionally produced, was strongly influenced, if not indeed originally inspired, by Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane*.

TIMROD'S ESSAYS IN LITERARY CRITICISM

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IN HIS review of Henry T. Thompson's little volume, *Henry Timrod, Laureate of the Confederacy*, for *American Literature*,¹ Dean Addison Hibbard suggested that a collection of Timrod's prose be made "with a view, should it prove significant, to publication." It was not until his later years that Timrod turned to prose. Under the *nom de plume* of Aglaus, he had contributed, prior to the founding of *Russell's Magazine* (1857), an occasional poem to *The Southern Literary Messenger*, but no prose.² In the very first volume of *Russell's*, however, there appeared two essays from his pen, and two years later a third. In 1864 he did editorial writing for South Carolina newspapers; first for *The South Carolinian* of Columbia, which in 1865 became *The Carolinian* of Charleston; and later for *The Phoenix* of Columbia.³ At first his prose style was marred by occasional stiffness and stiltedness as well as by an inclination toward a tragic tone, but by and by he eliminated these blemishes and attained both grace and vigor of expression. In short, he was "making himself," as William Gilmore Simms wrote to Paul Hamilton Hayne in 1864, "a fine prose writer."⁴

Timrod has left us a notable little group of critical essays as follows:

"The Character and Scope of the Sonnet." *Russell's*, May, 1857.

"What is Poetry," *Russell's*, October, 1857.

"Literature in the South." *Russell's*, August, 1859.

"A Theory of Poetry." "Address Delivered at the Methodist Female College [now Columbia College], Columbia, S. C. Winter of 1863-1864."⁵

¹ *American Literature*, I, 224-225 (May, 1929).

² For this information I am greatly indebted to the staff of the University of Virginia Library.

³ H. T. Thompson, *Henry Timrod, Laureate of the Confederacy* (Columbia, S. C., 1929), pp. 36-37, 39-40.

⁴ W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston and New York, 1892), p. 277.

⁵ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

The essay on the sonnet was reprinted in *The Outlook*, July 23, 1904;⁶ the address on the nature of poetry, in a slightly abridged and a serial form, in *The Independent*, March 28, April 4 and 11, 1901, and without abridgment in the September, 1905, number of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The two essays of 1857 were used by Hayne in his statement of Timrod's theory of poetry in the 1873 edition of Timrod's poems.

This theory as first presented in the essay, "What is Poetry?" is offered as a substitute for the theory propounded by William J. Grayson in the July, 1857, number of *Russell's*.⁷ Grayson had defined poetry as merely metrical language, and Timrod, who, according to Hayne, was "fond of argument," launched an attack on Grayson's inadequate definition. While attempting no formal definition of his own, Timrod endorses Coleridge's assertion that the essence of poetry is akin to the nature of poetic genius; namely, "a more than ordinary sensibility" which expresses itself in emotional utterances. But he finds in poetry also a strongly imaginative element that appears in "sensuous, picturesque" diction. Hence he is not altogether satisfied with Wordsworth's definition of poetry as emotion recollected in tranquillity.⁸ He admits that verse is the preferable form of poetic expression, for the reason that while no poem consists entirely of poetry, verse is an effective means of keeping the bits of prose, which creep into the poem when the poet's inspiration flags, in harmony with the predominant poetic portions.

It was not until 1863-1864 that Timrod drew up a full and definite statement of his theory of poetry.⁹ Attacking as too narrow Poe's well-known definition, the rhythmical creation of beauty—which he regards as "the one most artfully put" and "most likely to excite interest in an American audience"—he contends that the

⁶ The editor erroneously states that it was the first time the essay had been published.

⁷ The names of the authors of unsigned contributions to *Russell's* have been inserted in the set now in the possession of the New York Public Library. This set, Mr. H. M. Lydenberg, assistant director of the Library, has kindly informed me, was obtained in 1898 from a half brother of John Russell. This gentleman, Mr. Edward C. Jones of Memphis, Tennessee, stated that he had secured the names of the authors from Russell himself.

⁸ An editorial in *The Daily South Carolinian*, Feb. 28, 1864—probably from Timrod's pen—contains an expression of the judgment that only with the return of peace can the poet give utterance to the heroic deeds and stirring emotions of the war period. "A certain amount of composure is always necessary to the composition of a poem," says the writer, who looked for an outburst of poetry in the South after the close of the war.

⁹ In "A Theory of Poetry."

province of poetry is broad enough to include "the sublime and terrible" aspects of life and nature, "the fairy tales of science," "the magic of machinery," the homely virtues and the everyday experiences of mankind.¹⁰ For poetry is not only the creation of beauty, but also the expression of noble forms of power and of "truth, whether abstract or not, when it affects the common heart of mankind." Nor will the great poet, Timrod thinks, limit himself to the short poem as prescribed by Poe. "Oh! rest assured," he exclaims, "that there are no stereotyped forms of poetry. It is a vital power and may assume any guise and take any shape. . . ." This conception of poetry is comprehensive, sound, and satisfying.

As Hayne has remarked,¹¹ it is not surprising that Timrod, the disciple of Wordsworth, set a high value upon the sonnet. His earliest literary essay is a defense of it against the attacks of its critics. To him it is a "little harp of fourteen strings" which has been "swept by the hands of a few great masters" and which can express concisely a "single thought, emotion, or picture . . . [in] lines of wonderful pregnancy [that] haunt the memory forever." And yet it may call for the exercise of the poet's full powers as does the epic.

Timrod's survey of the literary situation in the South just prior to the War between the Sections¹² contains not only an expression of the familiar lament that there was little or no appreciation of Southern writers at home, but also an attack on the complacent conservatism of reactionary Southerners.¹³ These, with their lack of literary knowledge and their uncultivated literary taste, ignored "the claims of a professional writer" and spurned the opinions of "careful and loving" students of literature. They regarded literature as merely an "amusement, not as a study at least equal in importance, and certainly not inferior in difficulty, to law and medi-

¹⁰ Cf. his sonnet, "Poet! if on a Lasting Fame Be Bent":

" . . . thou mayst draw from matters of the hearth
Truths wide as nations, and as deep as love."

In the sonnet beginning "I scarcely grieve, O Nature! at the lot," he calls the smoke of a factory at daybreak "a golden mist."

¹¹ Memoir in 1873 edition of Timrod's poems, p. 26.

¹² "Literature in the South."

¹³ In his *Southern Literary Studies* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1927), p. 56, the late C. Alphonso Smith quotes Thomas Nelson Page's explanation of the dearth of literature in the Old South. One of the reasons is "the absence of a reading public—for American authors, due in part to the conservatism of the Southern people."

cine." Familiar with Pope and Horace, they had either "never read a word of Wordsworth or Tennyson" or had "read them with suspicion, and rejected them with superciliousness."¹⁴ Such persons still clung to antiquated or "exploded" theories of criticism. As over against this uninformed dilettantism, Timrod contended for an intelligent literary taste established upon the basis of "critical science" and having due regard for "the impartial philosophical conclusions of others."

Among the dilettante Southern reactionaries in literary taste and theory Timrod includes the teachers of belles lettres, whom he denounces as "misleaders of youth." He advocates the "systematic study of English literature under the guidance of proper expounders." At that time there were probably few expounders of literature, "proper" or improper, though the Southern colleges seem to have been "pioneers" in the teaching of English.¹⁵ The first course in English literature at Yale University was not given until three years after the publication of the essay under discussion; in Timrod's own university (Georgia) Richard Malcolm Johnston had become professor of belles lettres two years before the essay appeared; and at Harvard Professor F. J. Child had first lectured to the seniors on English literature in the early fifties. In Timrod's native state the first president of the South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina, had in the course of his administration, lasting from 1805 to 1820, given the students instruction in literature; and in 1834 a professor of logic and belles lettres was added to the faculty.¹⁶ But it was poetry in particular that Timrod wished to see studied, "as an art in conjunction with the science of criticism," so that the "scope and objects" of poetry might be rightly determined and a much needed improvement in the taste of the

¹⁴ In a letter written at Berkeley Springs, Va., the date of which is uncertain but was probably July 10, 1873, Bret Harte tells of having met there a Southern gentleman of the old school who asked him what he thought of Matthew Prior's poems (*The Letters of Bret Harte*, ed. G. B. Harte, Boston and New York, 1926, p. 24).

¹⁵ I am greatly indebted for the information regarding the leadership of the Southern colleges in the teaching of English to Professor Jay B. Hubbell, who cited John Bell Henneman's "The Study of English in the South," *The Sewanee Review*, II, 180-197 (Feb., 1894), later reprinted in another form in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VII, 115-134.

¹⁶ For these facts I am indebted to the librarians of Harvard, Yale, and Georgia universities; to Professor E. L. Green, the historian of the University of South Carolina; and to M. LaBorde's *History of South Carolina College*, Charleston, 1874.

public might be effected. Fiction, too, he found worthy of a place in the scheme of education, because of its superiority to history in the portrayal of human nature, social life, and national traits.

Another object of attack in this notable survey of literary conditions in the ante-bellum South is the false conception of "Americanism" which had made its way into the South from the North some time before—a conception that demanded its exclusive use of native material in American writing, no matter how European the treatment might be. "If a poet," remarks Timrod scornfully, "in genuine Scott, or genuine Byron, compared his hero to a cougar or grisly bear—the exclamation of the critic was, 'How intensely American!'" It is not the subject-matter, Timrod maintains, but the treatment that should be American; the writer who speaks truly his thoughts and feelings is sure to reflect "subtly" but accurately his environment.¹⁷

Thus we find Timrod to be an earnest and thoughtful student of literary art and theory, a progressive and constructive thinker who desires to aid in "the establishment of a generous and catholic criticism." The tone of his critical writing is one of independence and dignity, occasionally lapsing into caustic indignation. He is fair, outspoken, and clear-cut in utterance. As Paul Hamilton Hayne perceived, he reveals not only a thorough acquaintance with art, but also "real depth and force of thought."¹⁸ Altogether, he is a sane and liberal critic.

¹⁷ Cf. C. Alphonso Smith's *Southern Literary Studies*, p. 126: "Nationalism is not physical, but spiritual and temperamental. It is to be seen in the extent to which a writer expresses and illustrates the *essential characteristics* of his people, and not by actual descriptions of natural scenes, characters, and events in his writings, nor by '*local color*' of any kind."

¹⁸ Letter to Richard Henry Stoddard, July 1, 1866, ed. Harry Shaw, Jr., *American Literature* IV, 195-199 (May, 1932).

AMERICAN LITERATURE IN GERMANY:

A REPORT OF RECENT RESEARCH AND CRITICISM—1931-1933

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AMERICA'S decisive part in the World War, and the victory of democracy in political Germany as a result, turned the hardly more than purely academic curiosity in American institutions and problems that previously existed in Central Europe into a very vital interest that immediately became apparent in all forms of German intellectual life. There was a very large and steadily growing output of books, pamphlets, and articles on America, both sympathetic and otherwise; and with the creation at Berlin University of a chair for the study of American civilization the academic world accepted the United States and its cultural area as a field for a much more intensive research activity than had previously existed.

Hence, any survey of the research work on American literature done in Germany during the last three years must of necessity begin with Friedrich Schönnemann's two volumes on the United States, a companion work to Dibelius's *England* and Curtius's and Bergstrasser's *France*. Schönnemann, now head of the American Seminar at Berlin University, spent the years of the War in America and first made a name for himself with a book on American methods of propaganda. Several short articles and a book on Mark Twain represent his début as a historian of American literature, but the center of his interest obviously always has lain in the broader aspects of American history and life. The present work¹ is the fruit of ten years of study and travel and may claim to be the fullest presentation of American life in a foreign tongue. The stress is laid throughout on present-day conditions, and the historical background given in the first volume is kept strictly under this point of view. The author does not offer a consecutive narrative of events but a discussion of the important phases of American history in the light of later developments and effects, especially on the final fate of German-American relations. Within this plan there seems to have been no room for

¹ Friedrich Schönnemann, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*. 2 vols. (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1932).

an adequate account of the social and political conditions in Europe, especially in England, which time and again had such a far-reaching effect on American affairs. On the other hand, this historical first volume includes a discussion of America's foreign relations with Europe, South America, and Asia and an analysis of the very complicated problem of race-adjustment, comprising not only the Indian and the Negro, but all the various European races as well, whose amalgamation into a single nation is one of the most interesting aspects of modern civilization. The second volume, appreciably larger than the first, treats of American democracy from the political, judicial, educational, religious, and generally cultural point of view. The author's wide knowledge of the American and European literature on the subject, as well as his own personal experience, gives his work an enormous wealth of detail and lend a considerable weight to his judgments. He has no thesis to propagate and no axe to grind, presenting his material impartially and as fully as his space will allow. Though chiefly interested in the political and sociological side of his problems, he is not a historian or professional politician as Bryce was, but the spirit of his book is rather that of the wide-awake journalist to whom all sides of life are equally important. There is a decidedly journalistic flavor, too, in much of his discussion, especially where it touches problems raised by the War. His experience of the War at an American college put his sympathy for his present subject to a very hard test and could hardly arouse in him much love for democratic institutions. His German patriotism is very pronounced on almost every page and his criticism of democracy is essentially unsympathetic. One might ask whether such coldness of heart is the right basis for the compilation of what obviously is intended to become a standard work on America. But the undeniable *ressentiment* that lurks behind many of Schönnemann's pages is more than compensated for by the enormous industry and patience which collected all the important facts about the United States in a great work that will interpret America to Central Europe in a more truly American spirit, on the whole, and more fully, as well as more exactly, than any other book in the language.

Much more cordial is Miss Mauck's attitude² in her article on

² Marielies Mauck, "Die Vereinigten Staaten von heute in ihren Hauptkomponenten," *Die neuen Sprachen*, XLI, 1-12 (1933).

the main trends in modern America, in which she attempts to define American democracy as a slow and painful return out of frontier barbarism to Greek democratic ideals. In the same sympathetic spirit Ann Tizia Leitich³ views the crisis of the American soul in the breakdown of the old faith in material success, and she hopes for the rise of something better to take its place. How modern America is reflected in the French mind is the theme of H. Mannhart,⁴ who passes the chief French books on the subject in brief review (Tardieu, Siegfried, Romier, Duhamel, Morand, Maurois, and others) and comments on the fact that all of them place French culture higher than American civilization.

With Schönemann's study of Goethe in America⁵ we enter the field of pure literature. The author traces American knowledge and understanding of Goethe from the early days, when Americans, as political liberals, preferred Schiller, through New England transcendentalism, when Carlyle introduced Goethe to America via Emerson and Margaret Fuller wrote her essay in *The Dial*, to Thomas W. Higginson's study of Americanism in literature and the post-war appreciation of Goethe by Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks, who both come closer to him than their transcendental predecessors, for whom the main bond of sympathy was Goethe's philosophy of action and renunciation. The mutual reflection of American and English life in their literature is the complementary theme of two studies otherwise very different in spirit and method. Herr Pfeffer⁶ was a pupil of Dibelius and an exchange student in California, where he collected most of his material. After an introductory chapter on the geographical and historical characteristics of the various sections of the country to explain the differences in their conceptions of England, he arranges a great mass of quotations from American writers under various topical headings such as race, language, literature, education, church, law, and political and

³ Ann Tizia Leitich, "Die Krise der amerikanischen Seele, eine psychologische Erklärung," *Der Gral*, XXVI, 131-136 (1931-1932).

⁴ H. Mannhart, "Wie französische Schriftsteller Amerika sehen," *Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht*, pp. 8-88 (1932).

⁵ Friedrich Schönemann, "Goethe in Amerika," *Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht*, pp. 81-88 (1932).

⁶ Karl Heinz Pfeffer, *England im Urteil amerikanischer Literatur vor dem Bürgerkrieg*. Dissertation (Berlin, 1931). Complete in *Palaestra*, vol. CLXXVII.

social life in England. A final chapter treats of the colonialism of American literature; that is, its consciousness of dependence on England and its attempts at literary independence. The book is thorough but heavy, and the results are not essentially new. Already well-known general facts are tabulated in political and geographical detail. Herr Gauger's attempt to trace the main lines of the English conception of America⁷ since the beginning of the new century is more arresting to the American student. The author has been careful to select only purely British writers to quote from and chooses from a great mass of novels only a few representative ones to illustrate his points, finally leading up to Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*. The result is interesting: as late as 1905 the Dickensian conception of Americans as kindly barbarians—no culture and all materialism—still predominated; today English writers see a clear difference between the go-getting, keenly business-minded Yankee type on the one hand and the Southern gentleman, the Mid-Westerner, and the Californian on the other, while there is a distinct realization of finer qualities, higher aspirations and a wider humanity in the best examples of American civilization. Direk, in Wells's novel, to be sure, shows the older and coarser conception. In the end, the author confirms the conclusion arrived at by the thirty Americans who passed American life in review in 1922 and by Keyserling ten years later: "Whatever else American civilization is, it is not Anglo-Saxon." All in all, a very well written little study with a very fine perception of the various aspects of the problem so far as it is handled here. My own inaugural lecture⁸ on the new humanism and democracy in American literature, largely based on Parrington's *Main Currents*, tries to place Professor Babbitt's teachings in perspective with regard to the growth and decay of the democratic spirit in American letters. The World War in American Literature is the theme of an essay by Schönemann,⁹ while A. Ehrentreich¹⁰ introduces a lengthy description of Upton Sinclair's

⁷ Rudolf Gauger, *Amerikanergestalten in der englischen Literatur der Gegenwart*. Dissertation (Tübingen, 1933).

⁸ H. Lüdeke, "Neuhumanismus und Demokratie im amerikanischen Geistesleben," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, pp. 220-233 (1933).

⁹ F. Schönemann, "Der Weltkrieg in der amerikanischen Literatur," *Neuphilologische Monatsschrift*, 1931.

¹⁰ A. Ehrentreich, "Literarische Auswirkungen des Falles Sacco-Vanzetti in Amerika," *Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht*, XXX (1931).

Boston with a few pages on other literary treatments of the Sacco-Vanzetti theme.

Of the various periods of American literature proper, colonial literature has aroused the least interest—there is no work worth mentioning within the period under review—while present-day writers have attracted far and away the most attention. A good dissertation on Emerson in France by H. Keller¹¹ has been published only in part. Of the three chapters available, the first, containing a good synopsis of Emerson's philosophy under systematic headings and in its relation to contemporary thought, especially the philosophers of German romanticism, is the best. Poe's theory of poetry is discussed by R. Petsch,¹² and Elisabeth Schinzel¹³ attempts to define Poe's nature-sense in a few pages of trite remarks. Herr Kessler¹⁴ examines the use of dialect in Bret Harte's stories, tracing the words back to their English home, while W. D. Howells's *Method as a Novelist* is the theme of a lengthy study by Susanne Königsberger¹⁵—a rather dry descriptive analysis of some of the salient characteristics of Howells's technique according to an old-fashioned and superficial formula first developed by Robert Riemann out of Goethe's novels and later expanded by Dibelius and others. We learn that Howells was an "objective" story-teller, very rarely obtruding on the reader with personal remarks; that he preferred the "continulative" beginning in constructing his chapters; that he likewise preferred the "organic" chapter-ending; that he almost regularly employed the "synthetic" method of narration which commences a story at the beginning and carries it through consecutively to the end; that his stories were usually of a single thread and that double threads occur only in a few novels of the eighties; and many detailed observations of the kind we can gratefully accept. What is lacking, however, is a discussion of the genesis of his method, his relation as an artist to his American forerunners, especially Hawthorne, and to

¹¹ H. Keller, *Emerson in Frankreich: Wirkungen und Parallelen*. Dissertation (Giessen, 1932). To be published complete in *Beiträge zur Philosophie*, Carl Winter, Heidelberg.

¹² R. Petsch, "Die Kunsttheorie von E. A. Poe," *Die neuen Sprachen*, 1931.

¹³ Elisabeth Schinzel, *Natur und Natursymbolik bei Poe, Baudelaire und de französischen Symbolisten*. Dissertation (Bonn, 1931).

¹⁴ Heinrich Kessler, "Die Verwendung der Mundart bei Bret Harte," *Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas*, ed. W. Horn, V, 181-262.

¹⁵ Susanne Königsberger, *Die Romantechnik von W. D. Howells*. Dissertation (Berlin, 1933).

his contemporaries, especially Henry James. And the author does not seem to realize to what extent Howells's themes, like his realism, are linked up with events and aspects of American life in his own time.

Among the older men of the present literary generation, Edwin Arlington Robinson is the subject of a cordial appreciation by Schönmann,¹⁶ who vindicates the poet's true Americanism in spite of his melancholy and regards him as the foremost poet of American skepticism with a mystical faith in the powers behind life that makes him a decided opponent of the popular American religion of success. Robinson, says Schönmann, is a true poet—a rare thing in America! Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* is subjected to a very fine and warmly sympathetic analysis by Friedrich Brie,¹⁷ Professor of English at Freiburg, for whom the play is the most important attempt of literary expressionism to cope with a classical theme. Brie regards O'Neill's undertaking to supplant the ancient Greek religious system of crime and punishment with a modern psychological theory of inherited qualities and inhibitions as a basis for a tragical conflict as a failure. The play is a success because of O'Neill's poetic power and his artistry, which shifted the stress from the biological problem to the primitive passions of the personages and the tight consistency of the dramatic action. In spite of his fundamental pessimism, O'Neill calls for an intense living of life, and Brie thinks this is not merely the expressionist's worship of "vitalism" but somehow an expression of O'Neill's own typically American vitality.

A general survey of the new realism in the American novel is offered by Ch. Demming.¹⁸ In James Branch Cabell, Pollak¹⁹ admires the smiling pessimism that has succeeded in evolving a highly individual philosophy of life. Theodore Dreiser's path from Catholicism to agnosticism and pessimistic determinism is traced

¹⁶ F. Schönmann, "Der Lyriker der amerikanischen Skepsis," *Die Literatur*, XXXV, 446-448 (1933).

¹⁷ Friedrich Brie, "Eugene O'Neill als Nachfolger der Griechen," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XXI, 46-59 (1933).

¹⁸ Ch. Demming, "Neu-Realismus in amerikanischen Gegenwartsroman," *Der Gral*, XXVII (1932-1933).

¹⁹ V. Pollak, "James Branch Cabell," *Die Literatur*, XXXV, 323-325 (1933).

by August Rüegg.²⁰ The conferring of the Nobel Prize on Sinclair Lewis brought this, the most popular American writer in Germany, again to general attention. Of the many appreciations perhaps the most valuable is Walther Fischer's short essay,²¹ in which he stresses the latent note of optimism in Lewis's ironic picture of American life and regards him as the most representative American novelist because he is the most comprehensive portrayer of life in America. Thornton Wilder comes in for a highly enthusiastic encomium at the hands of Gregor Heinrich,²² for whom he is the first American author to wrestle with the oldest principles of European culture. "For the first time an American author who neither makes the motoric principle a subject of literature nor bases his success on the risibility of his compatriots." Werner Neuse's dissertation²³ lays particular stress on Dos Passos's artistic development and his affiliations with the Spaniards (Pío Baroja) and Joyce. The author has a good knowledge of contemporary American literature and offers a useful introduction to the work of one of the most striking figures of the American 1920's. W. Türk's essay²⁴ sees in Dos Passos one of the most daring pioneers of epic form in literature, calls attention to the influence of the movies on his technique, and feels beneath his picture of the disintegration of American society a monumental resignation and the ironic eye of the initiated.

The great discovery in Germany in the past year or two is Hemingway, whose work is being translated. M. Dietrich,²⁵ reviewing the translation, offers a short introduction to Hemingway's new-realistic technique, while H. Fallada,²⁶ author of a recent novel (*Kleiner Mann, was nun?*) much in Hemingway's manner, points to the power of his realism and the pessimism of his view of life

²⁰ A. Rüegg, "Theodore Dreisers Abkehr vom Katholizismus," *Schweizerische Rundschau*, 1931-1932.

²¹ W. Fischer, "Sinclair Lewis," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, pp. 700-709 (1931).

²² Gregor Heinrich, "Das Werk des amerikanischen Dichters Thornton Wilder," *Hochland*, pp. 176-180 (1932-1933).

²³ Werner Neuse, *Die literarische Entwicklung von John Dos Passos*. Dissertation (Giessen, 1930).

²⁴ W. Türk, "John Dos Passos," *Die Literatur*, XXXV, 377-380 (1933).

²⁵ M. Dietrich, "Ernest Hemingway," *Hochland*, XXX, 89-91 (1933).

²⁶ H. Fallada, "Gespräch zwischen Ihr und Ihm über Ernest Hemingway," *Die Literatur*, pp. 21-24 (1932).

and death. For Klaus Mann,²⁷ he is a typical American but with the mental experience of a European, looking at the world with the freshness of his young race but at the same time with the sophistication of the older ones. Klaus Mann regards Hemingway as the representative poet of our time.

²⁷ Klaus Mann, "Ernest Hemingway," *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, 1931.

FRENCH STUDIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION

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I

THE French have never been indifferent to American literature. Generations of boys and girls have been thrilled by translations of the stories of Fenimore Cooper, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Jack London, and all of them bored at school by recitations of Longfellow's poems. On growing up, those who took an interest in "advanced" literature read either Poe, on the one hand, or Whitman, Emerson, and Thoreau, on the other, a happy few appreciating according to his desert the delicate psychology of Henry James. The *Mercure de France*, which for years was the herald of the main poetical movement, considered Walt Whitman as its figurehead, and few numbers were issued without at least one encomium of Whitman from the skilled pen of H. Davray or the enthusiastic hand of Léon Bazalgette. Yet, boys and æsthetes aside, few even among the learned attached much importance to the literary manifestations of "the youthful nation." In university circles, while work of the highest value was being done upon English literature, few men—the well-known theses on Poe and Hawthorne by M. Lauvrière and M. Dhaleine are honorable exceptions—turned their activities toward America. Wandering scholars like Gilbert Chinard were left to pursue their pioneer work on Franco-American relations unaided. The student of languages who, longing for romance, crossed over to Columbia instead of following his father's steps to some mellow English university town, was frowned upon and warned to be careful.

Things were thus peacefully going on—and would be now for aught I know—when the Great War came and upset this condition as it did everything else. While the Americans were showing a deeper interest in the study of French, a number of French intellectuals crossed the Atlantic at the invitation of colleges, lecture bureaus, or artistic or theatrical organizations. A few of them started

a career in the United States, but many more had taken only a temporary leave and after a few months or years came back home. But a current had been set in motion which has not yet slackened. They had seen something of American art and artists and were unwilling to let "auld acquaintance be forgot." It was all but a miniature revolution. Impressive quantities of American books began to be translated, and (God knows how!) the first plays of Eugene O'Neill began to be performed in Paris. Magazines began to print appreciations of American books, and college professors no longer checked the wandering inclinations of their more adventurous students. The impulse had been given; unorganized as it was, the movement existed, and only waited for some sort of organization to reveal its full significance.

The decisive step was taken when the venerable Sorbonne added to its English staff an assistant professorship of American Literature, and was fortunate enough to find the man who could best fill it, Professor Charles Cestre. Under his influence, important changes immediately took place. The "Agrégation d'Anglais," the highest competitive examination open to students of languages, thenceforward included in its yearly program the study of a certain number of American writers—usually two Americans and ten Englishmen. Students who had long been reluctantly allowed to study in the United States, were now officially encouraged to do so, and were given the right to specialize in "American Literature and Civilization." An American circulating library, equipped to send books all over the country, was opened in Paris in 1920. At last, through the generosity of Mr. Lee Kohns of New York, a full professorship of American Literature and Civilization was created at the Sorbonne and awarded of course to Professor Cestre. Several provincial universities also created professorships in American Literature, which are held by Mlle. Léonie Villard at Lyons, MM. Clavel at Aix-Marseille, Le Breton at Lille, and Catel at Grenoble. Finally a professorship of American History was established at the Collège de France and entrusted to M. Bernard Faÿ. A few excellent books which appeared about this time grounded American studies on a firmer basis: *The United States*, a sort of American encyclopedia, profusely illustrated, by Professor Cestre; *The United States of*

Today, an economic and psychological study, by André Siegfried; *The American Novel of Today* and a *Survey of American Literature*, by Professor Régis Michaud; and *The American Stage*, by Professor Léonie Villard. Then a number of scholars undertook writing lengthy essays on various individual authors and occasionally published magazine articles on the same subjects; others supervised, on behalf of intelligent publishers, the translation of American books on a more systematic plan than had been followed before. And, last but not least, a review of the utmost importance, the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, was founded in 1923 under the joint editorship of Professor Cazamian, for the English part, and Professor Cestre, for the American part. In this periodical, which has since 1923 regularly appeared every two months, are recorded not only the French interest in American literature but also, thanks to substantial accounts of American books and magazines, all the best literary work of America itself.

II

1923, the year in which the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* first appeared, was the year when the newly organized work in American literature and civilization really became effective. Ten years have passed, and we can now with some satisfaction consider the results produced in this decade. Before giving a more detailed account of the year 1933, which was the original scope of this article, we shall try to sum up what was done from 1923 to 1932.¹ We shall mention

¹Although American history lies outside the scope of this article, we feel obliged to call attention to certain important books. Space compels us to omit magazine articles, many of which have been listed in *American Literature* since November, 1929.

General: D. Pasquet, *Histoire politique et sociale du peuple américain* (Paris, Picard, 1924, 1931); Jean Gachon, *La Politique étrangère des Etats-Unis* (Paris, Alcan, 1929); Firmin Roz, *Histoire des Etats-Unis* (Paris, Fayard, 1930). [An account rather of institutions than events. One-third of the book is devoted to the period following 1917. Extremely clear and orderly.]

The Colonial Period: André Bellessort, *Reflets de la vieille Amérique* (Paris, Perrin, 1923) [the French in Louisiana, Canada, and the East at the time of the Revolution]; Gilbert Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique* (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1925); H. B. Alexander, *L'Art et la philosophie des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord* (Paris, Leroux, 1927); Gilbert Chinard, *Édition des Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale* du Baron de Lahaudan, 1703 (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932); M. Constantin, *L'Agonie du Français en Louisiane* (Paris, Rieder, 1925).

The Revolutionary Period: W. d'Ormesson, *La Première mission officielle de la France aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, Champion, 1924); Bernard Faÿ, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux Etats-Unis à la fin du XVIIIème siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1924); Gilbert Chinard,

not only books and articles but also the more characteristic translations. For lack of space, we shall have to omit the many important book reviews which have appeared in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* and elsewhere.

General

Books: C. Cestre and B. Gagnet, *Anthologie de la littérature américaine* (Paris, Delagrave, 1926); Régis Michaud, *Le Roman américain d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, Boivin, 1927); S. L. McGee, *La Littérature américaine dans la Revue des Deux Mondes* (Univ. de Montpellier, 1927); Régis Michaud, *Littérature américaine* [since 1830] (Paris, Kra, 1929); Jolas, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie américaine* (Paris, Kra, 1928); L. Villard, *Le Théâtre américain*

Pensées choisies de Montesquieu, tirées du "Commonplace Book" de Jefferson (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1925); Gilbert Chinard, *Trois amitiés françaises de Jefferson* [Mme. de Bréhan, Mme. de Tessé, Mme. de Corny] (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1927); Bernard Faÿ, *Benjamin Franklin, bourgeois d'Amérique* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1931); Bernard Faÿ, *George Washington, gentilhomme* (Paris, Grasset, 1932).

The Nineteenth Century: Denis Saurat, *La Guerre de Sécession* (Paris, Lavauzelle, 1924) [the military point of view].

We give below a classified list of books dealing with the problems of modern America.

General: H. Hauser, *L'Amérique vivante* (Paris, Plon, 1923); F. Roz, *Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, Alcan, 1927); C. Cestre, *Les Etats-Unis* (Paris, Larousse, 1928) [a monumental book, profusely illustrated, cast in the form of a record of a journey through the United States—business in New York, the intellectual life at Boston, agriculture in Minnesota, etc.]; André Siegfried, *Les Etats-Unis d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, A. Colin, 1927) [translated into English as *America Comes of Age*]; P. Yvon, *Regards français sur l'Amérique* (Caen, Jouan, 1930); Madeleine Cazamian, *L'Autre Amérique* (Paris, Champion, 1931) [shows the Americans as much more individualized and cool-headed than is generally believed]; Marcel Braunschwig, *La Vie américaine et ses Leçons* (Paris, Colin, 1931) [interesting chapters on intellectual and artistic life in the United States—praise of the moral results of American education].

National Psychology: B. Faÿ, *Faites vos jeux* (Paris, Grasset, 1928) [six short stories whose heroes are American students]; R. Michaud, *Ce qu'il faut connaître de l'âme américaine* (Paris, Boivin, 1929); F. Strowski, *La Bruyère en Amérique* (Paris, Tallandier, 1929) [the point of view of the French humanist]; Luc Durtain, *Hollywood dépassé* (N. R. F., 1927) [the novelist who sees it all wrong]; Paul Moran, *New York* (Paris, Flammarion, 1930) [the novelist who sees it all right].

Artistic, Intellectual, and Educational Problems: Estève, *La Vie universitaire aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1926); L. Mercier, *Le Mouvement humaniste aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, Hachette, 1928).

Political, Social, and Economic Problems: E. W. Burgess, *La "Non-Partisan League"* (Paris, Giard, 1929); H. Dubreuil, *Standards* (Paris, Grasset, 1929) [American labor seen by a French worker—an unpretentious and extremely sensible book by a careful observer]; F. Schoell, *U. S. A. du côté des blancs et du côté des noirs* (Paris, Champion, 1929); A. Philip, *Le Problème ouvrier aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, Alcan, 1928).

Foreign Problems: A. Tardieu, *Devant l'obstacle* (Paris, Emile, 1927); Ch. Pomaret, *L'Amérique à la conquête de l'Europe* (Paris, Colin, 1930); L. Romier, *Qui sera le maître? Europe ou Amérique?* (Paris, Hachette, 1928).

(Paris, Boivin, 1929); R. Taupin, *L'Influence du Symbolisme français sur la poésie américaine* (Paris, Champion, 1929); A. Levinson, *Figures américaines* (Paris, Attinger, 1929) [eighteen studies of writers of the present day]; R. Messac, *Le "detective novel"* (Paris, Champion, 1930).

Articles: L. Villard, "La Vie américaine d'après le conte et la nouvelle," *Mercure de France*, Dec. 1, 1924; G. B. Munson, "Chronique américaine: les jeunes écrivains," *Europe*, Oct., 1925; F. Roz, "L'Esprit nouveau du roman américain," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct., 1925; "Bibliographie de la littérature américaine traduite en français," *Navire d'Argent*, Dec., 1925, Jan., 1926; G. B. Munson, "Chronique américaine: vue d'ensemble" [a plea for Melville, neglected in Europe], *Europe*, Apr. 15, 1925; G. Chinard, "La Littérature française dans le Sud des Etats-Unis," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Jan.-March, 1928; Luc Durtain, "Poèmes Américains," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Aug., 1927; F. Roz, "Le Romantisme américain," *Revue Universelle*, Dec. 15, 1929; A. Maurois, "La Littérature américaine," *Revue de la Femme*, Oct., 1928; C. Cestre, "American Critics" [about a recent number of the London *Mercury*], *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Feb. 29, 1928; A. Feuillerat, "La Littérature nègre aux Etats-Unis," *Figaro*, Aug. 22, 1929; Coindreau, "L'Amérique et le roman alcoïlique," *Cahiers du Sud*, April, 1932.

Individual Authors before 1880

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. Books: Margaret M. Gibb, *Le Roman de Bas de Cuir* (Ph.D., Paris, Champion, 1927); C. C. Bosset, *Fenimore Cooper et le roman d'aventure en France* (Ph.D., Paris, Vrin, 1928). Articles: M. Clavel, "Une Thèse sur le Roman de Bas de Cuir," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, April, 1928; Constantin-Weyer, "Fenimore Cooper et le cycle de Bas de Cuir," *Europe*, Nov. 5, 1928; M. Clavel, "Du Nouveau sur Fenimore Cooper," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Aug. 1929; M. Clavel, "Fenimore Cooper et l'Angleterre," *ibid.*, Aug., 1931; M. Clavel, "Une nouvelle biographie de Fenimore Cooper: H. W. Boynton," *ibid.*, Dec. 1931; M. Clavel, "About R. E. Spiller's 'Fenimore Cooper: Critic of his Times,'" *ibid.*, April, 1932.

EMILY DICKINSON. Articles: J. Catel, "Emily Dickinson, essai

d'analyse psychologique," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June, 1925; J. Catel, "Emily Dickinson, l'œuvre," *ibid.*, Dec., 1925.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Books: Régis Michaud, *Autour d'Emerson* (Paris, Bossard, 1925); *L'Esthétisme d'Emerson* (Paris, Alcan, 1928); *La Vie inspirée d'Emerson* (Paris, Plon, 1930). Articles: Ch. M. Garnier, "Emerson, annonciateur," *Rev. de l'Ens. des Langues Vivantes*, June, 1927; C. Cestre, "Le Romantisme d'Emerson," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Oct., Dec., 1929; C. Cestre, "La Pédagogie d'Emerson," *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, July, 1929.

JOAQUIN MILLER. Article: M. S. Peterson, *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Dec., 1930.

EDGAR ALLAN POE. Books: C. Mauclair, *Le Génie d'Edgar Poe* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1925); L. Lemonnier, *E. Poe et la critique française* (Paris, Alcan, 1928); L. Lemonnier, *Les Traducteurs français d'Edgar Poe* (Paris, Alcan, 1928). Articles: C. Mauclair, "Le Génie d'Edgar Poe," *Revue Bleue*, Oct. 17, 1925; L. Delarue-Mardrus, "Edgar Poe," *Revue de Paris*, Dec. 15, 1925; G. Nigot, "Edgar Poe devant la critique," *Revue de l'Ens. des Langues Vivantes*, Oct. 1926; C. Cestre, "Une nouvelle biographie d'E. Poe" [concerning Miss Phillips's book], *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June, 1927; M. Eastman, "Poe, Whitman et la poésie des temps nouveaux," *Europe*, Dec. 15, 1928; L. Lemonnier, "E. Poe, illuminé français," *Mercure de France*, Jan. 15, 1928; V. O'Sullivan, "E. A. Poe et ses compatriotes," *Revue de l'Ens. des Langues Vivantes*, Dec., 1928; Lauvrière, "L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur Verlaine et Rimbaud," *Figaro*, Jan. 19, 1929; Fontainas, "Edgar Poe et ses contemporains," *Mercure de France*, Jan. 15, 1931; L. Lemonnier, "L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur quelques conteurs réalistes," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, July, Sept., 1931; Y. Le Dantec, "Baudelaire Traducteur," *Correspondant*, Jan. 10, 1932. Translations: *Lettres d'amour à Helen* (Emile-Paul, 1924); *Politian* (Emile Paul, 1926).

HERMAN MELVILLE. Articles: G. B. Munson, "Chronique américaine," *Europe*, April 15, 1925; P. Dottin, *Revue de France*, April 15, 1925.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU. Book: L. Bazalgette, *Henry Thoreau, Sauvage* (Paris, Rieder, 1925). Article: L. Fabulet, "Thoreau et

l'amitié," *Europe*, Feb. 15, 1925. Translations: *Un philosophe dans les bois* (Paris, Boivin, 1930); "Elégie," *Cahiers du Sud*, April, 1931.

WALT WHITMAN. Books: Walt Whitman, *The Eighteenth Presidency* [first publication] (University of Montpellier, 1928); J. Catel, *Walt Whitman* (1930). Articles: J. Catel, "Walt Whitman Puritain," *Mercure de France*, Oct. 15, 1923; J. Catel, "Le Roman d'amour de Walt Whitman," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Dec., 1923; J. Catel, "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Sécession," *ibid.*, Jan., 1926; J. Catel, "Berger, Bazalgette, etc.," *L'Ane d'Or*, Dec., 1925 [a special Whitman number]; J. Catel, "La Véridique histoire de Walt Whitman," *Rabelais*, May, 1927; J. Catel, "L'Atelier de Walt Whitman," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Aug., 1929; C. Cestre, "Walt Whitman, l'inadapté," *ibid.*, June, 1930; C. Cestre, Walt Whitman: le mystique, le lyrique," *ibid.*, Aug., 1930; C. Cestre, "Walt Whitman, le poète," *ibid.*, Oct. 1930; W. S. Monroe, "Recent Whitman Literature in America," *ibid.*, Dec., 1930; G. Cohen, "Walt Whitman," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, March 14, 1931; G. Lafourcade, "Swinburne and Walt Whitman," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Oct., 1931; C. L. Glicksberg, "Whitman in the Civil War," *ibid.*, Feb., 1932; P. D'Exideuil, "Whitman et la poésie," *Cahiers du Sud*, June, 1933. Translations: Whitman, *La dix-huitième Présidence*, *Le Navire d'Argent*, April, 1926; Cameron Rogers, *La Vie de Walt Whitman* (Paris, N. R. F., 1931).

Individual Authors, 1880-1914

AMBROSE BIERCE. Translation: *Aux Lisières de la mort* (Renaissance du Livre, 1923).

HENRY JAMES. Books: M. R. Garnier, *Henry James et la France* (Paris, Champion, 1927); L. Edel, *Les Années dramatiques de H. James* (Paris, Jouve, 1932); L. Edel, *The Prefaces of H. James* (Paris, Jouve, 1932). Articles: D. Rops, "A propos d'Henry James," *Européen*, Jan. 29, 1930; L. Edel, "A Note on the Translations of Henry James in France," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Aug., 1930; C. Cestre, "La France dans l'œuvre de Henry James," *ibid.*, Oct. and Dec., 1932. Translations: *Le Sort de Poynton*, *Revue de Paris*, 1929; "Le Tour d'écrou" and "Les Papiers de Jeffrey Aspern" (Stock, 1930).

WILLIAM JAMES. Book: M. Le Breton, *La personnalité de Wil-*

liam James (Bordeaux, Cadenet, 1928). Articles: F. Delattre, "William James, Bergsonien," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Oct., Dec., 1923; H. Brémond, "L'Américanisme de William James," *Revue de Paris*, Nov. 1, 1924; C. Cestre, "La Correspondance de William James," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, April 25, 1924; Leroux, "William James, le plus humain des philosophes," *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, May-June, 1925. Translation: William James: *Extraits de la Correspondance*, translated by Delattre and Le Breton, preface by Bergson (Paris, Payot, 1924).

JACK LONDON. Articles: P. Gruyer and L. Postif, "Jack London," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Aug. 30, 1924; Charmian London, "Comment je connus Jack London," *Vient de Paraître*, March, 1926; M. Constantin-Weyer, "Jack London," *Europe*, April 15, 1927; P. Dottin, "Jack London," *Nouvelle Revue des Jeunes*, Aug., 1930. Translation: *Les Mutinés de l'Elseneur* (Paris, Crès, 1930).

H. L. MENCKEN. Articles: Galland, "Quelques critiques des Etats-Unis," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Dec., 1923; R. Michaud, "H. L. Mencken," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, June 9, 1928; N. Frank, "L'Amérique vue par Mencken et Lewisohn," *ibid.*, July 8, 1930. Translation: *Préjugés* (Boivin, 1929).

O. HENRY. Book: C. D. Ross, *O. Henry et l'art de Maupassant* (Strasbourg, 1925).

UPTON SINCLAIR. Article: A. Levinson, "Upton Sinclair," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Oct. 6, 1928. Translations: *Pétrole*; *Boston*.

EDITH WHARTON. Article: R. Michaud, "La Vie new-yorkaise d'après Edith Wharton," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Feb., 1925. Translation: *Un Fils au Front*, published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1923.

Contemporary Authors

In the contemporary period so numerous are the articles, translations, and reviews that we have had to limit ourselves to about thirty writers, some of whom have been selected more on account of their vogue in France than for their intrinsic merits. Unless the name of the periodical is given, the reviews listed below all appeared in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*. Most of the reviews are by Professor Cestre.

CONRAD AIKEN. Review: *The Pilgrimage of Festus*, Feb., 1924.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON. Article: C. Cestre, Dec., 1925. Reviews: *Tar: A Middle-West Childhood*, Feb., 1928; *A Story-Teller's Story*, Dec., 1925; *Note-Book*, Oct., 1926; *Dark Laughter*, Aug., 1927; *A New Testament*, Aug., 1928; *Perhaps Women*, Feb., 1932. Translations: *Mort dans les bois* (1927); *Un Païen de l'Ohio* (Rieder, 1927); "Au Tribunal des relations domestiques," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Oct. 11, 1930.

IRVING BABBITT. Reviews: *Democracy and Leadership*, Oct., 1925; *On Being Creative*, Aug., 1932.

WILLA CATHER. Articles: A. Feuillerat, "Willa Cather," *Figaro*, May 5, 1930; P. Chamaillard, "Le Cas de Marion Forester," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June, 1931. Reviews: *The Professor's House*, Dec., 1926; *My Mortal Enemy*, Feb., 1928; R. Rapin, *Willa Cather*, April, 1930.

JAMES BRANCH CABELL. Reviews: *Beyond Life*, Dec., 1924; Carl Van Doren, *James Branch Cabell*, Dec., 1925; *The Way of Eben*, Aug., 1930.

E. E. CUMMINGS. Article: *Navire d'Argent*, May, 1926. Review: *The Enormous Room*, Jan., 1925.

THEODORE DREISER. Article: C. Cestre, "Th. Dreiser," Aug., 1926. Translations: *La Couleur d'une grande cité* (Stock, 1929); *Une Tragédie américaine* (Fayard, 1932); *Douze Hommes* (Rieder, 1924). Reviews: *The Color of a Great City*, Feb., 1925; *The Genius*, Dec., 1924; *An American Tragedy*, Aug., 1926; *Twelve Men*, new issues, April, 1929, and Dec., 1931.

JOHN ERSKINE. Article: A. Levinson, "J. Erskine," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, April 14, 1928. Reviews: *The Literary Discipline*, Feb., 1924; *Uncle Sam in the Eyes of His Family*, Feb., 1930.

WILLIAM FAULKNER. Translation: "Septembre Ardent," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Jan., 1932.

EDNA FERBER. Reviews: *So Big*, Oct., 1929; *Show Boat*, Oct., 1929; *American Beauty*, Dec., 1932.

WALDO FRANK. Articles: "Waldo Frank: L'Amérique primitive," *Europe*, June 15, 1925; "Waldo Frank, Découverte du Nouveau Monde," *Europe*, July 15, 1926; Robert Cahen Salaberry, "Waldo Frank et le nouvel idéal Américain," *Mercure de France*, April 15, 1930. Translations: *Rahab* (Boussinenq, 1923); *City Block*

(N. R. F., 1926); "Redécouverte de L'Amérique," *Europe*, 1929. Review: *The Rediscovery of America*, Aug., 1929.

ROBERT FROST. Article: A. Feuillerat, "R. Frost," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 1, 1923. Reviews: *New Hampshire Poems*, Aug., 1925; *West-Running Brook*, June, 1929.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY. Article: *Navire d'Argent*, May, 1926.

JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER. Articles: B. Gagnot, "Joseph Hergesheimer," Aug., 1926; A. Bellessort, "Joseph Hergesheimer," *Figaro*, July 16, 1930. Reviews: *Cytherea*, Feb., 1925; *The Party Dress*, Dec., 1930. Translations: *Linda* (serial), *Figaro*, 1928; *Linda* (Perrin, Oct., 1930).

FANNY HURST. Review: *Back Street*, Aug., 1932.

SINCLAIR LEWIS. Articles: Baldensperger, "Sinclair Lewis," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Dec. 15, 1925; A. Levinson, "Sinclair Lewis," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Nov. 1, 1931; A. Bellessort, "Sinclair Lewis," *Correspondant*, July 10, 1931; P. Dottin, "Sinclair Lewis," *Européen*, April 15, 1931; P. Morand, "Sinclair Lewis," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Feb. 15, 1930; L. Durtain, "Sinclair Lewis," *Revue Hebdomadaire*, Nov. 30, 1930; J. Mansard, "Les Américains d'après Sinclair Lewis," *Etudes*, April 5, 1930. Review: *Arrowsmith*, April, 1926. Translations: *Sieur Wrenn* (Nouvelle Société d'Édition, 1931); *Un Américain parle* [*The Man That Knew Coolidge*] (Rieder, 1932); *Dodsworth* (Plon, 1931); *Arrowsmith* (Firmin-Didot, 1931); *Elmer Gantry* (Fayard, 1932); *Grand Rue* (Haumout, 1932); *Coup de pompe gratis* (Albin Michel, 1932); *Le lac qui rêve* (Albin Michel, 1932).

LUDWIG LEWISOHN. Articles: A. Levinson, "Ludwig Lewisohn," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, May 25, 1929; P. Dottin, "Ludwig Lewisohn," *Européen*, Feb. 11, 1921; N. Frank, "L'Amérique vue par Mencken et Lewisohn," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Jan. 18, 1930; F. Lefèvre, "Une heure avec L. Lewisohn," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, June 18, 1932; D. Rops, "Lettres étrangères," *Vie Intellectuelle*, July, 1932. Translation: *Les Derniers jours de Shylock* (Rieder, 1932). Review: *The Island Within*, April, 1929.

VACHEL LINDSAY. Article: C. Cestre, "Vachel Lindsay," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Oct., 1924. Review: *Every Soul is a Circus*, Aug., 1930.

AMY LOWELL. Articles: C. Cestre, "L'Œuvre poétique d'Amy Lowell," Aug., 1925; P. Isoré, "L'Originalité d'Amy Lowell," April, 1929. Reviews: *What's O'Clock*, Feb., 1928; *East Wind*, Feb., 1928.

EDGAR LEE MASTERS. Articles: C. Cestre, "Edgar Lee Masters," Oct., 1924; C. Cestre, "Edgar Lee Masters," Oct., 1925. Reviews: *The Nuptial Flight*, Jan., 1925; *The New Spoon River*, Oct., 1925; *The Doomsday Book*, Feb., 1929.

CLAUDE MCKAY. Translations: "Mauvaise tête," *Europe*, March 15, 1928; "Banjo," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 1931; "Presque blanche," *Europe*, July 15, 1931.

EUGENE O'NEILL. Articles: C. Cestre, "Eugene O'Neill," Dec., 1926; C. Cestre, "Eugene O'Neill et les surgissements du tréfonds," Dec., 1928; J. Mainsard, "E. O'Neill," *Etudes*, Oct. 5, 1930. Translations: "De l'Huile," *La Voix*, Nov., 1928; "Le Singe velu," *Europe*, May, 1930. Reviews: *The Emperor Jones*; *Straw*, June, 1929; *Dynamo*, April, 1930; *Marco Millions*, April, 1928; B. H. Clark, *Eugene O'Neill*, April, 1928.

JOHN DOS PASSOS. Translations: "La Grève de Harlan," *Europe*, March, 1932; "L'Initiation d'un homme," *Europe*, Feb., 1924; *Manhattan Transfer* (N. R. F., 1928).

EZRA POUND. Article: R. Taupin, "La Poésie d'Ezra Pound," Feb., 1931. Reviews: *How To Read*, Aug., 1932; *Selected Poems*, Dec., 1929; *Poems*, Sept., 1923.

EDWARD ARLINGTON ROBINSON. Articles: C. Cestre, "L'œuvre Poétique d' E. A. Robinson," April, 1924; C. Cestre, "Le 'Tristan' d' E. A. Robinson," Dec., 1927; Feb., 1928; J. Bois, "E. A. Robinson," *Revue Bleue*, June 15, 1926; C. Cestre, "Le Dernier poème d' E. A. Robinson," Aug., 1929; C. Cestre, "Récit et drame symbolique chez E. A. Robinson," June, 1932. Reviews: L. N. Morris, "The Poetry of E. A. Robinson," April, 1924; *The Man Who Died Twice*, June, 1925; B. R. Redman, "E. A. Robinson," Feb., 1928; L. Beebe, "E. A. Robinson," Feb., 1929; *Sonnets*, April, 1929; *The Glory of the Nightingales*, Feb., 1931; *E. A. Robinson's Poems* (selected by Bliss Perry), Oct., 1931; *Dionysus in Doubt*, Aug., 1925.

CARL SANDBURG. Translation: *Au Pays des Ruta-Bagas* (Rieder, 1925).

CARL VAN VECHTEN. Review: *Spider Boy*, April, 1930. Translation: *L'Araignée mâle*, *Revue Hebdomadaire*, 1930.

THORNTON WILDER. Articles: Feuillerat, "Thornton Wilder," *Figaro*, May 14, 1929; Longworth de Chambrun, "L'Américanisme de Thornton Wilder," April, 1931. Translation: *Le Pont du Roi Saint-Louis* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1929).

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Article: *Navire d'Argent*, May, 1926.

III

During the year 1933 the world-wide depression had its effect upon even the field we are now studying. The material situation of many professors and intellectuals has not been favorable, and it threatens to become worse. The result is that some men who formerly devoted their leisure to scholarly work have had to turn to more immediately profitable activities. The publishers, even the best, prefer translations of detective novels to editions of poems and essays that do not pay. And yet the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* carries on with success. Some good books still appear, others are being completed, and the current routine of article-writing and book-reviewing is about as active as it used to be. The activity of the year 1933 may be summed up as follows:

In the field of translations, we must call attention to a new periodical, appearing every three months, the *Index Translationum*. It aims to give a complete bibliography of the translations published in all countries. In its July number we find the following figures: in the first three months of the year 1933, 41 British and American books were translated into French—19 of these being detective stories. Although we do not have the figures for the whole year, those given seem to indicate a serious decrease. Among the translations of the year the following seem chiefly worth mentioning:

Novels: Sinclair Lewis, *Ann Vickers*, translated by M. Rémon (Paris, Stock); Theodore Dreiser, *L'Amérique tragique*, translated by P. Nizan (published serially in *Europe*); Sinclair Lewis, *Une Vie comme une autre* (Paris, Editions du Siècle); Theodore Dreiser, *Jennie Gerhardt* (Edition du Siècle); Ludwig Lewisohn, *Adam*, translated by M. Piha (Paris, édit. Excelsior); Ludwig Lewisohn, *Jan Zorn*, translated by M. Piha (*Cahiers Juifs*, 2); Ben Hecht, *Un*

Juif amoureux, translated by M. Rémon (Paris, Plon); Eric Lincklater, *Juan en Amérique*, translated by Leo (Paris, Plon); Gertrude Stein, *Américains d'Amérique*, translated, with introduction, by B. Faÿ (Paris, Stock); Louis Bromfield, *Vingt-quatre heures*, translated by Silberstein (Paris, Stock); Fanny Hurst, *Back Street* (Editions du Siècle).

Among the very few non-fiction books translated this year, we must mention: Bruce Bliven, *Amérique fièvre de décroissance*, translated by Silberstein (Paris, Stock); Ludwig Lewisohn, *Un Cinquantenaire (1882-1932): Emerson*, translated by M. Piha (published serially in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*); H. L. Mencken, *Défense des femmes*, translated by Jardin (N. R. F.); Emil Ludwig, *Lincoln*, translated from the German by Babelon (Paris, Payot). In this year also appeared a reprint of Baudelaire's celebrated translation of Poe's *Extraordinary Tales* (Paris, Larousse).

We must mention the assistance given French students by inexpensive European editions of American books—although this field is continental rather than merely French. The veteran firm of Tauchnitz issued in 1933 at twelve francs each (about sixty cents) Willa Cather's *Obscure Destinies* and John Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer*. The Albatross published Louis Untermeyer's *The Book of Living Verse*. Finally, an excellent new series, the "Crossby Continental Edition," was started during this year, issuing at very low prices neat editions of William Faulkner's *Sanctuary* and Ernest Hemingway's *In Our Time*.

Among the books of 1933 dealing with American literature are the following: A. Maurois, *Chantiers américains* (N. R. F.); Princesse Marie Bonaparte, *Edgar Poe* (Denoël et Steele) [a psycho-analytic study]; Léon Lemonnier, *Edgar Poe et les poètes français* [excellent chapters on Poe and the French Symbolists] Paris, Nouvelle Revue Critique); L. C. Powell, *An Introduction to Robinson Jeffers* [in English; the work of a Californian who obtained a French doctor's degree] (The University of Dijon Press).

Among the more important magazine articles, the following, arranged chronologically, are the most important: J. Calmy, "La Vie d'Upton Sinclair," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Feb. 21; C. Cestre, "Tocqueville et l'Amérique," *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, Jan.

30; L. Lemonnier, "L'Influence d' Edgar Poe sur les conteurs français symbolistes," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Jan., March; Ch. Le Verrier, "Theodore Dreiser," *Revue Hebdomadaire*, Jan. 24; Gay W. Allen, "Biblical Analogies for Walt Whitman's Prosody," [in English], *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Aug.; G. Roth, "N. Vachel Lindsay," *Larousse Mensuel*, July; L. Villard, "L'Œuvre d'Ellen Glasgow," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Dec.; M. Le Breton, "James Branch Cabell, Romancier," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, Dec., 1933 and Feb., 1934; Ph. Soupault, "Le Théâtre américain," *Revue de Paris*, May 15; André Spire, "Un Poète américain, Alfred Kreymsborg," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, Sept. 30.

It is hardly possible to mention all the American books reviewed in French periodicals, yet the following list of books reviewed in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, usually by Professor Cestre, may give Americans some idea as to the kind of books which have attracted attention in France: Arthur Hobson Quinn, *The Soul of America*; Edwin Arlington Robinson, *Nicodemus*; Robinson Jeffers, *Thurso's Landing*; Elizabeth Madox Roberts, *The Great Meadow*; William Faulkner, *Sanctuary* and *These Thirteen*; Ernest Hemingway, *In Our Time*; J. W. Beach, *The Twentieth Century Novel*; J. Ernst, *Roger Williams*; Robert Frost, *Collected Poems*; *Americans Abroad*, by fifty-two Americans [Aiken, Dos Passos, Hemingway, et al.]; J. W. Krutch, *Experience and Art*; John Dos Passos, *Three Soldiers*; William Faulkner, *Light in August*; Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*; Cyril Clemens, *Josh Billings*; James Truslow Adams, *Henry Adams*; T. C. Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theatre in the XVIIIth Century*; N. B. Fagin, *William Bartram*; Aubrey H. Starke, *Sidney Lanier*; W. Bovey, *Canadien* [a book from French Canada]; S. S. Alberts, *A Bibliography of the Works of Robinson Jeffers*; Frank Monaghan, *French Travellers in the United States*.

Among American scholarly journals the contents of which are more frequently analyzed in French or Belgian reviews (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, *Revue Belge de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, *Revue de l'Enseignement des Langues Vivantes*, *Europe*, *Mercur de France*) we find *Studies in Philology*, *American Speech*, *Modern Language Notes*. *The Sewanee Review*, *The Romanic Review*,

The Yale Review, and the University of Texas *Studies in English* are also referred to. May we express the hope that *American Literature* will from now on find its due place among its fellows?

IV

Before we bring to a close this rather lengthy summary, for which we beg the reader's indulgence, we must say a few words of what we know of the work now in progress. M. Chamillard is writing a book on *Auguste Comte en Amérique*. Professor Clavel has nearly finished two books, one on Fenimore Cooper's life and work and another on Fenimore Cooper and his critics. M. Jacoby is writing about *Le Mysticisme de la littérature américaine*, Mlle. Foster about *La Démocratie dans la société américaine*, M. Chretien about *La Pensée morale de Hawthorne*. M. Pierre Isoré has been for some time announcing *Le Roman social américain depuis 1880*. And perhaps, some day, Mr. Gilbert Chinard will find time to write the biography of Whittier, the material for which was already collected years ago. Personally, we shall try to have our say about Herman Melville. No doubt others, whom we regret not to mention, are also at work, besides many graduate students engaged in writing monographs in the expectation of receiving a "Diplome d'Etudes Supérieures"; such works, usually in manuscript, may be seen on application at university registrars' offices.

Some periods and some writers of American literature have perhaps, hitherto, been emphasized much more than certain others. While the present period seems to be rather thoroughly known by many specialists, who are anxious to keep up with new productions, the past, if we set aside a few names, has not, by a great deal, been so widely explored. It is hoped that such undeserved neglect will not last, and that in the coming years the names of Washington Irving, Bret Harte, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, not to mention many others, will figure once more on the roll-call of the books and essays written in France.

NOTES AND QUERIES

"EMILY DICKINSON'S EARLIEST FRIEND"

To the Editors of *American Literature*:

I have just read, "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend", by George F. Whicher, in the March issue of *American Literature*. It is a scholarly addition to the body of facts slowly accumulating with regard to Emily Dickinson.

Mr. Whicher states, with accuracy, that, "In Emily Dickinson's published letters there is no mention of Mr. B. F. Newton of Worcester," referring to the book entitled, *Letters of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Mabel Loomis Todd, published by Harper and Brothers in 1931. This book is source material for all subsequent studies of Emily's life, the first edition having been published by Mrs. Todd with the help of Emily's brother Austin and sister Lavinia in 1894.

The reason why Mr. Newton is not mentioned in it is that they did not succeed in finding out anything about him. Austin and Lavinia were aware that he had been Emily's friend in the early days and that he must have received many letters from her. Accordingly, as with all her other close friends, either Lavinia Dickinson or my mother, Mrs. Todd, wrote to those who would have been most likely to know whether any of Emily's letters were still in existence. In the case of Mr. Newton it was Mrs. Todd who wrote, and with what success the following letters will show.

Mr. Whicher also says that Mrs. Newton survived her husband "by nearly half a century," but does not give the date of her death. That statement would seem to imply that she was living in 1894, and if so, one is led to wonder why she could not have been found. However that may be, Emily's letter to the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, first published in Mr. Whicher's article, Austin and Lavinia may have known about, since it was to him that Mrs. Todd turned for information about Mr. Newton. Dr. Hale's letter follows:

39 Highland St.,
Roxbury, Mass.

My dear Mrs. Todd,—

Feb. 1, 1894.

We do not seem to get any light about Benjamin Newton. This is the reply to a note which I finally wrote to Mrs. Wetherell, who was

Miss Hester Newton. When you spoke to me I thought it was Lincoln Newton, who was my classmate and friend. If you can give us any farther clew I will gladly follow it up among my Worcester friends.

Truly yours,

Edw. E. Hale.

Not content with this discouraging report, Mrs. Todd next wrote to the Rev. George H. Gould, then living in Worcester, who had been Austin's most intimate college friend. In his reply of February 8, 1894, to Mrs. Todd he says, "Mr. Benjamin Newton died some more than 35 years ago. He had no family, but a wife. Whether she is living I am unable to say. I have wholly lost track of her for many years."

In the interim, on February 7, Dr. Hale had written a second letter to Mrs. Todd, as follows:

39 Highland St.,
Roxbury, Mass.
Feb. 7, 1894.

My dear Mrs. Todd,—

Do not let me interfere with what is none of my business, but I think your man is named not Benjamin *Newton*, but Benjamin *Lincoln*, and if there is a probability of that, I think I can find him.

Truly yours,

Edw. E. Hale.

Since they knew that their man was not Benjamin Lincoln, this suggestion of Dr. Hale's has a touch of finality about it. At any rate, this is the point at which, forty years ago, the search for further information about Benjamin Franklin Newton ended.

MILLICENT TODD BINGHAM.

New York, April 26, 1934.

I implied no criticism of Mrs. Todd's diligence in stating the fact that her *Letters of Emily Dickinson* contain no mention of Benjamin Newton. Even Dr. Hale, who had known Newton personally, failed to recollect him in 1894, and is evidently speaking of another family; Emily Dickinson's friend had no children and no

sister named Hester. His wife died at Lancaster, Mass., on Dec. 2, 1899 (E. N. Leonard, *Newton Genealogy*, p. 133; I have verified the date from the town records). The following paragraph from the *Clinton Courant* for Dec. 9, 1899, gives all that I know of her story after her husband's death:

Mrs. Sarah Newton died at the town farm on Saturday, aged 90 years and two months. Funeral services were held on Monday afternoon, conducted by Rev. Dr. Bartol, of whose church Mrs. Newton was a member. The interment was in the South Lancaster cemetery.

The circumstances of Mrs. Newton's death make it unlikely that any letters written to her husband between 1850 and 1853 could have remained in her keeping to the end. I have searched the collections of the Worcester Public Library, the American Antiquarian Society, the Worcester Historical Society, and the Worcester County Bar Association, and have not found any papers connected with him. In all probability Emily Dickinson's letters to her "earliest friend" have not been preserved.

GEORGE F. WHICHER.

PROFESSOR HATFIELD REPLIES TO MR. THOMPSON

To the Editors of *American Literature*:

"Back-talk" is usually futile and in bad taste, and I am deeply grateful for any appreciative comment on what has been a labor of love on my part—but I must take formal exception to the intimation in a recent review of my Longfellow-book that its author assembled excerpts without having "taken the trouble to become intimate with the mind and character of his subject." The reviewer adds that Longfellow "exhibited shifting and inconsistent attitudes," and that "it seems obvious that his immature emotions and intellect could not have enabled him to make this first trip much more than a romantic pilgrimage."

While duly admonished as to the reprehensible method of assembling excerpts, I beg to submit certain facts:

During his later years at Bowdoin, young Longfellow's whole soul burned with an ambition to devote himself to literature as a life-career. His first proposition, made to his somewhat bewildered father, was to spend a year in graduate study at Harvard, pursuing

general literature, and "gaining as perfect a knowledge of the French and Italian languages as can be gained by study." The call to Bowdoin led, in place of this plan, to three years' pursuit of language-studies in Europe. On his way to the ship, Longfellow consulted with Ticknor, Bancroft and Cogswell (three very eminent names in American letters), and they united in urging him to spend at least a year in Göttingen. Just before sailing, the young man dispatched a letter to his father in reference to this new plan: "the more I reflect upon it, the better I like it." (One may make well-reasoned changes in a programme, without being accused of shifting and inconsistent attitudes).

On June 15, 1826, the day after landing, he wrote to inquire about the fate of his letter "concerning going to Germany." On October 2, he wrote that he "really hoped to attend lectures in Göttingen" before his return; it was a "heavy responsibility" that he had taken upon himself, and he is solicitous about making the best use of his opportunities. He recognizes that the German language is "infinitely more important than the Spanish." There is little of the romantic vagrant in all this. On October 19, he prefers German to Italian, and wishes to remain longer in Paris, to perfect his French studies, "and then go to Germany for a year." He "would rather master German and French, than learn four languages superficially." On December 23, 1826, he argues with his mother (who was firmly opposed to his going to Göttingen) and justifies a long stay in Germany.

On December 14, 1827, on his way to Italy from Spain, he tells his father of his wish to go on to Göttingen at the close of the winter. On January 18, 1828, he writes to his mother from Florence, saying that he is anxious to get into Germany. On December 18, he assures his father that he intends "to get a competent knowledge of German"; a little later, he cannot reconcile himself to the idea of relinquishing his studies at a German university; he is "daily more and more impressed with the importance of it." He is disposed to find Preble at Göttingen—"but it would impede my progress in German"; of this he will judge better when he reaches Dresden. At that city, in spite of the vivid life of a highly cosmopolitan society, he worked very hard at his studies, and regretted that he had

"found several inconveniences for a studious life." In Göttingen he "kept close to his studies, almost to the point of not going out of the house," and had "no other society than his books"—or, as he described it in *Hyperion*, "we led a solitary and studious life, with nothing to amuse us, save our own day-dreams." It was from Göttingen that the young man (aged 22) wrote his long and analytic letter on the comprehensive reform of higher education in America. This letter is hardly the product of immature emotions and intellect.

On what logical grounds can we regard these consistent utterances of a serious young man to his serious parents on a serious matter as mere *Spiegelfechten*? Are we to scrap them all, and think of Longfellow as an airy sensationalist, because of one poetic phrase in his whimsical *Outre-Mer*, written four years after his return, to the effect that he had approached Europe as though it were the Holy Land, "with the deep emotions of the pilgrim"? To do this demands a more "integrating and interpreting" intelligence than the present writer covets. The evidence adduced as to "shifting and inconsistent attitudes" has no foundation in reality. "But one can report small visible facts accurately (remarked Mrs. Leroy), and that's far better than any number of inaccurate theories."

I might go into other questionable details, but will only add that if the reviewer will substantiate his account of the social life of Longfellow and Preble at Göttingen, I publicly engage to underwrite his expenses for a summer in Europe (everything First Class).

The integrating and interpreting aim of the book was to affront the long-standing, often unchallenged assumption that our American poet was a passive imitator, without ideas of his own, and to uphold the High American Tradition. Like the unfortunate reader of the book (according to my reviewer), I was "forced to draw my own conclusions"—which were actually quite different from any pre-conceived ideas held before approaching this task. No labor has been spared, during a series of years, in seeking an impartial and objective verdict, based on convincing evidence. If the book lacks finality, there abides the blessed assurance that

Some stronger soul may win the height,
Where weaker ones must fail.

Northwestern University.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Edward Bellamy and the Later Utopian Novel in America.
E. L. Shurter (Western Reserve).

H. Caritat (not Charitat, as reported in March, 1933). George
G. Raddin, Jr. (Columbia).

Oliver Wendell Holmes: The Impact of Science upon Theology
in the "Authentic Brahmin." Mentor L. Williams (Michigan).

II. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor Harry Hayden Clark of the University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin, writes:

Since I am preparing a book on "Thomas Paine and Eighteenth-century Radicalism in England, America, and France" (see *American Literature*, V, 133-145, May, 1933), I should be grateful for any information regarding unpublished letters or manuscripts by Paine. I should also be grateful for information regarding unpublished evidence which casts light on his relations to his contemporaries or on his influence. Acknowledgment will of course be made in the book for assistance of this sort.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer*.

*Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.*

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association and the Duke University Press have arranged, for the year 1934, as for 1933, to allow members of the Association by a single payment of \$7.20 to cover their membership fee (which includes a subscription to *PMLA*) in the Association and a subscription to *American Literature*. Those members who wish to avail themselves of this offer will send their subscriptions to *American Literature* to the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association, Lyman R. Bradley, Washington Square College, New York City.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

The editors of American Literature wish to acknowledge with gratitude assistance in the preparation of this check-list rendered by: Professor N. F. Adkins (New York University), Professor Walter Blair (Chicago), Professor Herbert Brown (Bowdoin), Dr. Arthur Christy (Columbia), Professor J. F. Craig (Ohio State), Mr. C. T. Hallenbeck (Columbia), Professor G. E. Hastings (Arkansas), Miss Ima Herron (Southern Methodist), Dr. Robert Kane (Ohio State), Professor E. E. Leisy (Southern Methodist), Professor J. H. Nelson (Kansas), Mr. James T. Pole (Columbia), Mr. Ralph Thompson (Columbia), Dr. T. A. Zunder (Brooklyn College), and the following graduate students at Duke: Miss Isabella Harris, Mr. W. S. Hoole, Mr. D. K. Jackson, and Mr. W. J. McGlothlin.

Information relative to such items as should be included in this list but do not appear may be addressed to Professor Clarence Gohdes (Duke).

I. 1607-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Coleman, Mrs. G. P. "Randolph and Tucker Letters." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLII, 129-131 (April, 1934).

Two letters: one from Richard Rush to St. George Tucker dated Sept. 27, 1813; and one from John Adams dated Aug. 13, 1813, praising Tucker's poem "Resignation" (1807), which is here printed.

Haraszti, Zoltán. "John Adams on Frederick the Great." *More Books: Bull. of B. P. L.*, IX, 117-133 (April, 1934).

Adams's notes in his copies of Frederick's *Œuvres postumes*. (To be continued.)

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Jorgenson, C. E. "Sidelights on Benjamin Franklin's Principles of Rhetoric." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 209-223 (Feb., 1934).

[TUCKER, ST. GEORGE] See entry under *Adams, John*, item by Mrs. G. P. Coleman.

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] B. C. H. "Roger Williams' Funeral." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXVII, 54 (April, 1934).

[MISCELLANEOUS] McMurtrie, D. C. "Located Georgia Imprints of the Eighteenth Century Not in the De Renne Catalogue." *Georgia Hist. Quart.*, XVIII, 27-65 (March, 1934).

Oswald, J. C. "Thomas Bray the Founder of American Libraries." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 80-82 (March, 1934).

II. 1800-1870

[CROCKETT, DAVID] Rourke, Constance. "Davy Crockett: Forgotten Facts and Legends." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 149-161 (Jan., 1934).

Authorship of works by, or attributed to, Crockett.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Anon. "Emerson and Humanism." *Times Lit. Supp.* (London), no. 1679, pp. 233-234 (April 5, 1934).

"Emerson . . . saw deeper than any modern American Humanism. The latter cannot compass him; not because he sinks below but because he rises above it."

Baker, Carlos. "Emerson and Jones Very." *N. E. Quart.*, VII, 90-99 (March, 1934).

Bestor, A. E. "Emerson's Adaptation of a Line from Spenser." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 265-267 (April, 1934).

A line in the rewritten "Sphinx" is adapted from "Muipotmos." Hotson, C. P. "A Salford Reply to Emerson's Manchester Lecture on Swedenborg." *New-Church Mag.*, LIII, 46-57 (Jan.-March, 1934).

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] McDowell, Tremaine. "Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Witches of Colonial Salem." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 152 (March 3, 1934).

The names of actual citizens of Salem sentenced to death for witchcraft in 1692 by Judge John Hathorne.

Myers, Gustavus. "Hawthorne and the Myths about Puritans." *Am. Spectator*, II, 1 (April, 1934).

The Scarlet Letter gives a distorted view of the times it attempts to depict.

Thorner, H. E. "Hawthorne, Poe, and a Literary Ghost." *N. E. Quart.*, VII, 146-154 (March, 1934).

Traces the motif of "Howe's Masquerade" and "William Wilson" before it was employed by Hawthorne and Poe.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Williams, S. T., and Beach, L. B. "Washington Irving's Letters to Mary Kennedy." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 44-65 (March, 1934).

Irving's ten letters to the niece of J. P. Kennedy covering the years 1853-1856, now first published, reflect the gentler aspects of his later life.

Winterich, J. T. "Early American Books and Printing: Enter the Professional Author." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXV, 1148-1150 and 1547-1550 (March 17 and April 21, 1934).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Averill, Esther C. "An Undiscovered Bit of Verse by Longfellow." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 311-312 (May, 1934).

Rimes from a valentine. Not "undiscovered" at all.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Jenkins, W. G. "Lowell's Criteria of Political Values." *N. E. Quart.*, VII, 115-141 (March, 1934).

"Lowell's political thought was based on moral ideas. . . . His belief in democracy was based on the conviction that the masses, morally sound, would follow enlightened leadership if that leadership showed them the way."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Birss, J. H. "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 50-52 (Feb., 1934).

An account of a lecture on "The South Seas" delivered on Dec. 6, 1858.

Howard, Leon. "A Predecessor of Moby-Dick." *M. L. N.*, XLIX, 310-311 (May, 1934).

Melville knew, and probably took material from, Joseph C. Hart's *Miriam Coffin, or the Whale-Fisherman* (New York, 1834).

[POE, E. A.] Bayless, Joy. "Another Rufus W. Griswold as a Critic of Poe." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 69-72 (March, 1934).

Rufus White Griswold, editor of *The New England Weekly Gazette* (Hartford, Conn.) is the second.

Chase, Lewis. "A New Poe Letter." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 66-69 (March, 1934).

The letter, published for the first time, is dated, Philadelphia, Oct. 27, 1841, and is addressed to F. W. Thomas. It contains references to the authorship of *The Partisan Leader*, Griswold, Burton, Graham, and to the fact that Poe visited several phrenologists, "all of whom" spoke of his skull in a "species of extravaganza."

Hoole, W. S. "Poe in Charleston, S. C." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 78-80 (March, 1934).

Mabbott, T. O. "George H. Derby: A Debt to Poe." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 171 (March 10, 1934).

The motto of Derby's "Phoenixiana" was taken from that of Poe's "How to Write a Blackwood Article."

Marchand, Ernest. "Poe as Social Critic." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 28-43 (March, 1934).

Poe was aware of the problems of his times and in his works shows that he had thought on matters connected with democracy, social reform, and progress. His ideas are colored by his earlier Virginian milieu.

Norman, Emma K. "Poe's Knowledge of Latin." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 72-77 (March, 1934).

Poe had a "good working knowledge" of Latin for his critical purposes.

Pound, Louise. "On Poe's 'The City in the Sea'." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 22-27 (March, 1934).

Poe's poem deals with a topic of wide occurrence in literature. The point is illustrated.

Randall, David. "Robertson's Poe Bibliography." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXV, 1540-1543 (April 21, 1934).

A review valuable for the inaccuracies pointed out.

Schick, J. S. "The Origin of 'The Cask of Amontillado'." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 18-21 (March, 1934).

Poe combined materials from *The Last Days of Pompeii* and J. T. Headley's *Letters from Italy* (1845).

Wells, G. "Poe as a Mystic." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 54-55 (Feb., 1934). See also entry under *Hawthorne, Nathaniel*, item by H. E. Thorner, and entry under *Harris, J. C.*

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Beatty, R. C. "A Mind Divided." *Am. Rev.*, III, 77-95 (April, 1934).

Taylor's opinions of the America of his day.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Christy, Arthur. "A Thoreau Fact-Book." *Colophon*, Part XVI (March, 1934).

[VERY, JONES] See entry under *Emerson, R. W.*, item by Carlos Baker.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Reed, H. B. "The Heraclitan Obsession of Walt Whitman." *Personalist*, XV, 125-138 (Spring, 1934).

"The concept of endless progression and succession . . . almost an obsession with Whitman," is traced in a few poems.

Frump, Timothy. "A Whitman Manuscript." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 206 (March 24, 1934).

The MS. collection of R. H. Stoddard, including a sheaf of Whitman MSS., . . . with an early draft of "Out of the Cradle . . ." has been deposited in the N. Y. P. L.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, T. F. "The Whittier Leaflet 'Pericles'." *Library Quart.*, IV, 175-178 (April, 1934).

The so-called broadside edition of Whittier's "Pericles" described in the Wakeman catalogue does not date back to 1827 but is a "fairly recent production." Likewise, "Psalm 137" and "The Sicilian Vespers" are later printings.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Beale, H. K. "The Diary of Edward Bates, 1839-1866." *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Ass.*, 1930, IV (1933).

The diary contains numerous references to books and authors.

Davidson, C. V. "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIX, 1-20 (March, 1934).

Brief biographical sketch of Eliza C. A. Godefroy, associate editor of *The Companion and Weekly Miscellany* (Balto., 1804-1806), and sole editor of *The Observer* (Balto., 1806-1807). Her pseudonym was "Beatrice Ironside."

Hoole, W. S. "The Gilmans and *The Southern Rose*." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XI, 116-128 (April, 1934).

Samuel and Caroline Gilman as editors of *The Southern Rose* (1832-1839).

Keidel, G. C. "Early Maryland Newspapers." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIX, 25-34 (March, 1934).

List of papers for the years 1841-1845. (To be continued.)

Starke, A. H. "An Omnibus of Poets." *Colophon*, Part XVI (March, 1933).

The American poets who appeared in the "No Name" series sponsored by Thomas Niles of Roberts Brothers, Boston publishers.

Thompson, Ralph. "*The Liberty Bell* and Other Anti-Slavery Gift-Books." *N. E. Quart.*, VII, 159-168 (March, 1934).

III. 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Brownell, G. H. "Mark Twainiana." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 124-126 (April, 1934).

Brief items on Mark Twain's contacts with various contemporaries, mainly journalists.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Beer, Thomas. "Mrs. Stephen Crane." *Am. Mercury*, XXXI, 289-295 (March, 1934).

Impressions from letters by Mrs. R. L. Stevenson, Richard Harding Davis, Ralph Paine, and others.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] McLean, S. R. "Emily Dickinson at Mount Holyoke." *N. E. Quart.*, VII, 25-42 (March, 1934).

Of interest largely because of material on the religious life of the college and its effect on the poet.

Phelps, W. L. "As I Like It." *Scribner's Month.*, XCV, 290 (April, 1934).

A hitherto unpublished letter is quoted, dated Nov. 9, 1877, and addressed to Prof. Richard H. Mather on the death of his wife.

Whicher, G. F. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 3-17 (March, 1934).

B. F. Newton (1821-1853) was the "guide of her taste and the awakener of her mind." Her friendship with him, and in a lesser measure with Leonard Humphrey, is traced.

—— "A Chronological Grouping of Some of Emily Dickinson's Poems." *Colophon*, Part XVI (March, 1934).

[HARRIS, J. C.] Mabbott, T. O. "Joel Chandler Harris: A Debt to Poe." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 151 (March 3, 1934).

The title of one of Harris's sketches in *The Countryman* is taken from Poe.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Starke, A. H. "Lanier, the Unknown Man." *Atlanta Journal* (Magazine Section), pp. 6 and 18 (Aug. 20, 1933).

Biographical reminiscences and facts made available since the publication of the same author's biography of Lanier.

[SHAW, H. W.] Clemens, Cyril. "Josh Billings: A Neglected Humorist." *Overland Month.*, XCII, 12 (Jan., 1934).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Admari, Ralph. "The House that Beadle Built." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 60-63, 92-94 (Feb. and March, 1934).

Beadle was the publisher of many dime novels.

Larson, H. and Hangen, E. "Björnson and America—A Critical Review." *Scandinavian Stud. and Notes*, XIII, 1-12 (Feb., 1934).

On Björnson's visit to America in 1880-1881.

IV. 1900-1934

[BABBITT, IRVING] Mather, F. J. "Irving Babbitt." *Harvard Grads. Mag.*, CLXVI, 65-84 (Dec., 1933).

A consideration of his life and writings.

More, P. E. "Irving Babbitt." *Am. Rev.*, III, 23-40 (April, 1934).

An informal discussion of Babbitt's philosophy and the New Humanism.

[BENÉT, S. V.] Bacon, Leonard. "Stephen Vincent Benét." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 609 (April 7, 1934).

[BRADFORD, GAMALIEL] "Personal Letters of Gamaliel Bradford." *Atlantic Month.*, CLIII, 431-440 (April, 1934).

The first instalment of his letters.

[BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Inescort, Frieda. "Louis Bromfield of Mansfield." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 629 (April 14, 1934).

[CABELL, J. B.] Le Breton, Maurice. "James Branch Cabell, Romancier. II. Les Romans de Poictesme." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 223-238 (Feb., 1934).

[DREISER, THEODORE] Schneider, Isidor. "Theodore Dreiser." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 533, 534-535 (March 10, 1934).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Nicoll, Allardyce. "T. S. Eliot and the Revival of Classicism." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 269-278 (April, 1934).

Eliot has marred his verse by too great admiration for the transitional poets of another age—the Donnes rather than the Drydens.

[FROST, ROBERT] Dobbs, J. M. "Robert Frost and the Dark Woods." *Yale Rev.*, XXXIII, 514-520 (March, 1934).

Frost's fascination for woods lends his somewhat classic poetry a distinct romantic quality.

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Garnett, David. "Books in General." *New Statesman and Nation*, VII, 192 (Feb. 10, 1934).

General analysis of Hemingway's works, with special attention to *Winner Take Nothing*.

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Calverton, V. F. "Sinclair Lewis, the Last of the Literary Liberals." *Modern Month.*, VIII, 77-86 (March, 1934).

Lewis has failed to keep in touch with American life of the 1930's; hence his latest novels have failed.

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Maynard, Theodore. "Mencken Leaves 'The American Mercury'." *Catholic World*, CXXXIX, 10-20 (April, 1934).

[PARKER, DOROTHY] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Dorothy Parker [Rothschild] (1893-)." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 1154 (March, 17, 1934).

[POUND, EZRA] Blackmur, R. P. "Masks of Ezra Pound." *Hound & Horn*, VII, 177-212 (Jan.-March, 1934).

A discussion of the methods and manner of Pound's poetry, with special emphasis upon his "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley," "Homage to Sextus Propertius," and *A Draft of Thirty Cantos*.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Cestre, C. "Edwin Arlington Robinson, Artiste dans les Jeux de l'Humour et de la Fantaisie." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 246-251 (Feb., 1934).

[STEIN, GERTRUDE] Anderson, Sherwood. "Gertrude Stein." *Am. Spectator*, II, 3 (April, 1934).

Attacks B. F. Skinner's statement that Gertrude Stein's writing is "automatic."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Abel, Lione. "History, Snobbery, Criticism." *Nation*, CXXXVIII, 474-476 (April 25, 1934).

Critics are assuming, without historical proof, that whatever they dislike in literature is "dead."

Anon. "Watchman: What Of?" *Midwest Rev. of Lit.*, I, 6 (Aug., 1934).

"We are now definitely headed into an era of culture."

Benchley, Robert. "The Return of the Actors." *Yale Rev.*, XXIII, 504-513 (March, 1934).

The legitimate theater is being revived.

Chevalier, H. M. "Farewell to Purity." *Modern Month.*, VIII, 100-104, 111 (March, 1934).

An attack on estheticism in contemporary literature.

Colum, Mary M. "Marxism and Literature." *Forum*, XCI, 145-149 (March, 1934).

———"The Psychopathic Novel." *Forum*, XCI, 219-223 (April, 1934).

COWLEY, MALCOLM. "Ivory Towers to Let." *New Republic*, LXXVIII, 260-263 (April 18, 1934).

Analysis of the new interest in politics shown by American writers.

FIELD, LOUISE M. "Mothers in Fiction." *N. Am. Rev.*, CCXXXVII, 250-256 (March, 1934).

Krutch, J. W. "The Usable Past." *Nation*, CXXXVIII, 191-192 (Feb. 14, 1934).

Critics of American literature, including Mr. Krutch, are interpreting the past in terms of their own prejudices.

Van Doren, Mark. "The Art of American Fiction." *Nation*, CXXXVIII, 472-474 (April 25, 1934).

Comments on novelists since 1925.

Wecter, Dixon. "The Harvard Exiles." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, X, 244-257 (April, 1934).

In the present decade the artist is no more disposed to renounce his native land.

V. Language and Folk Literature

Culbertson, E. "Terms in Contract Bridge." *Am. Speech*, IX, 10-12 (Feb., 1934).

Gehman, S. "Isaac Hunsicker's Copy-Books." *Am. Speech*, IX, 46-48 (Feb., 1934).

Copy-books of a Pennsylvania German boy.

Kueth, J. L. "Prison Parlance." *Am. Speech*, IX, 25-28 (Feb., 1934).

McDermott, J. F. "French Surnames in the Mississippi Valley." *Am. Speech*, IX, 28-30 (Feb., 1934).

Reinecke, J. E. and Tokimasa, A. "The English Dialect of Hawaii." *Am. Speech*, IX, 48-58 (Feb., 1934).

Tucker, R. W. "Linguistic Substrata in Pennsylvania and Elsewhere." *Language*, X, 1-5 (March, 1934).

Wheatley, K. E. "Southern Standards." *Am. Speech*, IX, 36-45 (Feb., 1934).

Concerning the need for a manual of phonetics dealing with cultivated Southern American English.

VI. Miscellaneous

Boynton, H. W. "Literature by Piecemeal." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 179-188 (March, 1934).

A survey of histories of American literature, with the warning that artful approaches cannot take the place of "the full picture of American experience in terms of literature."

Griffin, Grace G. "Writings on American History, 1930." *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Ass.*, 1930, II, 255-260 (1933).

The pages given above contain titles of works on American literature.

Kalfavan, Armen. "United States in the Post-War Literature of France 1919-1931." *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, XVIII, 398-404 (March, 1934).

Pattee, F. L. "Anthologies of American Literature Before 1861." *Colophon*, Part XVI (March, 1934).

An annotated bibliography.

Weeks, Edward. "A Modern Estimate of American Best Sellers, 1875-1933." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 1506 (April 21, 1934).

———"The Best Sellers Since 1875." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 1503-1505 (April 21, 1934).

———"A Modern Estimate of the Fifty Best Books in American Literature." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 1507 (April 21, 1934).

BOOK REVIEWS

QUAKER MILITANT: *John Greenleaf Whittier*. By Albert Mordell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1933. xxi, 354 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Albert Mordell's new life of Whittier, the first full-length study since G. R. Carpenter's in 1903, is an unusual compound of merits and demerits which deserves a more detailed and discriminating winnowing than the space of a review will allow.

Among the merits one is impressed by the evidence of much scholarly research which has brought together "some unknown poems and letters," some unknown early editorials, and "some new facts in his life," chiefly relating to Whittier's affection for women such as Mary Emerson Smith, Evelina Bray, Cornelia Russ, Lucy Hooper, Elizabeth Lloyd, Ida Russell, Lucy Larcom, Gail Hamilton, Celia Thaxter, and several others. Mr. Mordell's selected bibliography (pp. 333-343) is especially useful for its inclusion of early reviews of Whittier's work such as Hawthorne's review of his *Supernaturalism in New England* in *The Literary World* for April 17, 1847. Mr. Mordell's book contains much more evidence than any other on Whittier's abolition activities and his political liberalism. This phase of the poet's life is interpreted with an ardent appreciation which may help to endear Whittier to modern radicals who have scoffed at what they regard as his moralism. And in addition to the new evidence regarding Whittier's political career and influence, Mr. Mordell has given us a glowing, if somewhat confused, appreciation of Whittier's place in American letters; he assigns him a "higher plane" than he does "poets like Bryant, Lowell, Holmes, Longfellow, and Poe," and he ranks him "with Emerson, Hawthorne, and Thoreau." If this is extravagant praise, it may help to counteract the much more extravagant depreciation of Whittier among liberals of recent years. We may say, then, that on account of its fresh evidence Mr. Mordell's book is one to which all serious students of the poet must hereafter be gratefully indebted.

If such are the merits of the book, what are its demerits? Since the biography is undistinguished for vivid portraiture or intrinsic literary value, it is more charitable to consider it from the standpoint of ideas and facts. Mr. Mordell seems to have allowed current obsessions regarding sex to color and distort his interpretation, if not his selection, of the evidence relating to Whittier and his women friends. Accepting the unproved and dubious view that Stephen Bacheler was an adulterer whose "blood flowed in the veins of John Greenleaf Whittier," Mr. Mordell

strains himself to convince us that the poet usually regarded as the incarnation of virtue was a philanderer, at least in his own imagination. The gentle poet is supposed to have been actuated by a sort of desire for revenge: after Mary Emerson Smith and Cornelia Russ declined his offers of marriage, Whittier is interpreted as maneuvering nearly all his other women friends into loving him and then as deliberately jilting them. Although he is admitted to have "retained his chastity until he died," he is melodramatically presented as a "male coquet" (pp. xvii, 89, 112, and chap. XVIII), with the "fascinating powers of a Don Juan," guilty of numerous "philanderings," who "encouraged" innocent maidens, later "deserting" and "abandoning" them. And where Mr. Mordell does not make use of the Freudian hocus-pocus to interpret Whittier's later life in terms of his youthful disappointment, he dwells, in the modern manner, on the idea that Whittier's virtuousness had a "ruinous effect" not only upon his health (he was delicate from boyhood) but upon his poetic artistry (pp. 246-247). The sort of literary criticism such obsessions with sex lead to is illustrated in Mr. Mordell's unique discussion of *Snow-Bound*, the poet's masterpiece of literary art. He here devotes himself to trying to show that the eccentricities of a minor character, Harriet Livermore, in the light of "what psychologists are successfully doing today," were "the result of a neurosis brought on by being very cruelly abandoned by an army doctor to whom she had been engaged. A psychoanalyst might have made her a normal person" (p. 216). Whereas Whittier's themes can be matched by similar stories and poems of youthful contemporaries in the same magazines, and undoubtedly represent a catering to the taste of the time, Mr. Mordell naïvely accepts his early work as literally autobiographical in its expression of ideas. Let anyone who has a genuine insight into the New England character of Whittier's time read the fragmentary work of fiction called "My Summer with Dr. Single-tarry," and see whether his reaction is that of Mr. Mordell, who centers on the idea that it is an expression of Whittier's own Ibsen-like "tirade against public opinion" in defence of the "fallen woman." Even Whittier's sweet and wholesome affection for his mother and sister is made to take on dark suggestions in Freudian eyes.

Mr. Mordell seems to me to mar his work, also, by measuring Whittier not only by Freudian but by Socialistic yardsticks. With obvious didactic intent, Mr. Mordell heaps praise upon that portion of Whittier's work which he finds "laudably 'seditious' and delightfully 'blasphemous'" (p. 179). He seems to accept the old-fashioned *Uncle Tom's Cabin's* view of opponents of abolition as devils, without much understanding of what

may justly be said for the ideals of such men as Calhoun. There is little if any attempt to analyze dispassionately the pattern of ideas on each side. He thinks "vested interests are in mortal fear" of Whittier's poems of freedom, and he charges that Whittier became wealthy and "unconsciously" identified his interests with the middle class to which he belonged," thus becoming "intellectually atrophied" (p. 257). Whittier finally agreed with most great thinkers that social problems such as the conflict between capital and labor can be solved best not only by external reform but by *self-reform* and the following of "the Golden Rule of Christ"; and poems such as "The Problem" anger Mr. Mordell because Whittier did not devote his mature verse to the partisan and relatively external issues of "wage slavery in America." He was guilty of not believing that strikes would permanently redress the grievances of the unfortunate; he "never dreamed that we might have followed Russia . . ." (pp. 256-257). But it is not necessary, I trust, in a scholarly journal to labor the point that anachronism is a serious flaw in historical interpretation. If I understand aright the basis of true literary history, one of its ideals is the attempt to re-live sympathetically, in the light of facts uncolored by anachronism or subjective biases, the author's vision; this Mr. Mordell has signally failed to do in the section of his book which deals with Whittier's mature religious thought and art, with that portion of his work in which he transcended his earlier interest in local and partisan and external reforms and dealt with the universal and timeless life of the spirit. To an apostle of art for Marx's sake, this great portion of the poet's work was "deficient" because "steeped in nineteenth century respectability" and because he did not concentrate on the notion that "public-utility corporations were obtaining franchises on public property and yet were exorbitant in their rates" (p. 265). This refusal to re-live sympathetically the author's vision, the professed aim of so many liberals, is accompanied by a school-masterish didacticism which results in serious injustice to that portion of Whittier's work which best accords with the universal qualities of world-literature. Indeed, Mr. Mordell does not seem impressive when he deals with matters strictly within the realm of literary history or literary criticism. For example, the idea, much stressed, that Whittier was a "Pioneer of Regional Literature," that he "introduced a new note into American literature" in 1831 in advocating a distinctively national literature devoted to local and external circumstances, is ludicrous to anyone familiar with the nationalistic localism of writers nearly half a century earlier, such as Freneau, "The Hartford Wits," C. B. Brown, Royall Tyler, *et al.* And the-

idea that Whittier's poetical creed¹ never changed, that he merely returned to his nationalistic localism in old age, illustrates Mr. Mordell's very imperfect mastery of the genetic method in so far as it concerns ideas and critical distinctions.

Finally, if this biography of Whittier is far from definitive in interpretation, there are a few errors of fact. Mr. T. F. Currier, whose exhaustive bibliography of Whittier is eagerly awaited, has shown in a letter in the *Boston Transcript* dated Aug. 15, 1933, that the informant who told Mr. Mordell that Whittier wrote the fulsome praise of himself (p. 304) in Appleton's *Cyclopedia* was in error, since this praise was written by Lowell. (Surely Whittier would have corrected the erroneous statement that he succeeded Prentice as editor of *The Haverhill Gazette* in 1830, and that he removed to Amesbury in 1840.) If Mr. Mordell's informant's memory proved false in this particular, how can one rely on her statement (she was ten years old at the time) that Gail Hamilton proposed to Whittier (p. 234)? Mr. Currier has also shown (*N.E.Q.*, VI, 801-802, Dec., 1933) that Mr. Mordell is in error in asserting that Mary L. Shepherd is the Mary referred to in the poem "The First Flowers." On p. 274 Mr. Mordell prints a poem with the statement that Whittier "never collected it"; in reality, the lines quoted are a portion of the latter part of "Pennsylvania Hall" read in 1838 and included in the volume of 1849 published by B. B. Mussey & Co. and in the Standard Library Edition, III, 58-63. (See F. H. Underwood's *Whittier*, pp. 139-140.) But of course these are rather trivial matters in a work involving such a mass of facts.

In summary, then, this biography is of great value for its fresh evidence; in this reviewer's judgment, however, Mr. Mordell has allowed his personal bias and his anachronistic attempt to measure Whittier by Freudian and Socialistic yardsticks to color if not distort the evidence and to militate against a just view of Whittier's mature religious thought and art. While one would have no objection to Mr. Mordell's setting forth his subjective views about sex and economics in a separate treatise, it is unfortunate that these views should confuse the issues in a biography which, among other things, should be objective, non-partisan, historical, and genetic. Mr. Mordell's tone is suggested by his view that "the theology of Whittier . . . is so much chaff" (p. 294).

It is to be hoped that the biography of Whittier by Mr. J. A. Pollard (Yale) will add to the fresh facts uncovered by Mr. Mordell without

¹ In an introduction to Whittier, now in preparation for the "American Writers Series," I hope to trace in detail the growth of his literary theory as a guide to an understanding of his literary practice.

following the tendencies in their interpretation which have made an otherwise valuable work considerably less than definitive.

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HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

LE CULTIVATEUR AMÉRICAIN: *Etude sur l'œuvre de Saint John de Crève-cœur*. Par Howard C. Rice. Paris: Champion. 1933. 263 pp. 42 francs.

In his introduction, altogether too modest, Mr. Howard Rice presents his work as a synthesis rather than as an original contribution bringing out new points and many unpublished documents. In fact, he has made excellent use of the Crève-cœur manuscripts preserved in the family and in the American archives, and discovered many important details which had escaped Mr. Robert de Crève-cœur and Miss Julia Post, the previous biographers of the most enigmatic character in the history of Franco-American relations. The young Norman brought up by the Jesuits, who went to Canada as a cartographer in the French army at the age of sixteen, witnessed the fall of Quebec, was forced out of his regiment and disappeared for almost ten years in the American wilderness before settling on the farm of Pine Hill, in the State of New York, and marrying an American girl, is chiefly known as the author of the *Letters from an American Farmer*, a work often mentioned, occasionally quoted as a typical or horrible example of Rousseauism and, in reality, very little studied or analyzed with the attention it deserves.

The first merit of Mr. Rice's study is that it offers for the first time a thorough description and comparison of the editions of Crève-cœur's main work, and reveals the significant differences between the original English and the "sentimentalized" French version. Writing in English after forgetting if not his identity, as he once maintained, at least his native tongue, Crève-cœur had to employ a translator to present his first work to the French public, and in the process some of the ruggedness of the original was lost and many "philosophical" touches added. No less valuable is the discussion of Crève-cœur's realism. One may wonder, however, whether in his ambition to remain as objective as possible Mr. Rice has not unwillingly minimized the originality of Crève-cœur's descriptions. Making due allowance for the poetical jargon of the time, one must admit, however, that with his friend John Bartram, Crève-cœur was the first writer in the eighteenth century to discover the beauties of the American landscape. In some respects, perhaps, he was even more important than Bartram, for the great botanist and Quaker recently studied by Dr. N. Bryllion Fagin was attracted by the semi-tropical scenes of the Carolinas

and Florida, while the former surveyor who had reclaimed his land from the wilderness felt and expressed the more moderate charm of a semi-civilized and partly settled region. At least a brief comparison with some of Crèvecoeur's contemporaries and even some of his successors would have been illuminating. Neither John Filson, nor Jefferson, nor even Isaac Weld, who belongs to the following generation, succeeded in painting with the same picturesqueness the forests and waterfalls, and the seasonal contrasts which mark the American climate. The discussion of this particular point, which is not devoid of value, is treated altogether too briefly (pp. 77-82). On the other hand, Mr. Rice is quite justified in dealing at length with the ideas of his writer.

Not an original thinker, too much under the influence of Saint-Lambert and Raynal, Crèvecoeur nevertheless played an important part in the anti-slavery movement. With Bartram and Benezet he should be counted as one of the most active friends of the Indians and the Negroes. His attitude towards the American Revolution was more curious and more unexpected. Refusing to be dazzled by "the pompous, the captious, the popular, the ostensible, the brilliant part of these American affairs," he decided to search and investigate what he called "the opaque side." Neither a "patriot" nor a "loyalist," refusing to be carried away by the enthusiasm for political liberty, and fond above all of natural liberty, he remained during the stormy years a "frontier man," seeing only the seamy side of war, sympathizing with the distress of the country folks and suffering his share of their miseries. Even before his marriage he had become an American citizen, and yet when he went back to France, he felt the call of the native soil, returned to the United States as a French official, and when he died in France in 1813 he had practically lost contact with America and Americans.

The parts in which Mr. Rice has attempted to analyze the moods, illusions, and mirages that haunted the imagination of this citizen of the world who was at the same time a citizen of two countries, are very penetrating and constitute an important contribution to the history of international psychology.

The Johns Hopkins University.

GILBERT CHINARD.

THE RECEPTION OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN GERMANY. By Lawrence Marsden Price. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1932. vii, 596 pp. \$6.50.

This volume, in one sense a revised and amended edition of Professor Price's *English-German Literary Influences: Bibliography and Survey* (2

vols., Berkeley, California, 1919-1920), is in reality a new book, and is particularly welcome because the earlier work has been out of print for several years. The errors of the 1919-1920 publication have been scrupulously corrected, some condensations have been effected, and much new material, both factual and critical, has been added.

Professor Price adopts a plan which one wishes were more generally followed by so-called influence-seekers. In the introduction he assures the reader: "This is not a book with a thesis. It tries to prove nothing whatever. Only once, so far as I can recall, did I ever generalize publicly on national characteristics and national influences, and then I came to the conclusion that no one could say that English literature as a whole had changed the course of German literature as a whole; that . . . it was entirely possible to characterize an author, a group of authors, or a literary age such as the Greek classical period, the German romantic period, or the age of Elizabeth; but if one, for example, attempted to find the terms that described English literature in its totality, with its *Beowulf*, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, Dickens, and Oscar Wilde, one must seek for phrases so general that they would apply equally well to any other modern literature that had fully developed its possibilities." For example, he finds that Luther and Goethe were as much unlike each other as Shakespeare was unlike both.

To follow the logical implications of this general position to their final conclusion would seem to leave the student of comparative literature grasping at sheer futility and the literary historian to find, at the end of the scholar's rainbow, a pot full of nothing. One is happy to note, therefore, that Professor Price is not adamant, for almost immediately after pointing out the danger of attributing general characteristics to a nation or a literature, he imputes one to the Germans—their peculiar acquisitiveness of cultural elements from abroad. "More than any other race I can think of," he says, "the Germans have always shown a great deference to all that came from foreign countries."¹ He hastens to qualify his statement still further:

Having said much to discount influences, I may add that they are not totally negligible after all in literary history. If they do not alter the course of development, at least they often accelerate it. . . . At the beginning of the eighteenth century German literature was still rather bare of poetic qualities. It had to advance by leaps and bounds to be ready for Goethe seventy-five years later. The French and English literature, like good pacemakers, kept just a few steps ahead during this time. Goethe, more than any other, profited by the effect of this stimulus. Without it he would have lived and written, to be sure, but he would have written otherwise, and he would have left it to another to demonstrate the full poetic range of the German language.

¹ Bearing out Schiller's observation: "Der deutsche Geschmack hat von jeher sein Gesetz von den Ausländern empfangen."

While it would seem that, in his eagerness to drive home a point, Professor Price overstated his case, the truth is that he is only critically wary of generalizations regarding influences—a wariness already observable in the change which the title of his book underwent from *English-German Literary Influences* to *The Reception of English Literature in Germany*. The reader feels, however, that little has been gained by these precautionary statements, for the critical objectivity and scholarly detachment with which Professor Price approaches his subject are sufficiently patent on every page to obviate the necessity of pointed protestation.

This work, like its predecessor, is in two divisions: a descriptive and critical survey of 443 pages and an annotated bibliography comprising 1180 items of 119 pages, plus an indispensable "Index of Investigators" (9 pages) and an equally valuable "Index of Authors" (21 pages).

The arrangement of the survey is roughly chronological and falls into three main parts: I. The Eighteenth Century and Earlier (chaps. i-xv); II. Shakespeare in Germany (chaps. xvi-xix); and III. The Nineteenth Century and Thereafter (chaps. xx-xxv). The single great departure from the chronological order, in the case of Shakespeare, is entirely justifiable, for only by grouping all Shakespeare materials together could a satisfactory review of his influence in Germany be presented. In this manner, the necessity of successively dropping and taking up the threads at the passing of the centuries is avoided. In the case of other Englishmen, such as Sterne, whose influence was felt during both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Professor Price was forced to choose between two evils—either to trace Sterne in Germany successively through both centuries and thereby disrupt and blur the picture from the German point of view, or to drop Sterne at the end of the eighteenth century and later resume the story for the nineteenth century, thereby leaving the reader to skip and jump backward and forward as best he can.

Aside from Shakespeare, the other English authors whose vogue or influence in Germany was sufficiently pronounced to warrant mention in chapter headings are: Milton, Dryden, Addison, Pope, Thomson, Shaftesbury, Young, Macpherson, Percy, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, Goldsmith, Scott, Byron, and Dickens.

Essentially, the survey is intended to be a summary-review of the thousand or more books, monographs, articles, and reviews which comprise the bibliography of Anglo-German literary relations; but careful pointing all along the way, happily placed expository passages, and unobtrusive guide-posts designed to orientate the reader coöperate with a remarkably fine descriptive and analytical faculty to produce a synthesis (Professor

Price's antipathy to the word notwithstanding)—a fine synthesis of Anglo-German literary relations. Not that syntheses as such are presented, or that sweeping generalizations are made. But all the facts and materials are gathered and marshalled so tellingly that whoever will may read his own conclusion and form his own summary opinion.

The crucial century in any study that deals with English-German literary influences is, of course, the eighteenth, and Professor Price's emphasis rightly falls upon this period. Nor does he overlook the earlier and the later periods: especially the former receive all the attention due them. On first glance, however, the allotment to nineteenth- and twentieth-century influences of 94 pages out of 447 pages seems very disproportionate; and when, of the 94 pages, 69 are devoted almost exclusively to Scott, Byron, and Dickens (leaving just 25 pages to all other authors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, British and American), one is tempted to ask: "What of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning? What about the reception of the so-called major American writers in Germany? What about the vogue of contemporary British and American authors in Germany today?" Indeed, the chapters entitled "The Nineteenth Century in General," "The American Novel," and "The Twentieth Century," which, together with the chapters on Scott, Byron, and Dickens, comprise the whole of Book III, appear noticeably thin. They appear so because the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have provoked little scholarly activity among students of Anglo-German literary relations, which, be it observed, does not necessarily mean that no influences exist. For scholarship and research in this field of comparative literature have moved with little direction in the past, and, quite conceivably, this province has simply been neglected or slighted. One concedes that the nineteenth-century English writers enjoyed no enthusiastic reception in Germany comparable with Shakespeare's or Milton's, but men like Coleridge and Carlyle were too significant as intermediaries of German literature and thought in England not to have exerted also reciprocal influences. Similarly, American authors of the nineteenth century (after Cooper, Longfellow, Poe, Whitman, and, possibly Mark Twain and Bret Harte have been mentioned) may not yield much; yet there were Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, James, and others who were not unknown in Germany. To the very interesting subject of the vogue of twentieth-century British and American authors exactly three pages are devoted.

This does not mean that Professor Price has erred; it means simply that the study of Anglo-German literary relations, particularly during the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is far from completed. One cannot but wish, however, that Professor Price, particularly since he has a most comprehensive view and knowledge of the entire field, had gone beyond his intention of summarizing and reviewing our present knowledge of this department of comparative literature, and had suggested pointedly, and not only by way of implication, the neglected subject for further investigation.

The bibliography, which comprises the second division of the book, is arranged to parallel closely the survey-part of the book, and together with its valuable annotations, lists of reviews, and carefully cross-referenced index, is a model of method, accuracy, and comprehensiveness. Particularly valuable are the alphabetical lists under such headings as "The Influence of English Literature on Specific German Authors" and "The Influence of Specific English Authors on German Literature." The particular scheme of arrangement adopted makes the bibliography more easily usable from the English than from the German point of view, but obviously both could not be served equally well. Professor Price was eminently correct in rejecting the hand-running alphabetic arrangement by authors, which could have served neither very well. The plan adopted permits the student who wishes to examine Milton's influence upon German authors to find all his materials listed in one place; the student who wants to study the various English influences upon Goethe has only to consult the index of authors and make his own compilation. A merely alphabetical arrangement would have served handily neither the one nor the other.

A remarkable achievement of industrious and fruitful scholarship, Professor Price's book will be the standard work in this field for years to come. Further research in the many subjects embraced in it will doubtless shed new light upon certain provinces of the vast field and possibly supplement² but hardly supplant this synthesis.

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HENRY A. POCHMANN.

² A most valuable supplementary study which Professor Price himself is about to present is *The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century: Part I. Dramas, Novels, Longer Poems*. Professor B. Q. Morgan of the University of Wisconsin has finished the MS. of his revised and much-amended *German Literature in English Translation*. This work will be as indispensable to the study of German-English literary influences as Professor Price's work is to that of Anglo-German relations. Another associated work is the 14,000-item bibliography of German-American Cultural Relations, promised for fall publication by the present writer.

AN AMERICAN BOOKSHELF, 1755. By Lawrence C. Wroth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1934. lx, 191 pp.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS COLLIER, PRINTER, 1784-1808. [Edited by Samuel H. Fisher.] Litchfield, Connecticut: The Litchfield Historical Society. 1933. xiii, 98 pp.

Mr. Wroth's exposition of the books of serious import which were produced by Anglo-American printers in a single year, 1755, may fairly claim to be regarded as a landmark, recording the point attained by American bibliographers in 1933, from which all future progress can be computed. The author's position, and the occasion for these lectures, combine to create an unusual significance for the outcome. He is the Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library of Americana, the oldest and most distinguished position among "special" librarians in this country; he has been for some years the American secretary of the Bibliographical Society, of London, which has virtually created modern standards of that science; and he is the President of the Bibliographical Society of America. His latest publication contains the lectures delivered as the A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania in 1933.

This survey of the subject matter with which the printers dealt in that single mid-eighteenth century year, on the frontiers of the civilized world, is in striking contrast to the ambitious undertakings with which the book-recording science was started on its latter-day development, seventy-five years ago. Then, two beginnings were made to lay foundations for the study of American typographic output. The first was a New York bookseller's effort to record everything that was worth recording which might interest Americans. Next, a library assistant, realizing the necessity of restricting his field, started to describe everything that came from an American printing shop prior to 1820. Neither of these undertakings is yet finished. Sabin's Dictionary is struggling through the slough of the T—'s, where it bogged forty years ago, while Mr. Charles Evans is plowing through the governmental output of the first decade of the national constitution. Requirements meanwhile have changed. Professional craftsmen are no longer satisfied to take their chances on finding what they want in these comprehensive compilations of editorial selection or accidental encounters. The works for which room must be found on their shelves are such as the Litchfield, Connecticut, Historical Society's neat and adequate tribute to the town's first printer, Thomas Collier. Mr. Samuel H. Fisher has searched the stacks of some thirty libraries and looked down the columns of old newspapers as well as of modern com-

pilations, to record 106 titles, besides 20 almanacks, which were to be had at the Litchfield printing shop between 1784 and 1808. Here is something to think about. It is, beyond question, not a complete record, and the missing titles are undoubtedly those which would prove most significant if they could be recovered, for then as now it is the book that cannot be found which represents the dominating human interest of the moment.

It is this dominating interest of the book-buying public which Mr. Wroth sought in preparing his Rosenbach lectures. In establishing this Fellowship, Dr. Rosenbach revealed one of the reasons why he has come to occupy so outstanding a place among bookmen. The books with which he deals, largely the aristocrats of their world, are to him a great deal more than leaves of paper spattered with ink. Each has a personality, and usually as characteristic an individuality as any of the more or less commonplace human beings who claim possession through the decades. This is what bibliography ought to mean, and what the University of Pennsylvania Fellowship has begun to inculcate. The purpose was plain when, as the curtain-raiser to the university lecture series, Christopher Morley occupied the platform. A thoroughly sound lover of fine books, acquainted with the finesse of scientific bibliography, he cannot forget that every book has a biography to which cancel leaves and reissued title-pages are merely clues. Having made this perfectly clear, as a notice to all subsequent Fellows, the University turned for its second holder of this chair, to the outstanding professional practitioner of the science in this country.

The subject reeked of dry-as-dust, for it calls for a sort of annual publishers' list, expanded from that provided by Mr. Evans. Realizing that the output of a single year was more than any audience could be asked to sit through, Mr. Wroth threw out both groups of books which contemporary buyers would probably have looked at first—those imported from London, and the local productions which aspired to literary recognition. But he forestalls any suspicion that he lacks sympathy or acquaintance with eighteenth-century literary fashions by adopting one of its most typical devices as his method of holding the attention of his audience. Nothing could have brought the flavor of the London bookshops of that day more pungently than the fictitious Mr. James Loveday to whom Mr. Wroth ascribes an unbelievable range of interests and a sureness in anticipating the social and economic judgments of two centuries later, beside which the opinions of his fellow citizen, Mr. Franklin, become commonplace.

Mr. Wroth would be the first to insist that what he has contributed in

this volume is a sample of what ought to be provided for every other year, early and late, within the natural American geographic areas. We have happily passed beyond the era when ambition expressed itself in undertakings which exceeded human endurance. In the bookish field it is passing out of that which valued catalogues that asked for admiration of what one library has been lucky enough to amass. The time has come to start upon the major task of building, block by block, the definitive structure of which Sabin and Evans, in their blindness, dreamed. It must be done by unnumbered workers, each in a separate sphere, who will, like Mr. Wroth and Mr. Fisher of Litchfield, contribute what fate provides as their individual share.

Harvard University.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

AMERICAN LITERATURE: *A Period Anthology*. General Editor, Oscar Cargill. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. THE ROOTS OF NATIONAL CULTURE: To 1830. Edited by Robert E. Spiller. 758 pp. \$1.50. THE ROMANTIC TRIUMPH: 1830-1860. Edited by Tremaine McDowell. 744 pp. \$1.50. THE RISE OF REALISM: 1860-1888. Edited by Louis Wann. 805 pp. \$1.50. THE SOCIAL REVOLT: 1888-1914. Edited by Oscar Cargill. 649 pp. \$1.50. CONTEMPORARY TRENDS: SINCE 1914. Edited by John Herbert Nelson. 506 pp. \$1.50.

An omnibus of American literature—five handy, attractive volumes containing thirty-five hundred pages of poems, essays, stories, novels, and plays written by over three hundred authors from Christopher Columbus to Glenway Wescott. The five editors seem well fitted for this Herculean task: each is a professor of American literature in a college or university, and each obtained his doctorate from a reputable graduate school. They have done their work well and have earned a right to relief after long months of cutting, pasting, and patching, wrangling with dog-in-the-manger publishers who refuse to release copyright material, writing introductions and notes, checking and double-checking, laborious typing, and final proof-reading.

The anthologies respond well to the proof-of-the-pudding test. With pleasure and profit to all concerned I have guided one class of students through Mr. Spiller's *Roots* and have observed the reaction of another group to Mr. McDowell's *Triumph*; and I hope to study in classes very soon Mr. Wann's *Rise*, Mr. Cargill's *Revolt*, and Mr. Nelson's *Trends*.

In the first volume certain selections not usually found in anthologies are happily included. Some of these are extracts from Wise's *Vindication*, Dickinson's *Letters*, Boucher's *View*, Dennie's *Lay Preacher*, Rowson's

Charlotte Temple, Paulding's writings, and better and longer selections from Freneau, Irving, and Cooper. Well chosen are such critical essays as Bryant's two essays on poetry and Channing's "Remarks on National Literature."

Although the extract from the "Columbus Letter" is acceptable, Hariot's and Champlain's writings might well be omitted; the extracts from John Smith are not satisfactory either from the point of view of representing Smith as a vigorous writer or from that of portraying the early life of the Virginia colony; Robert Calef's opposition to Cotton Mather should be represented; Byrd's spirited castigation of Lubberland (North Carolina) should be followed by an extract from the *Secret History*, recently published; the numbers of the *Federalist* written by Madison are better than those written by Hamilton; and the selections from the writers of New England and the South are meager in comparison with those from the Middle Colonies, especially Pennsylvania.

The biographical sketches, bibliographical references, and line notes are especially helpful. I welcome this return to well edited books with the "machinery" of notes.

In the second volume are the familiar writings of Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell. Less familiar to students, but very welcome, are selections from Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Crockett, Longstreet, Simms, Kennedy, and others. The biographies, annotated bibliography, and line notes are excellent—the best of all the volumes.

The selections from Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell seem somewhat inadequate. Certainly Lowell deserves a better choice from his critical writings. The extract from Melville's *Mardi* might well be replaced by his admirable story "Benito Cereno," for *Mardi* is too difficult to understand by extract. The volume would be improved by the inclusion of some essays on Transcendentalism by Emerson, Parker, and other idealists.

In the third volume the editor has included selections from the writers from Whitman to Emily Dickinson—a total of over sixty authors in eight hundred pages. This is generous measure, and Mr. Wann has shown thoughtful selection in presenting a rich assortment of the familiar and the less well known. The biographical sketches are good, but the bibliographical matter is not very usable, for the multiple references, without comment, are too inclusive. Students, particularly undergraduates, should probably be directed to the best biography, or biographies, of an author.

to the standard edition of his works, and to a very few critical essays. Each item, furthermore, should be annotated.

The selections in the fourth volume cover the literature from 1888 to 1914, from Henry George to George Santayana. The title *Social Revolt*, as well as the fourteen chapter headings, such as "Utopian Dreamers," "Iconoclasm," "The Defeat of the Western Farmer," "The Strenuous Life and the Superman," and "Muck-raking and Socialism," are aptly chosen phrases indicating life as reflected in literature. Some of the notes contain critical estimates, but, as in the previous volume, there is perhaps a tendency to pile up unannotated bibliographical references.

The editor of *Contemporary Trends* had a difficult task in selecting literature that would reflect the chaos of the World War, the tumult of the aftermath, and the rapid changes of literary taste. The division headings, such as "Heralds of Change," "Poetic Innovation," and "A New Singing in Old Meters," though somewhat conventional, show that Mr. Nelson has pondered on these matters. Although the excellent Introduction indicates the literary furore over Humanism and Marxist criticism, the critical essays selected for inclusion do not enable the student to study these movements adequately.

Graduate students will be disappointed in these volumes because of the omission of selections designed to interpret religious ideas, particularly Puritanism; philosophical ideas, particularly Transcendentalism; economic ideas, except those of the immediately preceding decades; political ideas, except those related to political evils—and all these are fundamentally important in the development of our national literature.

Undergraduate students will be delighted with these volumes—their intrinsic interest, their attractive format, and their low cost; and teachers of undergraduates will appreciate keenly the excellent work of the editors—Mr. Cargill and his four collaborators.

The University of North Carolina.

GREGORY PAINE.

JOEL BARLOW: *Revolutionist London, 1791-92*. By Victor Clyde Miller. Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter & Co. 1932. v, 114 pp.

Of all the Connecticut Wits Joel Barlow had the most romantic career. His activities were so tied up with the French and American Revolutions and with diplomatic, political, and commercial ventures from 1788 to 1812 that it was not until seventy-four years after his death that a full-length biography, *The Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, by Charles Burr Todd, appeared. This book, in spite of errors in fact and incomplete information about Barlow's career, still remains the authoritative account

of Barlow's life to which scholars must turn. Mr. Todd realized in 1925 that his biography was by no means definitive when he wrote me: "Much more can now be made of Barlow's part in the French Revolution than when I wrote." If Mr. Todd is alive, he will be pleased to know that Professor Victor Miller has laid a good foundation for such a study in *Joel Barlow: Revolutionist London, 1791-92*.

In this book Professor Miller has considered Barlow's political activities and political writings (*The Advice to the Privileged Orders, The Letter to the National Convention, The Conspiracy of Kings*), and has brought together "such evidences of the relatively contemporary attitude toward an estimate of Barlow as are available." The book contains, too, a bibliography and a reprint of *The Conspiracy of Kings* from a copy in the British Museum.

One of the best contributions of Professor Miller is his printing of hitherto uncollected material concerning the English Society for Constitutional Information of which Barlow was an honorary member. Professor Miller has also successfully shown that *The Advice to the Privileged Orders* "was built upon Paine's *The Rights of Man*" and that *The Letter to the National Convention* was "an adaptation of the principles of the Constitution of the United States." It may be of interest for me to add that Barlow first met Tom Paine in England in 1788, not in 1790 as Professor Miller notes, and that ll. 209-220 and ll. 225-242 of *The Conspiracy of Kings* (Paris, 1793) are to be found in *The Anarchiad (New-Haven Gazette, May 24, 1787, p. [105], ll. [125-134]; ll. [105-122].)*

Brooklyn College.

THEODORE A. ZUNDER.

STEPHEN FOSTER, AMERICA'S TROUBADOUR. By John Tasker Howard. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1934. x, 445 pp. \$3.50.

In his Preface to his biography of Stephen Collins Foster, Mr. Howard states as his purpose "to write both a narrative and a guide to source material, hoping that I have made it possible for the reader who wants only the narrative to read the story, leaving the references and citations to those who are concerned with proof of facts." Such compromise is not easy to make in writing of a career as colorful and dramatic as that of Stephen Foster, but Mr. Howard has been able to fuse the two methods into a very interesting book.

The biography as story does justice to Stephen Foster's vivid life. When Foster's broken body was taken to Bellevue Hospital on January 10, 1864, the attendants found among his scanty effects a little purse containing thirty-eight cents and a slip of paper with five penciled words,

"Dear friends and gentle hearts." Using this phrase—evidently part of a projected song—as a point of departure, the biographer first details the significant facts and incidents in the lives of those dear friends and gentle hearts who touched Foster most intimately in forming his life and character—his father, his mother, his brothers and sisters, and his close friends. Since each of these minor biographies is carefully documented with letters to and from Foster, the main story of Foster's life entails considerable duplication of citations. This material is so gossipy and so personal that it does not, however, detract from the interest of the biography. Foster's early semi-vagabond life, his beginnings as a song writer, his marriage have each a well-written chapter. But the most interesting chapters are those which give the source, inspiration, and history of the greatest songs: "Oh! Susanna," "Old Folks at Home," and "My Old Kentucky Home." When we remember besides that among Foster's two hundred songs are such favorites as "Old Black Joe," "Old Dog Tray," "Massa's in de Cold Ground," "Nelly Bly," and "Old Uncle Ned," we realize the great debt we owe to our greatest song writer. How shabbily that debt was paid is indicated in the poignant chapter which tells of his last years in New York, closing with his Poe-like death in Bellevue Hospital. Stephen Foster's life was tragic indeed.

The biography as a source book should be final and definitive, superseding all the earlier biographies such as the *ex parte* one written by Foster's brother Morrison. The book is exceedingly well documented, even tracing full accounts of Foster's financial transactions. There is a complete bibliography of Foster's songs as well as an exhaustive bibliography of Stephen Foster material. This latter bibliography, compiled by Fletcher Hodges, Jr., reminds us of that remarkable labor of love, the Foster Hall collection of Fosteriana housed and collected by Josiah Kirby Lilly in Indianapolis. Mr. Lilly, with his assistants, has built up a collection of Foster material for all time.

The book will interest both the general reader and the special student. The student of our native literature, especially of our native music, will find much to stimulate his thought. For instance, Mr. Howard suggests that there are phrases and refrains in some of the Negro spirituals which derive from Stephen Foster's music, thus supplementing the African source. That is an alluring thesis.

Columbia University.

M. M. HOOVER.

WILLIAM CRARY BROWNELL: *An Anthology of his Writings together with Biographical Notes and Impressions of the Later Years*. By Gertrude Hall Brownell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 383 pp. \$3.50.

Extracts from Brownell's nine books take up more than half of the present work. These extracts are in the main very brief, usually gnomic sentences of the kind which made Brownell's criticism weighty even when neither the subject in hand nor the approach to it was at all striking. Such sentences often appeared—to venture a phrase in the Brownell manner—to have but an illusory connection with what in another writer one would call their context. Accordingly, they lose nothing by being presented as isolated aphorisms. For the taste with which the extracts have been chosen one has little but praise. Two criticisms do, however, suggest themselves. Why have not Brownell's contributions to periodicals been drawn on? They are more difficult of access than his books (although it is true that two of these were at a recent date out of print) and they are often of as high a quality. The text adopted in the extracts from *American Prose Masters* is not that of the revised edition of 1923. It is a pity to reprint such a slip as "*nihil humanum*" (p. 91) especially when it had been detected in the lifetime of the author. Corrections of greater moment are ignored: and it is rather disturbing, for example, to find one rather cavalier passage from the essay on Poe ("Of what value after all is 'gooseflesh'?" . . . To ask these questions is of course to answer them." p. 125), reproduced here when Brownell had wisely suppressed it.

The extracts are followed by a long, discursive and prosaic description of Brownell's boyhood written by himself in old age. Finally there is an account of the remainder of his life by Mrs. Brownell. Mrs. Brownell did not meet her future husband until he was about fifty years of age, and it was in his seventieth year that they were married. It is only the last decade of his life that she is able to present in detail. The picture of the man is not at all surprising to the reader of his books: conscientious, sensitive, precise, ironic, courtly, he was exactly what one had supposed.¹

The tenor of Brownell's life and work was far removed from the circle of humanists of which he has so often been considered to have been a member. Brownell had no hesitation in praising the qualities of "expansiveness," "modernity" and "originality," deadly sins in the view of orthodox humanists; and, as the reader of the extracts in this work will

¹ Three trifling errors in the second and third parts of the work may be noticed here: the year of Sherman's death is wrongly given as 1927, instead of 1926 (p. 317); Warner's bust of Brownell is said to date from 1887 (p. 296), and from 1886 (facing p. 150); there is a deceptive misprint of "by" for "my" (p. 236).

note, such romantic temperaments as Keats, Thackeray, and Rodin were among his idols. He was not a system-builder; and his moral sense, although acute, was not over-developed or autocratic: he was preëminently a man of taste, and an *honnête homme*.

The University of Toronto.

E. K. BROWN.

ALONG THIS WAY: *The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson*. New York: The Viking Press. 1933. 418 pp. \$3.50.

In 1912 James Weldon Johnson published his first book, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. The work is pure fiction. Yet many readers still accept it as authentic autobiography. Mr. Johnson admits modestly that the desire to correct this widespread false impression was one of his reasons for writing *Along This Way*—a faithful and highly interesting record of his life as he has lived it.

His other reasons were no doubt more profound. It is impossible to conceive of a book of the significance of *Along This Way* developing out of a rather whimsical wish to set one's ego straight before a curious public.

Negro autobiographies in English have been in comparative abundance since the end of the eighteenth century. Those which appeared before the Civil War were almost without exception designed as antislavery propaganda. Those published in more recent years—like Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, an eloquent advertisement of the educational scheme worked out at Tuskegee—have in the main been pleas issued for this or that racial reform.

Along This Way is a distinct departure. It is simply a man's unaffected portrait of himself. That that man happens to be a leader of a minority race whom the American public at large insists upon segregating to the "other side of Jordan" means as much or as little as the reader may demand for his own peculiar interpretation of the narrative.

A normal and healthy boyhood in a happy family environment in Jacksonville, Florida; advanced schooling at Atlanta University; a hectic sort of fame as a writer of popular song lyrics in New York; monotony and adventures in the United States consular service in South and Central America; directing the work of the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People; writing poetry, and delving into other types of authorship; collecting folk songs, and editing them for publication; remaining alertly open to impressions while travelling in Europe, the West Indies, and Japan; advising aspiring young writers at Fisk University—these are the experiences which Mr. Johnson sees as constituting his identity as a

man, and these are the topics which he discusses in the story of his life.

One reads the book as he would a lively novel. He lays it aside with exclamations in his mind. "What splendid courage! What reason-guided adjustment! What philosophical serenity!"

The work may be viewed as the revelation of an epoch in the American Negro's development. The student of sociology cannot afford to leave it unread. Indeed, it may have an economic interpretation, a political interpretation, even a religious interpretation.

But it is first of all good literature. Mr. Johnson's real reasons for writing it were artistic—the same impulses that prompted him to create the admirable poems which make up his volume *God's Trombones*. No other American Negro has so approached the task of providing a record of his life. No other American Negro autobiography attains anything near the literary excellence of *Along This Way*.

Columbia University.

VERNON LOGGINS.

ADELAIDE CRAPSEY. By Mary Elizabeth Osborn. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. [1933.] 119 pp. \$2.00.

This is a life, distinguished only by one gift, but that the rarest, the gift of song. For Adelaide Crapsey died young, and wrote little, and much of that of minor worth. But she invented the cinquain, a new lyric form, and in it composed a half dozen poems that literally merit the epithet perfect. Such a life demands a record. The lyric gift is so rare, in its highest manifestation, that we seek to know in what measure training, experience, and temperament mingle to produce it. Yet for all this demand, if letters are few and surviving friends unable to describe just what made up the person, the real poet is sometimes beyond recapture in a book, and one picks up a study of a person known to have been so reticent and shy as Adelaide Crapsey with a kind of fear. But Miss Osborn dispels this quickly. Her work is deeply sympathetic, and in the best sense revealing, for all that the subject is still perhaps as elusive in the book as she was, apparently, to those who met her in life.

The external life is neither happy nor highly tragic. A minister's family; school at a kind of Episcopalian convent; Vassar, where Adelaide was a chum of Jean Webster's; then teaching ("Every time I think of all the time I wasted in college English departments I get a bit irritated"); study in Europe, and increasing ill-health; death at Saranac faced with courage and without illusion—such is the record.

But her scholarly interest is strangely illuminating. She was definitely a student of language, interested in the proportions of polysyllabic words

in poetic vocabularies. She thus consciously knew English as did Lanier and almost no poet beside. She not only knew about monosyllables, she felt their emotional appeal, and built from knowledge and feeling a technique more learned, but no less conscious than that of Chatterton and Flecker, whom she resembled in originality.

One regrets that Miss Osborne has not visited Kemper Hall, which must have influenced the poet. One also regrets that we have so little information on some points; the poet was so reticent that her mother first saw her poems after her daughter's death. In the face of such difficulties the study has been admirably done.

Hunter College.

T. O. MABBOTT.

CULTURE IN THE SOUTH. Edited by W. T. Couch. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1934. xvi, 711 pp. \$4.00.

This formidable symposium of only a little less than three hundred and fifty thousand words contains thirty-one essays by as many authors, twenty-five of whom are Southern by birth. Accepting the anthropological definition of culture as the total of all the mores exhibited by a social group in dealing with its environment, the authors discuss expertly topics ranging all the way from geographic setting to symphony orchestras, lynching, and modes of dinner-table conversation. In a brief review it is possible to do little more than call attention to the essays dealing primarily with literature. Of these there are four: "Southern Magazines," by Jay B. Hubbell; "The Trend of Literature," by Donald Davidson; "Folk-Songs of the Whites," by Arthur Palmer Hudson, and "Negro Folk-Songs," by Guy B. Johnson. Five other essays dealing with related topics should be mentioned: "Journalism in the South," by John D. Allen; "The Fine Arts," by Ula Milner Gregory; "Folk and Folklore," by B. A. Botkin; "Southern Speech," by William Cabell Greet; and "Southern Humor," by John Donald Wade.

Mr. Hubbell's history of the Southern magazines, covering the century from the establishment of *The Southern Review* to the present day, was greatly needed; it contains much information not previously accessible, particularly with reference to the period since 1920, and passes tolerant but discriminating judgment upon a series of endeavors that have been, in the main, slightly quixotic. Mr. Hudson's and Mr. Johnson's studies of folk-songs (together with Mr. Botkin's more general survey), in addition to reproducing typical songs and discussing the importance of folk literature in the present-day South, contain useful bibliographies of a field which has recently received much sympathetic scholarly attention. Mr.

Greet's careful essay on the phonetics of Southern speech, based upon phonographic records made at Columbia University and in the South by the author and his associates, reassures Southerners who may have been inclined to self-consciousness about regional accents by tracing sectional differences to varying dialects of settlers from the British Isles. He touches upon the vexed question of dialect in fiction and praises the recent tendency to substitute careful handling of word order and vocabulary for the older "local-color" misspellings.

Mr. Davidson's history of Southern literature since the World War, labeled "A Partisan View," is written from the somewhat special standpoint described in the Agrarian manifesto *I'll Take My Stand* (1930), to which Mr. Davidson was a contributor. He feels that the problem of the Southern writer is how to find some way of avoiding on the one hand the doctrinaire special pleading of novelists with a "missionary complex" like T. S. Stripling, and on the other the impulse to escape. J. B. Cabell and Ellen Glasgow have taken refuge in an unsatisfactory irony; the various authors who have dealt with the Negro recently have escaped into "a new myth, which apotheosizes and exalts the rich primitiveness" of the Porgys and the Scarlet Sister Marys. William Faulkner has avoided these two bypaths, but has fallen into a literary sadism which has led him into a "monstrous wilderness." The right course seems to Mr. Davidson to lie in an effort to recapture the Southern tradition. The writer who is integrated with this tradition will avoid the expression of "un-Southern ideas," and will be tempted neither to escape from his environment nor to deride it. Casting about for writers who answer these qualifications, Mr. Davidson hits upon Elizabeth Madox Roberts and Stark Young, to whom he accords brilliant estimates. A glance at the poets suggests that the Fugitives are on the right track—a judgment slightly puzzling in view of the fact that they are said to be "well within the English tradition." Mr. Davidson closes with the warning that for the present the main concern of the Southern writer must be with opposition to industrialism, since "the only way to re-establish the Southern tradition in literature is to re-establish it in life." This does not involve a contradiction of Mr. Davidson's earlier strictures against propaganda in literature because "the defense can be made, and ought to be made, outside the realm of art itself."

In certain respects Mr. Davidson's theory seems somewhat vague. It is perhaps unfair to demand of him a definition of the Southern tradition, but his attempts to arrive at such a definition are, to say the least, inconclusive. Too, the distinction involved in the statement that the defense

of the Southern tradition ought to be made by artists, but ought to be made outside the realm of art, has a certain artificiality. Mr. Davidson has perceived that Cabell's retreat into Poictesme implies in the end a retreat from literature itself; but does not the setting up of a realm of art, aloof from a controversy that demands the participation of the artist as Southerner, also point toward Poictesme? Mr. Davidson himself says, earlier in the essay: "I am assuming, contrary to much modern doctrine, that a writer's æsthetic acts can not in the last analysis be separated from his other acts as a member of society." It is difficult to reconcile this assumption either with the strict separation of the Agrarian controversy from artistic literature or with Mr. Davidson's condemnation of writers like Ellen Glasgow for indulging in social criticism.

Southern Methodist University.

HENRY SMITH.

BRIEF MENTION

A CHECKLIST OF UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS . . . IN THE GENERAL LIBRARY.

Compiled by Mary Westcott and Allene Ramage. Durham, N. C., Duke University. Part III. Michigan-New York. 1933. 335-467 pp.

This valuable compilation continues to appear, and to make clear how fine a collection of files, and odd numbers is now accessible in the only Southern newspaper collection of really national scope. The collections from Mississippi and New Hampshire are good, and the series of New York City material impressive. Apparently the scattered issues enable us to add some titles unknown to Fox, whose List for 1820-1850, was published by the Bibliographical Society in 1927, and to verify titles known to him without specimens. See the Duke entries under *M'Dowall's Journal*, *New York Traveler*, *Omnibus*, and *Telegraph* (1842). I am, however, more than ever convinced that alphabetizing should be by first significant word of title in such lists; the separation of daily and weekly issues of a paper is confusing, and without any advantage. The frequency of the *Empire State* is not unknown to Fox!—and what is the proper title? On the whole the catalogue is of course satisfactory.

Hunter College.

T. O. MABBOTT.

NOVELLE INDO-AMERICANE *con introduzione e note a cura di Paolo Bell-ezza*. Milano. 1932. 277 pp. L. 7, 50.

This is the first considerable collection of tales of the North American Indians to appear in Italian. Though little attempt has been made at a systematic treatment, most of the well-known tales appear somewhere in the volume. The arrangement is by subject-matter: stories of helpful animals, stories of cannibals, etc. Tale-types are not differentiated, and no indication is given of tribe or locality. In spite of these limitations, this volume is an attractive introduction of American Indian tales to the Italian reader.

Indiana University.

STITH THOMPSON.

WALT WHITMAN: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*. By Floyd Stovall. New York: American Book Company. [1934.] lxiii, 426 pp. \$1.50.

The first volume to appear in the American Book Company's "American Writers Series" is a splendid example of textbook art, cleverly con-

trived and issued in a very attractive format. The terrific job of outlining Whitman's life and ideas in the introduction is managed with skill, and, despite a few logical lapses and a superstructure of abstractions which will be a bit difficult for undergraduates, offers much that will interest and challenge the more serious students of Whitman. A selected bibliography of approximately seven pages is included, and the text consists of 310 pages of verse and eighty of prose. Explanatory notes which are calculated to offer solutions for many of the obscure passages in the text complete the volume. The selections are very happily made and provide an ample store of the best of Whitman. Professor Harry Hayden Clark is the general editor of the series.

C. G.

EMERSON-CLOUGH LETTERS. Edited by Howard F. Lowry and Ralph Leslie Rusk. Cleveland: The Rowfant Club. 1934. Edition Limited to 165 Copies.

The correspondence includes 37 letters, 21 written by Clough to Emerson, 12 addressed to Clough by Emerson, 3 by Emerson to Mrs. Clough, and one by Emerson to C. E. Norton. The dates run from November 26, 1847, to November 12, 1872; and most of the letters are brief. All of those by Emerson appear in print for the first time.

C. G.

A SELECTED LIST OF OHIO AUTHORS, AND THEIR BOOKS. By W. Ralph Janeway. Columbus, Ohio: H. L. Hedrick. 1933. Mimeographed. 248 pp.

Mr. Janeway's preliminary check-list of the works of Ohio authors is presented with a view to receiving additions and corrections, and it is to be hoped that his efforts will result in a final, complete, and accurate bibliography. Even as the work now stands, it will be of much greater help to the student of Ohio authors than Peter G. Thomson's long outmoded bibliography.

All correspondence in connection with this work should be addressed to Mr. Janeway, Ohio State University Library, Columbus, Ohio.

C. G.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. Edited by W. P. Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman and Carl Van Doren. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. 3 vols. \$4.00.

This edition of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* aims to put in the hands of students at a remarkably low price the text of a

work which still offers much information not readily to be obtained elsewhere. The bibliographies, which formed such a large and valuable portion of the earlier editions, are omitted from the present one.

C. G.

ORTHODOXY IN MASSACHUSETTS 1630-1650: *A Genetic Study*. By Perry Miller. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1933. xvi, 353 pp. \$3.50.

The principles of church government—really politics—and the economic ideas and interests of the early settlers of Massachusetts have so beclouded even intelligent students of the thought of early New England that the central ideas of "Puritan" religion have been too often lost sight of. They may be found in Dexter and Walker—and now again in Mr. Miller's study. It should not be thought, however, that *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* is a derivative study. Far from it. It is based upon a wide range of primary sources—European as well as American; and an illuminating picture of the background of the religious ideas of the colonists is presented before investigation is transferred to the American scene. Mr. Miller concludes that the earlier New England divines "constituted a sort of second generation to the Ames-Bradshaw group" in England, from whom their doctrines of non-separating Congregationalism were derived. The survey of the settling and adjusting of these derived concepts and points of view as circumstances in the colony demanded completes the volume—and is a more familiar story.

Orthodoxy in Massachusetts is an excellent study, bound with the triple brass of fact, and will provide the student and critic of early New England thought with exact information in regard to the central beliefs of the leading intellects of two highly significant decades in the Bay Colony. The literary student should read this work if only to see how incapable the "Puritans" were of defining "Puritanism."

C. G.

EMERSON IN FRANKREICH: *Wirkungen und Parallelen*. By Hans Keller. Giessen. 1932. 113 pp.

This pamphlet represents the first three chapters of a doctoral dissertation on Emerson in France written at the University of Giessen under the supervision of Professor Walther Fischer. The entire work is to be published in *Beiträgen zur Philosophie*, Heidelberg, and will include chapters on Emerson's connections with Amiel, liberal French Protestantism, Jules Payot, the French movement toward the "Religion of the Soul,"

French symbolism, Jean-Marie Guyau, Bergson, Maeterlinck, the "Renaissance of the French Spirit," and Paul Oltramare.

The three chapters now published discuss Emerson's "World of Ideas," his "Personal Relations with France and the French Spirit," and "Emerson and French Criticism." The method pursued in the work is first to elaborate a general picture of Emerson's ideas and then to proceed toward the special topic which engages the writer. Obviously, the first chapter is of the greatest importance. In it Mr. Keller denies that Emerson is a philosopher, but nevertheless proceeds to outline in neat style the chief characteristics of Emerson's beliefs. At times, like most students of the Sage of Concord, the author uses the conscious rhetorical exaggerations of Emerson as grist for his argument, but in general his outline is amazingly sound—and very effectively organized. Of especial value are the parallels to the thought of certain German writers which are introduced by way of illustration—particularly Schleiermacher. (The present critic would like to suggest to German students the desirability of a special study of Emerson and Schleiermacher and also of Emerson and Jacob Boehme.)

The second chapter is an obvious summary prelude—and the third a cursory glance at the chief French writers on Emerson, beginning with Philarète Chasles and Edgar Quinet and ending with Marie Dugard and Régis Michaud. In considering French criticism of Emerson in general Mr. Keller observes (p. 113):

Im Lichte der französischen Kritik verdient Emerson Erwähnung und Widerhall als hochgesinnter *individualistischer* und "aristokratischer," die Würde des Individuums verteidigender Denker, als Verkünder und Vorkämpfer einer lebensnahen *idealistischen* Philosophie und Geisteshaltung, als *Moralist* und *Lebensführer*, als in die Zukunft weisender Wegbereiter seines Volkes und der Menschheit, als der amerikanisches Wesen am typischsten in sich verkörpernde Amerikaner, als *größter Geist* Amerikas, als *Romantiker*.

C. G.

EDGAR ALLAN POE AND THE PHILADELPHIA *Saturday Courier*: *Facsimile Reproductions of the First Texts of Poe's Earliest Tales and "Raising the Wind."* With an Introduction by John Grier Varner. Charlottesville: University of Virginia. 1933. xi, 85 pp. \$1.50.

This small volume with its adequate introduction and bibliography by Mr. Varner makes readily available for students of Poe the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier* text of his five earliest tales and a later essay entitled "Raising the Wind." The five tales, discovered in the *Courier* by Professor Killis Campbell in 1915, are: "Metzengerstein," "The Duke De L'Omelette," "A Tale of Jerusalem," "A Decided Loss," and "The Bargain Lost." Announcements concerning the *Courier* contest in which Poe was

probably an unsuccessful competitor are also reproduced. As Mr. Varner well points out, a study of these tales reveals "much concerning the development of the author's style and art," his method of writing, his sources, and his character during a mysterious period of his life.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

AUTHORS TODAY AND YESTERDAY: *A Companion to Living Authors*. Edited by Stanley J. Kunitz. Illustrated with 320 Photographs and Drawings. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1933. viii, 726 pp. \$5.00.

This excellent volume, which supplements *Living Authors* (1931), includes a number of recent writers who are no longer living and also a number of authors outside of America and England who are widely read in this country. It gives some material not readily found elsewhere; it should be of especial value to librarians and teachers.

THE JOURNAL OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD, 1883-1932. Edited by Van Wyck Brooks. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. xiii, 560 pp. \$4.50.

"The Journal," remarks Mr. Brooks in his preface, "is thus the record of a literary life impressive in its devotion and continuity, a life which, in its steady integrity, its adaptation of means to valuable ends, its coherence and well-directed intensity, recalls the classical age of American letters." Mr. Brooks estimates that he has reprinted about one-seventh of the total, which must run close to 1,500,000 words. There are numerous passages which reflect Bradford's feeling about the subjects of his biographical sketches. There are significant comments on his wide reading, which included Chaucer, the Elizabethan dramatists, even Sophocles in the original Greek. Of particular interest are his comments on Matthew Arnold, whom he met soon after the latter's discourse on Emerson. I quote a brief comparison of his own biographical method with that of Lytton Strachey:

He employs the old biographical method in its extreme simplicity, tells his story with epic continuity and epic digression and allows his psychological comment to embroider itself upon the narrative where it best may, and almost, as it sometimes seems to me, where it will. My whole conception of psychography is utterly strange to him, the casting loose once and for all from the bonds of chronology and resorting to a method of composition which is purely psychological and æsthetic, with elaborate arrangement of contrast and climax, entirely disregarding the sequence of events. *Reste à voir* which method is the better, and as to this I cannot pronounce.

COLLECTED PROSE OF ELINOR WYLIE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1933. 879 pp. \$3.50.

This volume appropriately follows the *Collected Poems* of 1932. Each section contains an interesting preface. Carl Van Vechten introduces *Jennifer Lorn*; Carl Van Doren, *The Venetian Glass Nephew*; Stephen Vincent Benét, *The Orphan Angel*; Isabel Paterson, *Mr. Hodge and Mr. Hazard*; and William Rose Benét, the ninety pages of Fugitive Prose. It is a beautifully printed book.

CREATIVE AMERICA: *An Anthology*. Chosen and Edited by Ludwig Lewisohn. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1933. xlv, 749 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Lewisohn has, he says, aimed at "a book embodying the ultimate effort and highest exercise of the American spirit, containing for their [Americans'] contemplation both a usable past and a not inglorious present." This compilation is an excellent companion volume to Mr. Lewisohn's *Expression in America*. Teachers who may be looking for a new text will object to the fragmentary nature of the selections.

MY HOUSE OF LIFE: *An Autobiography*. By Jessie B. Rittenhouse. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1934. ix, 335 pp. \$3.50.

Part I, "A Girl of the Genesee Valley," deals with the author's early life and education. Part II, "Pioneering for Poetry," throws light upon the many poets whom Miss Rittenhouse [Mrs. Clinton Scollard] has known—particularly Richard Hovey, Louise Imogen Guiney, Louise Chandler Moulton, Amy Lowell, and Vachel Lindsay.

HOMEcoming: *An Autobiography*. By Floyd Dell. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. [1933.] xi, 368 pp. \$3.00.

An important book for those who are interested in literary life in Chicago and New York, Greenwich Village, *The Masses*, and the author of *Moon-Calf*.

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY; MODERN BRITISH POETRY. Combined Edition [on India Paper]. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1934.] xxxviii, 850; xxxiv, 790 pp. \$4.75.

Indispensable for courses in contemporary poetry. Mr. Untermeyer's biographical sketches are among the best available, and he keeps his anthologies up to date.

SELECTED LETTERS OF GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY. With an Introduction by Walter de la Mare. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. xxv, 282 pp. \$3.50.

An ably edited collection of interestingly written letters that throw light on Woodberry's poetry, education, teaching, and literary work. Especially interesting are his letters to his former students. See in particular the letter to John Erskine, May 18, 1911.

SELECTED POEMS OF GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. viii, 120 pp. \$2.50.

AFTER STRANGE GODS: *A Primer of Modern Heresy*. (The Page-Barbour Lectures at the University of Virginia, 1933.) By T. S. Eliot. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1934.] 72 pp. \$1.25.

A development of the point of view expressed in Eliot's earlier essay, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," with interesting comments on Thomas Hardy, D. H. Lawrence, Irving Babbitt, Ezra Pound, "probably the most important living poet in our language," and Yeats. "In a society like ours, worm-eaten with Liberalism," says Mr. Eliot, "the only thing possible for a person with strong convictions is to state a point of view and leave it at that."

THE MODERN MUSE: *Poems of To-Day, British and American*. London: Published for the English Association by the Oxford University Press. 1934. xx, 306 pp. \$2.00.

The success of its anthology, *Poems of To-day*, has prompted the English Association to "attempt a wider appeal by the issue of a further volume to include also poems by modern writers from the United States of America and from the Dominions." What will interest American readers in this excellent collection is not so much the selections from American writers as those from the British Dominions.

VERSE. New Edition. By Adelaide Crapsey. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1934. 132 pp. \$2.00.

"In this, the third edition, there are printed twenty additional poems, besides a variant of one of the poems, 'Fresher than spring's new scents.'"

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND GEORGE TICKNOR: *A Chapter in American Scholarship*. By O. W. Long. Williamstown, Mass.: The McClelland Press. 1933. (Pamphlet.) 39 pp.

A significant study, based to a large extent on unpublished manuscript sources, which throws light on both Ticknor and Jefferson.

ANONYMS AND PSEUDONYMS. By Adah V. Morris. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. 1934. 22 pp. (Pamphlet.) 50 cents.

A valuable descriptive bibliography of works dealing with anonyms and pseudonyms. Pp. 4-6 deal with American and English works.

EDGAR ALLAN POE AS A MYSTIC: *Address Made at the Celebration of the 125th Anniversary of Edgar Allan Poe's Birthday Held in Philadelphia, January 19th, 1934.* By Gabriel Wells. Metuchen, N. J.: Ninety-nine Copies Printed for *The American Book Collector*. 1934. 12 pp.

This reprint from *The American Book Collector*, February, 1934, contains a new letter of Poe's dated February 29, 1848, addressed to George E. Irbey.

JOHN HENRY: *A Folk-Lore Study.* By Louis W. Chappell. Jena, Germany: Frommannsche Verlag: Walter Biedermann. 1933.

Professor Chappell takes issue with Guy B. Johnson. The appendix has a large and interesting collection of John Henry songs and variants.

THE BEST POEMS OF 1933. Selected by Thomas Moulton and decorated by Elizabeth Montgomery. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, Inc. n. d. 128 pp.

Of the 83 poems included, 41 are American.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SHORT STORIES. Selected by Sylvia Chatfield Bates. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. xiv, 545 pp. \$2.25.

SHORT STORIES OF TODAY. Edited by Raymond Woodbury Pence. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xiv, 512 pp. \$1.90.

Two excellent collections of short stories of recent times, both mainly by American writers.

A CORRECTION

In Professor Lewis Chase's "A New Poe Letter," published in our March, 1934, number, the date 1888, given in footnote 7, should be 1808.

WHITMAN'S CONCEPTION OF THE SPIRITUAL DEMOCRACY, 1855-1856

HENRY ALONZO MYERS
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I

ALTHOUGH more than forty years have passed since Walt Whitman's death, his message has not yet become a part of our national cultural heritage. This loss to America is attributable to the failure of the average reader, and of many critics, to grasp the essential significance, the permanent element, in his writings. The literature of comment and controversy accumulated in his name has sometimes replaced old misinterpretations with new ones; more often it has perpetuated the good gray nonsense of tradition. Whitman's recent fame, like his earlier infamy, has been founded on the sands of changing literary and social conventions, for his notoriety has become fame only as the customs which he ignored have gone out of fashion; and his work, sometimes vilified, sometimes appreciated, has frequently been understood in its relations to other things rather than in its own inner meaning.

It has been his fate to be used as a means rather than to be considered as an end; his effigy, not the true Whitman, served as a central figure in two bloodless civil wars, fought for emancipation from the old literary forms and from the conceptions of sex current in the nineteenth century. A new and an incidental Whitman has been revealed with each change in popular interest, and the true Whitman, who might otherwise have been found in the text of his writings, has been obscured by the smoke of battle raised by his self-appointed disciples. Whitman remains, abroad and at home, the poet of political democracy and social freedom, the advocate of certain strange personal modes of behavior, in spite of the fact that a sober analysis of *Leaves of Grass* proves that the Whitman of 1855, convinced that he had a large mission to fulfill, brought to world literature a new and profound interpretation of life in terms of an inner, spiritual democracy, an interpretation which has often been so completely overlooked that Whitman's brief period of fame as

the poet of adolescent America, already past its zenith, seems to approach decline. Nor will he remain the poet of the present and of the future as well as of the past, unless we turn our attention to this spiritual democracy, realizing that he is the poet, not of a social and economic period, but of an America that never dies.

Although few have yet shown an understanding of Whitman's mission and its fulfillment, the better part of the appreciation of his work has been based on a true feeling, an intuitive grasp, of his meaning. Emerson, in view of his lack of warmth toward the reformers of society, could hardly have greeted him warmly, as he did, at the beginning of a great career which was to consist merely of conflicts with convention. Nor could merely accidental elements in his writings have attracted Thoreau, Burroughs, Garland, Tennyson, and Swinburne, who were often repelled by his eccentricities and drawn back only by a feeling of his intrinsic greatness. This feeling indeed has doubtless haunted a host of other commentators, who, through their inability to express in rational discourse the deep meaning which they feel in Whitman's poetry, have been reduced from the position of critics to the level of the aesthetic chatterboxes who must express themselves by such banalities as Homeric or Cosmic.

It may well be that the correct interpretation of Whitman will eventually owe more to the frank opposition to the poet expressed by certain critics than to the often inchoate exposition of his admirers. Certainly, we can take no better starting-point than the question raised over thirty years ago by John Jay Chapman, a question he obviously thought only an idiot could answer in the affirmative: "Can the insulting jumble of ignorance and effrontery, of scientific phrase and French paraphrase, of slang and inspired adjective, which he [Whitman] puts forward with the pretence that it represents thought, be regarded, from any possible point of view, as a philosophy, or a system, or a belief?"¹ This question, since it immediately challenges the essential Whitman, is quite properly the question to have in mind throughout our undertaking.

If we call to mind Bacon's maxim that truth comes out of error more rapidly than out of confusion, we find further help in Santayana's *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*. There we learn

¹ John Jay Chapman, *Emerson and Other Essays* (New York, 1898), p. 120.

that Whitman "basked in the sunshine of perception and wallowed in the stream of his own sensibility," that for him the world "has no inside," and that in his works "it is a phantasmagoria of continuous visions, vivid, impressive, but monotonous and hard to distinguish in memory."² We are indebted to the discrimination which Santayana brought to his task, for these statements are not confusion, but error; they are the exact opposites of the truth, and, as such, they point to the truth as clearly as ever error can.

We have then before us the very questions appropriate to our undertaking. What was Walt Whitman's mission? How did he fulfil it? Is it true that his world has no inside?

Let us first examine the inside of Walt Whitman's world. Most rationalists agree that the inside of the world of appearances or perceptions is not something that would prove tangible if we could reach it, like the kernel of a nut; they believe that the inside of a world of perceptions, always in a state of flux, must be some principle of permanence, for instance, a law or laws. Taking a typical list of perceptions from Walt Whitman, we find the poet looking through them to something akin to the inside of the rationalist's world.

The sharp-hoofed moose of the north, the cat on the
house-sill, the chickadee, the prairie-dog . . .
I see in them and myself the same old law.³

Or turning to the pages of "To Think of Time," we find that Whitman is quite as much given to listing the conceptions which make up the inside of his world as to listing the perceptions of the outside.

The law of the past cannot be eluded!
The law of the present and future cannot be eluded!
The law of the living cannot be eluded—it is eternal!
The law of promotion and transformation cannot be eluded!
The law of heroes and good-doers cannot be eluded!
The law of drunkards, informers, mean persons, cannot be eluded!⁴

These verses are in themselves sufficient to show that Whitman lived in a world having an inside as well as an outside, and that he

² George Santayana, *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* (New York, 1900), p. 180.

³ *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, New York, 1856), p. 22. The text of the poetry quoted in this paper, with the exception of the titles, is from this edition.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339.

recognized the importance of this inner world. Indeed, we shall find that this world is uppermost in his thought, that it is the very reason and justification for the presentation of a world of experience.

His method of communicating this world is that of giving selected pictures from his own experience. In this method he has the greatest confidence; although he speaks again and again of "the same old law" which he finds in his own experience, the thought of systematically formulating this law never occurs to him. He furnishes us with the materials; we must see the law as he has seen it, feel it as he has felt it. As he tells us in the preface to *November Boughs* (1888), his purposes were always implicit rather than explicit. "After completing my poems," he says, "I am curious to review them in the light of their own (at the time unconscious, or mostly unconscious) intentions, with certain unfoldings of the thirty years they seek to embody."⁵ And as we read the two important prefaces to his poems (of 1855 and 1888), we realize that these purposes never became explicit in his mind, that he could never formulate them systematically. For this he had no gift; when he tries to tell us in prose what his purposes are, he is apt to overlook the significance of his own verses: his attempt at explanatory prose simply becomes more poetry, as is evident from the ease with which he recast the 1855 preface into three new poems a year later.

In 1855 indeed he was able to sum up his notion of the function of the poet, although he was unable to develop his statement sufficiently to make it clear. "Of all mankind," he wrote, "the great poet is the equable man. Not in him but off from him things are grotesque or eccentric or fail of their sanity. Nothing out of its place is good and nothing in its place is bad. He bestows on every object or quality its fit proportions neither more nor less."⁶ This, which might pass for an expression of democracy or mere indolence, rightly understood is not far from the genius attributed to Sophocles, "who saw life steadily and saw it whole." The right interpretation of this conception of the great poet's function shows us something far different from a desire to bask in perceptual sunshine; we detect

⁵ In "Inclusive Edition," *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Emory Holloway (New York, 1927), p. 522. *November Boughs*, 1888, p. 5.

⁶ *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, p. 491.

a yearning to get beyond the evaluations of finite existence and to apprehend the perfection of everything in its place. For who has come closer to Spinoza's *intellectualis amor Dei* than has Whitman in the 1855 preface? "The known universe," he says, "has one complete lover and that is the greatest poet. He consumes an eternal passion and is indifferent which chance happens and which possible contingency of fortune or misfortune and persuades daily and hourly his delicious pay."⁷ Certainly, if the world of Whitman has no inside, the world of Spinoza is equally vacuous. But, as we shall see, Whitman's world has an inside warmer in human values than the cold necessity which lies at the heart of Spinoza's.

The importance of the inner world to Whitman is apparent in the fact that he has gone beyond the middle of the 1855 preface before he turns aside to discuss, as a secondary topic, political liberty and equality. It is made further apparent when we note the contrast between the just equality of men proclaimed as an *eternal law* in his poetry and the political inequality discovered by his sober and critical analysis of the American experiment in *Democratic Vistas*. In the preface (1855) Whitman insists again and again that the perfect poet will find all beings equal in his eyes, *not in society*, but in the inner world. In order to discover this equality the poet must pierce through the surface to the inside. "The poets of the kosmos advance through all interpositions and coverings and turmoils and stratagems to first principles."⁸ The first principle of equality is to be seen first by the poet (Whitman in this preface compares the poetic faculty to clear vision). He retained this conception of the poet's function in looking back over his completed work. "Whatever may have been the case in years gone by, the true use for the imaginative faculty of modern times is to give ultimate vivification to facts, to science, and to common lives, endowing them with glows and glories and final illustriousness which belong to every real thing, and to real things only."⁹ This preoccupation with first principles, this yearning to see all things as they really are, this earnest exhortation to pierce all outward coverings and turmoils is the keynote in the preface to the poetry of a barbarian wallowing in the stream of his own sensibility, a barbarian whose world "has no inside"!

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

But when we examine the poetry itself, especially the poems of 1855 and 1856, we are grateful to Santayana for turning our attention to the inside of Whitman's world. We rub our eyes. Why have we so long missed this plainly written message?

II

Giving up the notion that the Civil War brought Whitman to poetic maturity, let us consider the poems in the 1855 edition in their proper order, holding in mind Whitman's contention that the poet's function is to see things clearly and to reveal that *eternal* equality of beings which may be known by seeing each thing in its place and as it really is. Here, if anywhere, we shall find the immediate result of that mental simmering which had recently been brought to a boil.

The first poem, "Walt Whitman," long famous as the anthem of provincial egotism, proves a perfect expression of the transcendentalist's method of belief, just as *Cogito, ergo sum* is the starting-point of Descartes's method of doubt. In the attempt to see things as they really are, what is more natural than that the poet, like the philosopher, should start with what is nearest at hand, himself? The poem is a progressive attempt to define or understand one real thing, Walt Whitman.

"What is a man anyhow? What am I? What are you?"¹⁰ The answer is well known to anyone who has read the poem. A man is not something small, contained within an impermeable shell, and set off against a world order.

I pass death with the dying, and birth with the new-washed babe, and am not contained between my hat and boots. . . .¹¹

Who is Walt Whitman? He is infinite; he is of the past and of the present and future, of the old and of the young; his personality admits no barriers; he sees through good and evil, through space and time. He pervades everything, becomes everything; he has died a thousand deaths; he has carefully considered you before you were born. He will admit no limitations.

This splendid poem proceeds in the most concrete manner imaginable through great sweeping enumerations of the things with

¹⁰ *Leaves of Grass* (1856), p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

which Whitman identifies himself, not by logical argument, but by a sympathy and understanding which have seldom been equaled. It is splendid poetry; at the same time it comes very close to the most famous philosophical theories of what the self is or ought to be. Putting this imaginative insight into matter-of-fact terms, we find that for Whitman a man is not an empty something that has experiences; a man is rather the sum total of his experiences. A man is as unlimited as his experience; in thought he is the whole world; everything that comes within his experience is a part of him, and even things of which he is not explicitly or immediately aware, the past and the future, are also parts of him. "The world," said Schopenhauer, "is my idea." Were we looking for terms to explain Spinoza's notion of the ideal self or Hegel's notion of the escape from the state of isolation and "unhappy consciousness" by identification of self with reality, we should not need to change any term in Whitman's conception.

Emerson wrote in his diary (1840): "In all my lectures, I have taught one doctrine, namely, the infinitude of the private man."¹² Whitman very probably took over this idea from Emerson without being consciously aware of it; he derived the spirit rather than a formal doctrine from the master, and he embodied this spirit according to his own peculiar talents. It emerges as the infinite and self-contained person, who is the sum total of his experiences. Such is the conception which Whitman sets over against the "featherless biped" of the logicians and the "political animal" of those whose world has a social surface but no inside.

Thus the idea of an unlimited personality is the first principle of *Leaves of Grass*. It is accompanied at every point by the further principle of equality, for it is not only Walt Whitman who is an unlimited, all-embracing personality. The very opening verses make this assertion:

I celebrate myself,
And what I assume you shall assume;
For every atom belonging to me, as good belongs to you.¹³

Taken out from the poetry and set up as theory, the grounds on which he asserts this equality are not illogical. Equality exists only

¹² *Emerson's Journals*, ed. E. W. Emerson and R. W. Forbes (New York, 1911), V, 380.

¹³ *Leaves of Grass* (1856), p. 5.

in a world of unlimited personalities. How can one unlimited personality be either more or less than another? This argument, expressed in accordance with his method, may be found in the verses made out of the 1855 preface:

Have you thought there could be but a single Supreme?
There can be any number of Supremes—one does not
countervail another any more than one eye-sight
countervails another, or one life countervails another.¹⁴

Undoubtedly this concept of equality had its origin in the surface world of American democracy, where it had been an ideal since the Declaration of Independence. But with Whitman equality is much more than a political ideal; it is an *eternal fact* in the real world of unlimited personalities; it is a great first principle.

In all people I see myself—none more, and not one a barleycorn less,
And the good or bad I say of myself, I say of them.¹⁵

Equality of this kind, a real equality between unlimited personalities, is discovered only by piercing through the coverings and turmoils to the insides of beings. Out of the American democracy of 1855, Walt Whitman constructed an inner complement to the outer world, a spiritual democracy governed by two principles, one the unlimited individual, the other the equality of individuals. Finding these principles in the poems is not a matter of judiciously choosing apt quotations; on the contrary, there is nothing in the 1855 and 1856 *Leaves* which does not follow *a priori* from them. Once they are clearly grasped, we soon find that each verse contributes something to them, that each verse is an attempt to read these inner principles through the maze and confusion of life on the surface. Once we grasp the true nature of these principles, realizing that they are, first and foremost, principles of the spiritual democracy and only secondarily slogans of the social democracy, we no longer see Walt Whitman's poems as a mere catalogue of perceptions, nor as a mere satisfaction in his own sensibility; moreover, we discover that many of his themes, which have hitherto seemed related only to his eccentricities, are direct consequents of these principles. Why is he the poet of the body as well as of the soul? Why is he the poet of death

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

as well as of life? Why is he the poet of evil as well as of good? A further consideration of the poems of 1855 in their proper order answers these questions and reveals Whitman's method of establishing and demonstrating the principles of the inner world.

The second poem, "A Carol of Occupations," presents an antithesis between people as they appear in society and as they really are, an antithesis between the surface classification of people as mechanics, laborers, Presidents, drunkards, thieves, or prostitutes, and people as the equal, infinite personalities of the spiritual democracy. Surface classifications are actual; they mean something; we must not resign ourselves fatalistically to any position or place in society.

I do not affirm what you see beyond is futile—I do not advise you to stop,
I do not say leadings you thought great are not great,
But I say that none lead to greater, sadder, happier, than those lead to.¹⁶

Nevertheless, we must not lose sight of the inner side of the world, the first principles of infinitude and equality. In society obvious differences exist between the laborer and the President, between the Magdalen and the Madonna; these, however, are the surface turmoils and coverings; underneath them lies the community of equal and infinite souls, equal and infinite in that each soul is commensurate with the world: "you and your soul enclose all things, regardless of estimation. . . ." ¹⁷ No occupation can limit the soul; no occupation can deprive it of participation in the principles of the inner world.

In the third poem, "To Think of Time," Whitman faces one of the most difficult problems of his attempt to shadow forth the reality of persons. We cannot think of ourselves as unlimited while we yet look upon ourselves as identified with a particular time, a definite span of years.

Have you guessed you yourself would not continue? Have you dreaded
these earth-beetles?
Have you feared the future would be nothing to you?¹⁸

His answer to these questions is in keeping with the best traditions of philosophy; he pierces through the outward antinomy and mystery of time and subjects himself, and all others, to eternal law.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

I have dreamed that we are not to be changed so much, nor the law of us
 changed,
 I have dreamed that heroes and good-doers shall be under the present and
 past law,
 And that murderers, drunkards, liars, shall be under the present and past
 law,
 For I have dreamed that the law they are under now is enough.¹⁹

In bringing the individual under this law, he gets beyond the limitations of the present by including in the individual's present the past and the future, each governed by the same old law. This eternal law is in a sense the essence of the soul.

I swear I think now that every thing has an eternal soul! . . .
 I swear I think there is nothing but immortality!²⁰

In respect to the spiritual democracy the fourth poem, "The Sleepers," presents a vision of people, unequal according to surface classifications, made equal by night and sleep.

The laughter and weeper, the dancer, the midnight widow, the red squaw,
 The consumptive, the erysipalite, the idiot, he that is wronged,
 The antipodes, and every one between this and them in the dark,
 I swear they are averaged now—one is no better than the other,
 The night and sleep have likened them and restored them.²¹

In "I Sing the Body Electric," the fifth poem, Whitman looks through a surface of turmoils and coverings which has largely disappeared since his time. We are less inclined than the men of 1855 to identify ourselves with a soul conceived of as independent of, and superior to, the body, and it is difficult for us to see why Whitman should have been condemned for a gross apotheosis of the body. The fact is that he intends only to make clear his point that nothing, not even the body, can limit an infinite person or destroy his equality with other infinite persons. The body is gross and ugly only to those who will not see their unlimited nature, for the body, as an experience, becomes a part of the soul, just as the whole world becomes a part of the soul.

O I think these are not the parts and poems of the body only, but of the
 soul,
 O I think these are the soul!²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

The sixth poem, "Faces," is another concrete expression of the antithesis between the appearances and inequalities of the surface world and the first principles of the inner world.

Sauntering the pavement or riding the country by-road, here then are
faces!

Faces of friendship, precision, caution, suavity, ideality. . . .

The ugly face of some beautiful soul, the handsome detested or despised
face. . . .²³

On the surface, if one wallows in perception only, these faces are marked by their inequalities and differences. In the light of the inner meaning of life, however:

Features of my equals, would you trick me with your creased and cadaverous march?

Well, you cannot trick me.

I see your rounded never-erased flow,

I see neath the rims of your haggard and mean disguises.²⁴

In the "Song of the Answerer," which in 1856 he called "The Poem of the Poet," he announced the qualities of the perfect poet, which flow naturally from his faith in the inner principles establishing all men as his brothers and equals. The power of the perfect poet lies in his ability to translate all languages into his own and to project himself into the very being of his equals. The perfect poet will be known to the mechanic as a mechanic, to the legislator as a legislator, to the Englishman as an Englishman, to the German as a German. Since his native language is the inner language of eternal principles, he will have the gift of tongues; since his eyes have read the essence of man, he can be to every man what that man is to himself.

Between this poem and the tenth, which returns to the first principles, Whitman inserted the only two poems in the volume which have nothing to do with the unfolding of the spiritual democracy. Both are earlier poems. "Europe," the eighth poem, was written in 1850 to commemorate the recent revolution; "A Boston Ballad," the ninth poem, was written in 1854.

In the tenth poem, "There Was a Child Went Forth," Whitman

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

recapitulates the principle of the infinitude of the individual by furnishing a concrete example of the manner in which the soul absorbs the whole world, in the form of experience, into itself.

There was a child went forth every day,
And the first object he looked upon and received with wonder, pity, love,
or dread, that object he became . . .

The early lilacs became part of this child . . .

The horizon's edge, the flying sea-crow, the fragrance of salt-marsh and
shore-mud;

These became part of that child who went forth every day, who now
goes, and will always go forth every day.²⁵

The eleventh poem, "Who Learns my Lesson Complete," is an affirmation of the mystery and wonder of that eternal law by virtue of which a man, contained in the life of the surface between hat and boots, is taken out of himself and placed eternally in the community of infinite individuals; its purpose is to lead up to the twelfth and last poem of the 1855 edition, "Great are the Myths." This poem is an affirmation of the wide world and of all things, rightly understood, that are in it. Great, says Whitman, are all things: myths, nations, men of all kinds, youth, age, wealth, poverty, life, and death, for all these things of the surface make manifest the law and justice of the universe. Great is political democracy because it will rule the world in imitation of the eternal first principles. The surface of the world shall imitate, as ideals, the eternal laws of the inner world. "The new rule" (political democracy) "shall rule as the Soul rules, and as the love, justice, equality" (eternal principles in the spiritual democracy) "in the Soul rule!" "Great is Law," and "Great is Justice," for justice is the true meaning of the inner law; it is the true significance of the equality of infinite individuals. Justice is contained in the principle of the soul; "it is immutable—it does not depend on majorities."²⁶

Thus, in pondering the eternal nature of law and justice, he reaches the central principle of the inner world. He was not altogether unaware of what he had done. In 1888, looking back over his work, he could find one "purpose enclosing all, and over and beneath all." This purpose has ruled all his thought. "Ever since what might be call'd thought, or the budding of thought, fairly be-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-285.

²⁶ *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, p. 467.

gan in my youthful mind, I had had a desire to attempt some worthy record of that entire faith and acceptance ('to justify the ways of God to man' is Milton's well-known and ambitious phrase) which is the foundation of moral America."²⁷

This affirmation of all things grasped as manifestations of eternal justice brings to a close Whitman's interpretation of life in terms of an inner, spiritual democracy. Although his remarkably stubborn and tenacious consistency never permitted him to contradict a single principle laid down in 1855, he never again painted the picture in its artistic entirety. He had so completely sketched in the outline of his system in the poems of the first edition that he could not, without contradiction, produce anything further, apart from expansion, repetition, and development. His system of thought—for, to answer Chapman's helpful question, it is as much a system as any poetic insight not subjected to logical discipline can be—was as complete at the end of "Great are the Myths" as was Milton's at the completion of *Paradise Regained*; and the unity of thought manifest in the ten significant poems of 1855, added to their original lack of titles, suggests that they might have been woven into one long epic, if Whitman had not been converted to Poe's theory that long poems are not suited to modern needs.

His system differs from Milton's as a *cosmodicy* differs from a theodicy, for Whitman's problem was to justify the ways of the world to man. In order to justify these ways of the outer world he produced a picture of that inner world which Santayana was unable to discover in his poetry, a picture of a community of infinite individuals ruled by an eternal and just law of equality. But we must not invert Santayana's error by thinking that Whitman lived in an inner world only. While he maintained that the justice of life is established by the equality of infinite personalities, he sought also to see this inner principle always in relation to the surface problems of society.

Once we realize that Whitman is talking about an inner democracy of the spirit, we eliminate two widely accepted interpretations of his work. These interpretations presented Whitman as a blind optimist, as one who could in a poetic trance lose sight of the evil and imperfection everywhere experienced, as one who could shut

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

his eyes to political corruption and to the cost of the Civil War in order to proclaim that America is the best of all possible societies. He did not, however, think that political democracy had been perfectly instituted in his own time; he did not even have a vision of its future perfection; in Whitman's terminology perfection is not attributed to things of the surface.

Three poems written in 1856 deserve mention. A further point in establishing equality as the inner meaning of the world is made in "Unfolded out of the Folds":

A man is a great thing upon the earth, and through eternity—but every
jot of the greatness of man is unfolded out of woman,
First the man is shaped in the woman, he can then be shaped in himself.²⁸

This poem brings out one aspect of Whitman; namely, his feminism, but it serves the better purpose of pointing out the fallacy of confusing the incidental with the real Whitman, for the poem obviously springs not from devotion to feminism but from a recognition that women also share in the community of equal persons. Whitman never attacked a convention merely for the sake of reform; he attacked only those conventions which stood in the way of his vision of reality.

In "Salut au Monde" Whitman makes it unmistakably clear that the community of infinite persons includes not only the citizens of the United States but all human beings. He leaves the shores of his native land, travels everywhere, and everywhere illustrates his poetic equivalent of the logical argument for equality. He does not say, I am the equal of that man; he says, I am that man; and he says it of all the people of the earth.

My spirit has passed in compassion and determination around the whole
earth,
I have looked for brothers, sisters, lovers, and found them ready for me
in all lands. . . .²⁹

This power of identifying himself with others is fully revealed in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry." Truly he can say to men of generations to come that time and space do not keep him from them. He has seen, felt, heard, and touched what they in turn will see, feel, hear, and touch. He is one with each of them, and equal to each,

²⁸ *Leaves of Grass* (1856), p. 102.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

for that self-same world of experience has become his very soul which will in turn become the very soul of each of them. He can say to all the items and objects and sensations of the world in his own name and in the name of men of all generations:

We descend upon you and all things, we arrest you all,
We realize the soul only by you, you faithful solids and fluids. . . .
You furnish your parts toward eternity,
Great or small, you furnish your parts toward the soul.³⁰

Although Whitman's vision of the inner world grew dimmer as years passed, it rarely grew sufficiently dim to permit self-contradiction. The outlines of the spiritual democracy were so firmly embedded in his art in the years 1855-1856 that they ever afterward demanded a consistency which we do not fail to find in his reaction to the Civil War, in his elegies, and in his general development of *Leaves of Grass*.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

THE EVOLUTION OF WHITMAN AS ARTIST

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THE average layman will laugh at the idea of accounting Whitman an artist. And there have been serious students of Whitman, I dare say, who have been unable to see in him anything more than a clumsy, even though at times an inspired, craftsman. But no student, I think, who really goes into *Leaves of Grass*, and certainly no one who acquaints himself with the genesis and growth of that poem, can escape the conclusion that Whitman, despite his many unevennesses and audacities, was both a deliberate and a painstaking artist. The late Mr. Brownell, in commenting on Poe's over-emphasis on art, couples Whitman's name with Poe's, pronouncing Whitman an "arrant artist"¹—"that arrant artist, Walt Whitman." And Mr. Basil de Selincourt begins an enumeration of Whitman's many imperfections in workmanship with the statement that he was, in spite of them, a "great artist."² Mr. Clifton J. Furness makes the staggering but plausible observation³ that with Whitman "the business of literary expression was . . . always a work"—by which I take him to mean that Whitman went at the composing of his verses with something of the deliberation that he would have exercised in building a house.

Between Whitman's earliest work and *Leaves of Grass* there is a great gulf fixed. The very early pieces that have been attributed to Whitman,⁴ of which some thirteen specimens have come down to us, all published between 1838 and 1844, were first published in the newspapers, and may very properly be labeled as newspaper verse. I have heard these pieces called fustian, and I have heard them called doggerel. Whether in matter or in art they are extremely crude;

¹ *American Prose Masters* (New York, 1909), p. 210.

² *Walt Whitman: A Critical Study* (London, 1914), p. 10.

³ *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 11.

⁴ *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, ed. E. Holloway (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), I, 1 ff. Some of these, however, it should be borne in mind, are either spurious or of doubtful authenticity; see T. O. Mabbott, *American Literature*, III, 316 ff. (Nov., 1931); Jean Catel, *Walt Whitman: la naissance du poète* (Paris, 1929), pp. 287 ff.; and a note by the present writer in the *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 14, pp. 116 ff. (1934).

they are pedestrian in style, and in substance they are thoroughly tame and sapless. Without exception they follow the conventional verse patterns: lame lines abound, imitation is everywhere; and although several of these poems were extensively revised, it is difficult to find in them anything that gave promise of *Leaves of Grass*.

So, likewise, with a group of seven poems written between the years 1844 and 1854:⁵ no one of them exhibits anything of distinction, although three of them—"Blood-Money," "Wounded in the House of Friends," and "Resurgemus"—adopt a less regular verse form, representing a middle stage between the early newspaper effusions and the free-verse poems that were to come. There is a decided gain, too, in power in some of those pieces, particularly in "Blood-Money," which contains some strikingly vigorous lines, and in "Resurgemus," which was presently to make its way into *Leaves of Grass*. And there was a gain also in intensity in the case of some of these poems that were brought under the pruning-knife.⁶ But each of these early pieces would long since have been forgotten had *Leaves of Grass* never been written.

With the publication in 1855 of the memorable first edition of *Leaves of Grass* Whitman first found himself as poet. In mere animal vigor, in rude strength, certain of the poems in this volume and in the much stouter volume that followed in 1856, exceed anything that Whitman was destined ever to write. But in these two volumes, also, the poet reached the very peak of his formlessness. No other poem in *Leaves of Grass* is quite so loosely put together, so invertebrate, so incondite, as is the "Song of Myself." Other poems lack unity, lack proportion, lack concentration; and virtually all of them exhibit flaws of some sort. Small wonder, then, that the poet promptly upon the publication of these poems should have set himself busily about revising and perfecting them.

And the process of revision was repeated with every succeeding edition. A good many revisions were entered in the volume of 1860, and more still and even more drastic in the volume of 1867; and for the volume of 1881, the seventh edition, the poet undertook to go

⁵ "Ode to be Sung on Fort Greene," "Sailing the Mississippi at Midnight," "The Dough-Face Song," "Blood-Money," "Wounded in the House of Friends," "Resurgemus," and "Pictures" (see Holloway, *Walt Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative*, New York, 1926, p. 116).

⁶ See in particular "Sailing the Mississippi at Midnight" and "Resurgemus."

over afresh the entire body of his collected verses, instituting in some cases a thorough revamping of the poem, pruning away much matter, and introducing endless changes in diction—from all which it resulted that of the grand total of 396 poems ultimately retained in *Leaves of Grass* no less than 363 were subjected to some sort of revision. Two poems originally published as separate items were combined to form the “Song of the Answerer.” Two others were combined under the title “Thoughts.” Still others were split up into two or more fragments. A few, as “A Song for Occupations” and “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry,” were substantially enlarged; others, as “Salut au Monde,” “By Blue Ontario’s Shore,” and “Song of the Broad-Axe,” were freely trimmed down; and others still, including “Great are the Myths” and “Respondez,” were dropped entirely. A total of 140 poems underwent a change in title; and as many as thirty poems changed title twice or oftener. Some notion of the extent of these changes may be gathered from the fact that the list of variant readings given by Triggs in the Camden Edition of Whitman’s works⁷ runs to 170 pages; and Triggs, although he takes account of some of the manuscript readings, quite ignores the variant readings that appeared in the hundred or more poems published in the magazines and newspapers. We can be sure, too, that there were many other manuscript readings. Kennedy tells us, to cite one item of evidence, that “manuscript drafts found among Whitman’s papers” show that “The Prayer of Columbus” “was rewritten nearly twenty times.”⁸

It stands to reason that Whitman gave much thought to the planning and organizing of his poems. It stands to reason, likewise, that intuition, instinct, natural impulse—whatever we shall call it—played a large part in the genesis and growth of his poems. On no other assumption can we account for the lyric rapture of “Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking” or of “When Lilacs Last in the Door-yard Bloom’d.” In composing these poems and a dozen others that are immortal the poet was carried away by his emotion, was moved by a sort of ecstasy. But while this conclusion is inevitable, we cannot escape the further conclusion that Whitman was actuated by an

⁷ VIII, 85 ff. Holloway reproduces these, with occasional corrections and additions, in his edition of *Leaves of Grass* (New York, 1924), pp. 541 ff.

⁸ *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926), p. 112.

ardent desire to perfect his work wherever possible. This conclusion is most convincingly established by the abundance of the revisions that he made. But his manifold revisions not only testify to his deep concern for his art: they enable us also to trace with something of confidence his development as an artist.

Whitman's revisions reveal unmistakably a growth in three important directions. They evince a marked gain in taste; they show also a decided gain in picturesqueness and in comeliness of phrase; and they reveal a pronounced gain in the control of his verse effects, in the rhythm and cadence of his lines. I shall present some of the evidence that tends to establish these conclusions.

Whitman's gain in taste appears especially in his suppression of sundry indelicate passages dealing with sex. It will be recalled that Emerson in his memorable conversation with Whitman on Boston Common in 1860⁹ had earnestly remonstrated with the poet against admitting into *Leaves of Grass* certain poems that he had collected under the group title "Children of Adam" ("Enfans d'Adam"), but that Whitman stubbornly insisted upon retaining them. And he held on to these poems to the end. It is noteworthy, however, that a dozen brief passages of a like nature were subsequently dropped. One passage, indeed, a line in "By Blue Ontario's Shore,"¹⁰ went by the board as early as 1860, and other such passages were canceled in later editions. A striking example is furnished by the line, "Out of the boy's mother's womb, and from the nipples of her breast," which originally appeared in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" immediately after line 2, but was dropped for good and all in 1867. A similar passage originally a part of "On the Beach at Night Alone" (see *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, p. 641) was likewise dropped in 1867. Two such passages appeared in the canceled poem "Respondez!" (Holloway, p. 471). Other passages of a like nature that were discarded are noted by Holloway on pp. 472, 481, 482, 562, 612, 703 of his edition. And, what is no less worthy of note, the poet introduced into *Leaves of Grass* no new poem of this nature after 1860.¹¹

⁹ See Whitman's own account of this conversation in *Specimen Days* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 191.

¹⁰ After line 17 of §12: *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, p. 662.

¹¹ I do not mean to imply that Whitman had utterly abandoned his earlier views as to the significance of sex. What I do wish to bring out, however, is that he did not return

Whitman's gain in taste appears also in his omission at one time or another of certain coarser phrases or allusions that he had allowed to slip into his earlier editions. Thus, although he held on to the plural "tushes" in "To a Foil'd Revolutionaire" (l. 5), and to his references to the "aroma" of the "arm-pits" and "the sweating Methodist preacher" in the "Song of Myself,"¹² he discarded in the same poem the phrases "foo-foos" and "suck and sell," and his characterization of the reformer as one who "spouts with his mouth and nose."¹³ So, too, he gave up the unthinkable word "oratists" in "Mediums" (l. 7). In at least one instance he made a correction in his grammar: he substituted in 1881 a "you were" for "you was" in the opening section of "A Song for Occupations" (l. 24). But he held on to a "you was" in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" (ll. 63, 65). There was less of the declamatory, moreover, in later years, of the "O's" and "I swears" with which he sprinkled his earlier poems; and one poem that offended most of all in that regard, "Apostroph," was rejected in its entirety.

Whitman's gain in picturesqueness and in comeliness of phrase is very effectively illustrated by his titles, the majority of which reproduce, either in whole or in part, the first line of the poem. "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" was first entitled (in 1859) "A Child's Reminiscence," to be superseded in 1860 by the title "A Word out of the Sea," and this in turn to be superseded in 1871 by the magic title by which we now know the poem. "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" originally (1860) bore the unlovely title "Bardic Symbols," which gave way in 1867 to "Elemental Drifts," and in turn to its present title in 1881. "The Sleepers" was entitled in 1856 "Night Poem," and in 1860 "Sleep-Chasings." "To Think of Time" was published in 1856 under the title of "Burial Poem," and bore in 1860 and 1867 the bare title "Burial." "A Song for Occupations" was first known (1856) as "Poem of the Daily Work of the Workmen and Workwomen of These States"; in the same edition "A Song of the Rolling Earth" went under the title "Poem of the Sayers of the Words of Earth." "By Blue Ontario's Shore" was first called

to the subject, except quite incidentally, after 1860 and that he canceled a number of brief passages involving a reference to sex that he had introduced into his earlier poems.

¹² *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, pp. 45, 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 563, 561, 559.

(1856) "Poem of Many in One," and "Song of Prudence" was first known (1856) as "Poem of the Last Explanation of Prudence." "Song of the Open Road" originally bore (1856) the colorless title "Poem of the Road."

Within the body of the poems there were fewer striking changes made in the interest of picturesqueness than one might expect, but examples are not wanting;¹⁴ and there are also entire lines that were added here and there for the sake of the gain in picturesqueness. The fine simile, "like some old crone rocking the cradle, swathed in sweet garments," for instance, was not introduced into "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" (l. 182) until 1881, and the clause, "when the lilac scent was in the air," in l. 24 of the same poem, did not come into the poem until 1871. But if the number of picturesque phrases that we find in the revisions made after 1860 appear smaller than might be looked for, this lack is abundantly offset by the number of shorter poems published after 1860 that are strikingly full of picture. There had been finely vivid scenes in some of the earlier free-verse poems, as in "Song of Myself" and in "A Song of Joys";¹⁵ but there came in the seventies and eighties poem after poem that is overflowing with color and suggestion, among the number being "Warble for Lilac-Time" (1870), "Sparkles from the Wheel" (1871), "The Ox-Tamer" (1874), "To a Locomotive in Winter" (1876), "Patrolling Barnegat" (1880), and "A Paumanok Picture" (1881). And there were also in some of the longer poems written after 1860 marvelously picturesque passages, including certain unforgettable lines in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," which seem to me to be the most precious of all that Whitman ever wrote.¹⁶

But the most remarkable advance made by Whitman in his art was in his rhythms; and this, to me, is of immense importance for an understanding of his conception of his art. His artistic instincts enabled him to see that there was no other form so congenial to his

¹⁴In l. 17 of §33 of "Song of Myself," for instance, the word "yellow-flower'd" by way of characterizing the bloom of the cotton plant was added in 1867, and in the same edition the very homely line (6) in "O Captain! My Captain," "Leave you not the little spot," gave way to the line, "O the bleeding drops of red."

¹⁵See, for instance, his description of the "old-time sea-fight" (§35) in "Song of Myself," and his account of his boyhood delight in clam-digging, "mackerel-taking," and the like in "A Song of Joys" (ll. 34 ff.).

¹⁶I refer to §§10 and 11 of that poem and the invocation to death (ll. 135-162).

peculiar gifts as free verse, and we may be sure that he never seriously considered abandoning that form altogether. I find it difficult to imagine his "Song of Myself" or the "Song of the Broad-Axe," or "Passage to India" in blank verse or in the jagged ode stanza, or in any other form than free verse. But inevitable as it was that Whitman should not give up free verse as his chief vehicle of expression, it is interesting to observe that, as time passed, he swung more and more away from the pronounced form of free verse as used in his poems of 1855 and 1856, and approached nearer and nearer to a normal line-length and to the conventional rhythms. This change had already begun to appear by 1860, and was well under way by 1867. In his earliest editions (1855, 1856, and 1860), there are a good many lines that run to thirty or forty words each, and a few that run as high as fifty and even sixty words. To be very specific, there are in the edition of 1856 two lines that run past sixty words each,¹⁷ seven that run past fifty words, sixteen that run past forty words, and forty-two that exceed thirty words each. At the same time there are no poems first published after 1870 with lines that run to as much as twenty-five words, and only one poem published in 1855 or 1856 that retained any considerable number of long lines,—namely, "Our Old Feuillage." In fact, the longest line in any of the poems first published in the eighties comprises only twenty-one words (and there are only two examples of this),¹⁸ whereas the average long line in the poems written after 1880 runs to about a dozen words.

Examination of the variant readings reveals, also, that a number of lines from the earlier editions were broken up into several lines each in the later editions. For instance, the line in §4 of "Burial Poem" (later known as "To Think of Time") which ran to sixty-five words in 1856, was broken up into four lines (45-48) in 1881,¹⁹

¹⁷ These are the lines beginning, "The blue breadth over the sea," in §6 of "By Blue Ontario's Shore" (entitled in 1856 "Poem of Many in One"), which contains sixty-two words (or 104 syllables) as published in the edition of 1856 (p. 184), and the line beginning, "He was a good fellow," in §4 of "To Think of Time" (entitled in 1856 "Burial Poem"), which contains sixty-five words (or ninety syllables) as published in 1856 (p. 335).

¹⁸ The poem entitled "Stronger Lessons," dated by Holloway (p. 437) as "1888," Triggs (Camden Edition of Whitman, X, 166) would associate with an earlier date, and in my reckoning I have adopted that view.

¹⁹ See note 17, above.

and the line immediately following it comprising fifty words in the edition of 1856, was ultimately resolved into three lines (49-51). In like manner, a line in §5 of "By Blue Ontario's Shore,"²⁰ which ran to thirty-eight words in 1856, was broken up into three lines (55-57) in 1867. Other longer lines in the earlier texts were either dropped or liberally trimmed down. The line in §6 of "By Blue Ontario's Shore" which contained sixty-two words in 1856, was dropped in 1867;²¹ a line (83) in the same poem containing twenty-seven words was reduced in 1867 to fourteen words; while two lines (66, 75) in §2 of "Song of the Answerer" were reduced in 1867 from thirty and twenty-two words respectively to sixteen words each. On the other hand there were no very long lines in any of the poems written after 1860, although, as I have said, there were long lines in a few poems—and notably in "Our Old Feuillage"—carried over from the earlier editions.

Running parallel with Whitman's tendency toward a briefer line was the tendency toward the employment, at least sporadically, of an iambic rhythm. It has been remarked by more than one of Whitman's critics that in some of the later poems, as "Prayer of Columbus" and "The Mystic Trumpeter," the poet adopted an iambic movement;²² but the tendency towards iambic rhythms was, I think, decidedly more pronounced than has heretofore been held. For not only do "Prayer of Columbus" and "The Mystic Trumpeter" affect an iambic movement most of the way, but there are at least a dozen other poems written in the seventies—among them "Joy, Shipmate, Joy!" (1871), "Song of the Universal" (1874), and "To the Man-of-War Bird" (1876)—that adopt that measure; and there were a score of poems written in the eighties in which Whitman, without adopting a conventional pattern as regards line length, reverted to the iambic movement. Among poems that are loosely iambic throughout are "Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling" (1881), "A Riddle Song" (1881), "Spirit That Form'd This Scene" (1881), "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!" (1883), "Halcyon Days" (1888), "Last of Ebb, and Daylight Waning" (1888), and perhaps

²⁰ Beginning, "Perceives that it waits a little while in the door."

²¹ See note 17, above.

²² See, among others, Basil de Selincourt, *Walt Whitman: A Critical Study*, pp. 67 ff.

as many as half of the poems that make up the groups known as "Old Age Echoes," "Sands at Seventy," and "Good-bye My Fancy."

But more significant even than the tendency toward an iambic movement was a tendency—which, to be sure, asserted itself as early as 1859 in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" and very markedly in "Drum Taps" (1865) and the edition of 1867—toward smoother rhythmical effects in single lines or groups of lines. Something of this effect is observable in the gain in sonorousness with many of Whitman's titles, to which I have already called attention,—in the change, for instance, of "A Child's Reminiscence" or "A Word Out of the Sea" to "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" or of "A Poem of Walt Whitman, an American" to "Song of Myself." The opening line of "Song of Myself" as first published ran, baldly, "I celebrate myself," but in 1881 this was amplified to read, "I celebrate myself, and sing myself," with obvious gain in rhythmical effect. Likewise, the opening line of the final text of "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" read in the earlier editions "As I ebb'd with an ebb of the ocean of life," to be trimmed down to its present form in 1881. There were also numerous lines that by some very slight addition or omission or substitution were immensely bettered in rhythm. Thus the line "Shine! shine! shine!" of "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" originally read, tamely enough, merely "Shine! shine!"; and a similar metamorphosis came about with the similar change of "Soothe! soothe!" of the same poem in 1859 to "Soothe! soothe! soothe!" So, likewise, with the addition of the answering phrase "with love" in the line (76), "It is lagging—O I think it is heavy with love, with love." Most of the changes, indeed, in this much-changed poem were made for the sake of a better rhythm.

There were, to be sure, cross currents. I have already pointed out that "Our Old Feuillage" retained a good many long lines down to the very last. In "By Blue Ontario's Shore" (1856) a line containing a sexual image (*Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, p. 662) was dropped as early as 1860—the year of the publication of the "Enfans d'Adam" group. "Song of Myself" on first publication contained some highly sonorous passages, and the same is true of "A Song of Joys," which, although not published until 1860, was probably written several years earlier. "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," though immensely improved in rhythm and picturesqueness,

contained in its earliest printed form (1859) some of the most sonorous lines that Whitman ever wrote. So, too, in "The World Below the Brine," we have one of the most vivid of Whitman's poems although it appeared in 1860. And in spite of the number of Whitman's very happy titles, he retained down to the very end some exceedingly homely titles, as "This Compost," "As Consequent, Etc.," "L. of G.'s Purport." He retained also a number of barbaric foreign words, or adaptations of foreign words, as "libertad," "literat," and "eclaircise"; and although he gave up a number of words and allusions that violated good taste, he retained to the last some passages that must be exceedingly repellent to the more delicate taste. There were also countercurrents, as in his reversion to stanza forms and to conventional rhythms in "O Captain! My Captain!," "Beat! Beat! Drums!," and other poems of the sixties and seventies, and in his adopting a refrain even in some of his free-verse poems (as "For You O Democracy" (1860) and "As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods" (1865)). There was inevitably, also, a period, covering roughly the last decade of Whitman's life, that saw a decline in poetic power, accompanying the waning of his physical and intellectual strength, and to this may be attributed in some measure his approximation in the work of his old age to the more regular and the more feeble forms that distinguished his youthful work.

It may be argued, I know, and with justice, that any other poet would with great likelihood have undergone much the same sort of development as I have tried to show to have been Whitman's—that most poets pass first through an experimental stage, in which much of their work is crude and insipid, if not also feeble; that in a later stage they come to attach larger importance to artistic beauty and finish; and that they lapse into something of decline in their closing years. But that Whitman should also have followed this line of development becomes especially significant in view of his repeated avowals of a determination to avoid "dulcet rhymes" and "piano tunes," with all that those phrases connote, and to set up a new and radically different tradition.

WALT WHITMAN IN 1862

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I

THE year 1862 is generally conceded to be an obscure, unrecorded year in the life of the poet. In his published works, the only trace that could be found of his activities during this period consisted, until lately, of a series of twenty-five historical articles, "Brooklyniana," contributed to *The Brooklyn Standard*.¹ Recently the discovery and publication of articles which Whitman under the pseudonym of Velsor Brush contributed to *The New York Leader* in 1862 threw more light on Whitman's movements during this year.² They show that Whitman helped to nurse and entertain the wounded Union soldiers in the Broadway Hospital long before he began his duties as a self-appointed missionary or wound-dresser to the military hospitals in Washington.

Whitman has explicitly declared that the Civil War exerted a decisive influence not only on his life but on his work as a poet. Hostile critics, however, have deemed it strangely inconsistent that Whitman was idle during the first two years of the war.³ If the Civil War was such a profound, dominating factor in his life, why then, they ask, did he not enlist? Why did he loaf and invite his soul in the congenial, smoke-laden atmosphere at Pfaff's? Why is it that there is no published record of his life at this time which would indicate what he was doing until the day when he left for the front to nurse the brother who had been reported as wounded in the battle of Fredericksburg?

In this connection, it is interesting to know that in the Harned Collection at the Library of Congress are to be found manuscripts which contain a detailed account of Whitman's activities during

¹ The first instalment of this series appeared in the issue of June 8, 1861, but there were a number of interruptions and the last article was not printed until Nov. 1, 1862. See *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, ed. Emory Holloway (New York, 1921), II, 222. Subsequently the abbreviation for this work will be *U. P. P.*

² Charles I. Glicksberg, *Walt Whitman and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1933).

³ See William E. Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman* (Indianapolis, 1928), p. 31.

this "obscure" year.⁴ The notebooks in which this diary was kept consist of brief, bald jottings of daily events, obviously not intended for publication and not of a literary nature. His aim in keeping a notebook was to set down germinal ideas, the condensed outline of incidents which could later, when the mood seized him, be amplified and used in a literary way. These notebooks are worth printing in part since, first of all, they are the record of a great poet, and, secondly, by illuminating an unchronicled period of his life, by supplying new material of importance, they effectually silence those critics who charge that he deliberately kept his movements during 1861 and 1862 a dark secret. Aside from these considerations, however, they present biographical evidence of considerable value.

By piecing together the fragmentary entries in these notebooks,⁵ we are enabled to form a more or less complete chronology of Whitman's movements and experiences during 1862. What is more important still, these jottings reveal many of the ideas that occupied the foreground of his consciousness. The contents of the diary may be roughly divided into four divisions: (a) memoranda of books that he wished to read or consult; (b) nuclear fragments intended for elaboration into poems; (c) notes dealing with the history of Brooklyn and New York and the surrounding countryside; (d) notes that express concretely his gospel of adhesiveness, the manly love of comrades. The notes of this last division are devoted to a simple brief record of meetings with stage-drivers, ferry-hands, policemen, sailors and soldiers, forgers, eccentric characters from all walks of life. Besides recording these manly attachments, the notebooks also give us occasional glimpses of his reactions to the crucial issues and events of the year. Judged as a whole, however, the notebooks of this period afford a vivid, panoramic view of life in New York. They explain in a measure how he acquired that extensive first-hand knowledge of the history and growth of Brooklyn and New York, their restaurants and taverns and beer-gardens, the picturesque quality of the different sections, each with its characteristic physiognomy and communal life.

⁴ This disposes of the groundless assertion made by Harvey O'Higgins. See "Alias Walt Whitman," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CLVIII, 704 (May, 1929).

⁵ Subsequently where no specific citation of source is given, it is to be understood that the quoted material is taken from the manuscript notebooks in the Harned Collection at the Library of Congress.

II

It is interesting to know that during the war, while visiting the hospitals in Washington, Whitman carried about with him copies in translation of Homer and Virgil.⁶ Is it no more than a coincidence that about this time Longfellow found relief from the horror of war in the work of translating the *Divina Commedia* and that Bryant tried his hand at translating Homer? At any rate, we find Whitman in 1862 planning to read a book on Homer by Gladstone, *Homer and the Homeric Age*. Since the English edition costs fifteen dollars, he plans to get it at the Astor Library. He also commands himself to "get at Library Schiller's complete Works English with new translations by Dr. C. T. Hempel." Finally, while assembling his material for the "Brooklyniana" articles, he probably used as reference the book he mentions, *New York during the Revolution*, published for the Mercantile Library Association.

III

Though the jottings, the germs intended for later development into articles or "leaves," are not of great literary importance, they are of pronounced interest in that they reveal the nature of Whitman's literary plans and his curious method of composition. Many of the poems included in *Drum-Taps* were begun before he left for the front at the end of 1862, but the most moving pieces in that collection were not composed until he had actually experienced the terrible beauty of war. Yet the realism of war, bloody and redeeming, ugly and ennobling, could influence but not radically change the character of his work. Poetry was for him, at all times, whatever the theme, an expression of the universal filtered through the imagination of a great personality. Hence he would not be the one to write inflammatory war lyrics or hymns of hate. With the exception of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," conceived and completed in the heat of grief to commemorate the death of President Lincoln, only a few of his war poems can be regarded as of the moment. Whether he wrote about the battlefield or the love of comrades, the same vision of a free and happy people held together by the unifying principle of democracy, animated his poetry.

There may, perhaps, have been a symbolical significance in the

⁶ See *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, p. 83 n.; *U. P. P.*, II, 61.

poem he planned to write describing the "Wreck of the ship—the edifice burnt down—the tree decaying," but emphasizing the thought that the tragedy lay chiefly in the loss of individual life. He asks: "But what were these to the man—the woman—wrecked ?—consumed?"

During the first year of the war when lost battles were frequent and the list of the dead and wounded (among which his brother's name might any day appear) mounted alarmingly, Whitman anxiously read the New York newspapers. When the Union soldiers marching through Baltimore were stoned and fired upon by a hostile mob, a number of Northern poets dashed off poems instinct with patriotic indignation. That Whitman was not left unmoved by this bloody episode is indicated by a line of verse in his diary, "The blood shed in Baltimore."⁷ There is also another version headed "Two Words to Maryland," which consists of but one line: "We have two words to say to Maryland." Whether this fragment was called forth by the incident itself or was meant as a reply to the song, "Maryland, My Maryland," it is now impossible to say.

Wars are, after all, ephemeral things; poetry, a creation of the spirit, lives on forever. His determination to devote himself, war or no war, to one book, *Leaves of Grass*, did not flag. That he was at this time deeply interested in its reception, the readers it attracted, and the disciples it won, is attested by his conversation on the afternoon of July 3, in front of the Broadway Hospital, with Aaron B. Cohn, who spoke to him "of a young man named Gilbert L. Bill, (of Lyme, Connecticut) who thought deeply about *Leaves of Grass*, and wished to see me." He continued making plans for future poems. In his characteristic manner he gave himself this command: "Make a leaf of grass out of the hemp; the rope-walk, and making rope of hemp—the rope maker with the hemp bound around his waist—" And there is also this stirring note:

CANADA TO THE RESCUE!

hold on a little while yet Canada—but we may not want you if you wish to come

⁷ Perhaps because he was dissatisfied with it or because, as has already been pointed out, his genius could not fruitfully develop themes of denunciation, this line was later crossed out.

But while the London Times represents the trade and finance does it not represent the moral and religious——?——capital of the British Empire. This is the capital that decides⁸——?——at last—for it is a perennial force.

Besides this, there is a curiously conventional line which reads: "Silver brothers on the blue, your immortal spangles shine—" About his literary intention as expressed in *Leaves of Grass* he wrote: "I do not chant in my poems the divinity of the brain and spirit of man only, but the divinity of the animal." Reaffirming the cosmic significance of his work, he announced: "Small is my theme—yet has it the sweep of the universe." Finally, there are notes for a poem called "High Tide":

Everything culminating—prosperity—all flush—every thing crowded on to the utmost of prosperity—rose color—wreath—friends—luck—then

Low Tide
the reverse.

IV

Early in January, 1862, Whitman attended the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica and made copious, running notes of the ceremony and the history of the church. In the autumn of 1861, he had made the journey "down the whole length of Long Island,"⁹ and impressions of Jamaica are contained in the thirty-sixth article of the "Brooklyniana" series.¹⁰

It is advisable, in spite of their fragmentary form, to reprint these notes exactly as they appear in the manuscript:

Presbyterian Church of Jamaica—200th anniversary

Tuesday afternoon 3 o'clock—7th & 8th of January

The congregation have just erected the mural tablets—set in the walls of the Church,—on which are inscribed the names of all the deceased ministers—19 ministers altogether—

⁸ The word "settles" has been crossed out. The blank spaces and the question marks are reproduced as given in the manuscript.

⁹ *U. P. P.*, II, 308.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 306-309. The notes on the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica were not used in this series. Since Whitman drew a pencil line through these notes—his usual method of indicating that he had worked up the material into acceptable form for an article or poem—it is quite possible that he contributed an article on the old Presbyterian Church and the services celebrating its bicentenary to some Brooklyn newspaper.

Exercises on Tuesday.

Prayer by Rev. Nicholas Everett Smith—

Scriptures read out of a Bible older than 1776.

Hymn read from Sternhold & Hopkins, printed in 1714,—before Watts was born.—Stones inaugurated by Rev. Mr. Oskey—5 or 6 minutes—object of stones, and welcome.—

Rev. James M. McDonald of Princeton, N. J.

station at Jamaica

Ecclesiastes I, 4.

“One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.”—Subject—relation of the permanent to the transient,¹¹ or the gains over the losses in history—dwelt briefly on the transient nature of earthly things.

Removed as we are from Greece, Egypt, &c we still find engrafted to-day on our own affairs, all that is valuable belonging to them, such for instance as the family institution. Change the form, but the substance always remains

—progress has been made no matter how slow.

The church has come over sea to us—drawing from the very decay of the past, a vigorous life for the future.

Picture¹² a bird's eye of the history of the¹³ world at the time of the settlement of this island 200 years ago.—England—Russia, Holland, France, &c. Louis XIV, Cromwell.

No English copy of Scriptures had yet been¹⁴—John Eliot's Indian testament had been printed in——

The Dutch church in Brooklyn existed.¹⁵

In 1657 there were but three schoolmasters on Long Island, Rich Jones.

Scho. of Jam. was arrested

1656 Jamaica was settled

1644 Hempstead “ “

Salut au Monde¹⁶

Yeniawah Indians—were found here—from whence the town was named.

¹¹ The word “especially” has been crossed out.

¹² The word “of” has been deleted.

¹³ The word “civilized” has been deleted.

¹⁴ Word missing in the manuscript.

¹⁵ See *U. P. P.*, II, 262-264, 297.

¹⁶ This is crossed out in the manuscript. The poem, “Salut au Monde,” first appeared in the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. From the above title, it is evident that Whitman thought of possibly including some of the material in these notes in a revised version of the poem.

Tribes here were subdued by Capt. Underhill & others.

Low ver 200 years ago [*sic*]

humble—thatch & log houses

the appear

in imagination enter one of the houses here—of 200 years ago—food
venison & fish—bread scarce—dinner Indian pudding

Minute description of domestic life here on Long Island at that time—
gun killing wolf—costume—of men & women of the time—picture of the
whole domestic life of the people of Jamaica

no of heads in Jamaica 87

in 1683 5

whole pop. 435

Dan'l Denton's celebrated History of New York 1670, pub in London
—the first Denton was town clerk in Jamaica town.

During 7 years preceding 1688, there were 27 marriages—71 baptisms
—23 burials—in a population of 450.

Picture in imagination—entering a house here 200 years ago—com-
paring to the historical facts as—conversation—some had been in Crom-
well's & Charles' battles—some had seen a witch burnt—or told stories of
witchcraft. 1670—account of a Witch at that date here—imagine also the
scene presented here on a Sabbath morning—200 years.

Abraham Smith beats the drum—to call the people together for the
meeting—attendance is compulsory,—men wore three corner'd hats—
small clothes,—silver buckles—ruffles & wrists—swords—ladies—brocade
—hoo'p petticoats.

On the Sabbath, their apparel was simple and appropriate, neat, but
not gaudy.—People enter the church—a humble edifice built of logs and
thatch.—The hour-glass stands beside the Bible, to give note of the time.

He (Rev.) then glanced at the causes which led to our forefathers
coming here.

May 1672—the town entered into an agreement with Rev. John Pruden,
to preach for them, under the Presbyterian system of doctrine. Jamaica
has been Presbyterian from the beginning—and proved her devotion so
through a long contest in the early settlement.

This is surely the oldest Presbyterian church of the American con-
tinent—10 years older than the one in Maryland.

—What an advance since that day—there are now 5500 Presbyterian
ministers.—8000 churches, 775,000 communicants—more than double what
now exists in Great Britain and provinces.

14 millions and a half of church property—Congregation at present in Jamaica is one of the largest in rural——

Whitfield here in 1740 & 1764—preached here in Jamaica—last convert made by Whitfield died in 1840, aged 95, having been a communicant 75 years—here in Jamaica.

Wound up by an appropriate close. No gulf ever really divides one generation from another—he took a cheerful view of the present, encouraging all to hope, through the present crisis of the nation.

Wednesday 8th was a meeting—gathering of clergymen, elders, emigrants &c.—to-day from¹⁷ venerable Dr. Shelton who has been an elder here 40.

Rev. Mr. Crane

spoke with reminiscences &c.

Rev. Mr. Everett

Representatives from Philadelphia—Rev. Mr. Breed—Rev. Dr. Krebs—Rev. Mr. Higbie.

Will be published.

Rev. Dr. Krebs preached Wednesday night—

Thursday the Lord's supper will be administered—will be the conclusion—Tablets in church from 1666 to 1840.

Rev. Mr. Breed of Philadelphia—Mr. Reeve of the Presbytery of L. I.—This church has sent out 25 or 30 ministers.

After completing this hurried journalistic account of the Presbyterian Church at Jamaica, Whitman took up his old life in the city, free-lancing for the newspapers, walking or riding through the streets of Brooklyn and New York, observing with keen eyes their human as well as their dramatic aspects. On January 9, while strolling along Broadway, he saw "the old woman either insane or drunk, wretchedly drest, affectedly promenading the sidewalk." He was also busy about this time gathering material for a series of articles, "Brooklyniana," which combined the use of direct observation with material taken from the researches of antiquaries.¹⁸ Some of the notes in the diary possess interest for Whitman students, in that they help to confirm, by supplying additional internal proof, the authorship of "Brooklyniana."¹⁹

Whitman describes "an old Brooklyn landmark giving a glance

¹⁷ The word "Rev." is crossed out.

¹⁸ He quoted from Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (New York, 1860). See *U. P. P.*, II, 301.

¹⁹ See *U. P. P.*, II, 222 n.

at the old Military Garden before it²⁰ vanishes, to make room for the new Court House."²¹ There is also a reference to a Colonel Greene and a statement of the fact that "Masonic lodges must have been built in 1830."²² More specific is the mention of a grocery kept in 1819 by Saul Doxsey and Ralph Malbone.²³ A brief note lists Washington Garden on the East Side, "Where the old theatre was kept by Buddy Stevenson," another garden opposite, and Brower's Garden.²⁴ There is mention also of the Black Horse Garden "at the junction of De Kalb av.," but this item is not used in "Brooklyniana." The notes, however, that speak of "election days—town meeting" and of "the Remsen farm years ago, \$40 an acre—Montague to State—so up to City Hall and so down to the river—Joralemon and Pierpont property," appear in the printed article.²⁵ Finally, there is a memorandum about the "yellow house used as Hessian hospital."²⁶

Whitman was no antiquary. He derived his information, in most cases, from conversations with people or from second-hand sources. But he knew the Brooklyn and New York of his day as few people knew them. The fact that a new house was being contemplated at "Fulton ferry next spring," excited his interest. And his wanderings about the city, as will be clear in the next section, in which his friendship with stage-drivers is discussed, extended far and wide. He could be found at "Hayter's Ale Cellar Pine street south side half between Broadway and Nassau," sipping a glass of beer with a boon companion. Occasionally he visited Faffeley's, but he usually spent his evenings at Pfaff's, where he could consort with the literary fraternity of Bohemia.

V

The diary extends from the early part of January to December 20, 1862, the day after he had arrived at Falmouth, where his brother's regiment was encamped. At a rough estimate, it contains the names and description of about one hundred and twenty-five people, most of them stage-drivers, whom he had met during this period. In this motley assortment of names and incidents it is possible to select

²⁰ The words "it is torn downward," which appear in the manuscript, are crossed out.

²¹ See *U. P. P.*, II, 298.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 296.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 298.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 299. There is one discrepancy: the published article quotes the price as "fifty dollars an acre!"

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 298.

for comment and quotation only the most significant, only those that reveal the nature of the attraction which these racy, original characters had for him, and those which help to establish the chronology of his movements.

From January to March, Whitman was busily engaged in freelance work for the newspapers, preparing his "Brooklyniana" articles for *The Brooklyn Standard* and the series of articles, "City Photographs," for *The New York Leader*. Judging by the entries in the notebooks, he may have written and published other articles, the existence of which has not yet been discovered. Most of his time, however, was spent in saturating himself "with active human life, the stir and hum of cities,"²⁷ in gaining the friendship of these lusty, Rabelaisian stage-drivers. In order to illustrate the quality of his friendship and devotion, it is worthwhile to quote the cordial testimony of a contemporary which appeared in *The New York Leader*:²⁸

I once heard Bill Early say, that to be a reins-man, able enough to steer an omnibus down Broadway and not lose a passenger, requires as much skill as to write a book. Now this may be so, for Walt Whitman—a side-partner of Figaro's²⁹ at Pfaff's—once drove a week for a sick "cad," as Jem Jessell once called Frank Bower and got his eye blacked for the compliment.

Walt Whitman, whom I know and recognize by his shirt collar, when it heaves in sight a few blocks off, when under a heavy press of canvas, can write books with pretty pieces in, and drive an omnibus for a friend who cannot live if wages are stopped on Saturday nights.

Dandy Marks was another one of Walt Whitman's kind of men—the kind who think if they enjoy strawberries out of season, that everybody else ought to have them. Don't understand me to mean that this poor sick driver was one of Walt's acquaintances, or a chap whom he gabbed with every time they met—oh, no—I don't think they ever touched hands, unless it was in handing up a fare, or getting back change for a dime, through the pigeon-hole of the stage.

²⁷ *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman Issued Under the Editorial Supervision of his Literary Executors*, 10 vols. (New York, 1902), IX, 21. Subsequently this will be cited as Camden Edition.

²⁸ *The New York Leader*, August 16, 1862; from a column that appeared weekly, "The Old Sport of New York," written by Tom Quick.

²⁹ Figaro was the pen-name of Henry Clapp, who was the dramatic critic of *The New York Leader*.

It so happened that Walt, nine times out of ten, hit his down trip for his ride; and Walt had, from that fact, daguerretyped the driver's looks on his memory. . . .

Well, Walt the poet missed his driver one day, and missed him the next; so he inquired of a brother whip "who was out?" The answer was, "Old Tom is sick; I am afraid he will make a go of it this time; he can't stand stormy weather as he used to do." "Where does he live?" kindly asked Whitman. When told, he noted it in his book. That night Walt was at his house, gave him more than half of his own stock of that which gets groceries without credits, spent half the night by his bedside, and learned that each day's absence from the driver's box called for a substitute, who got the wages.

This will never do, thought Walt. So he next sought out and talked with that bully stage-man, Conover, who humored him in this request; and Walt, through storm and sunshine, for a week took the sick man's seat on the 'bus, received his salary at the end of the week, told his exploit to a few of his class, who added a dollar each, and in less time than it takes to cook a steak to Walt's liking he tickled the old stager's palm with the whole amount gathered.

When I heard of this, I says "Bully for Walt; his heart's in the right place, and he don't travel in a gang by himself."³⁰

It is interesting to observe the way in which Whitman "daguerreotyped" these characters, seizing on a salient feature of physiognomy or dress, of speech or conduct, and stressing that. He took pains to record that one driver "has powder slightly on his face." Or, if he considered it of sufficient importance, he would copy down the substance of what they told him. We see him on Thursday eve-

³⁰ An embellished version of this incident appeared in W. A. Chandos-Fulton, "The Local Press" (the scrapbook of clippings in the Long Island Historical Society has no page numbers), which states that Whitman "drove a stage one whole winter that a disabled driver might lay without starving his family. . . . The drivers of the Broadway stages after that never passed Walter without a bow and a motion to get up on the box, where he invariably sits."

It is also worthwhile at this point to cite the testimony of Dr. D. B. St. John Roosa, a surgeon on the staff of the Broadway Hospital, who, in a letter contributed to *The New York Mail and Express*, June 10, 1896, affords a valuable glimpse of Whitman's activities about this time. Noting Whitman's friendship for stage-drivers and the regularity with which he visited any one of them who might be lying disabled in the wards of the hospital, the house staff decided to waive the usual formalities in his case. "No one," wrote Dr. Roosa, "could see him sitting by the bedside of a suffering stage driver without soon learning that he had a sincere and profound sympathy for this order of men." Highly significant, finally, is Dr. Roosa's statement: "I am very sure that his devotion to stage drivers was the preparation for what occurred to him during the Civil War."

ning, April 17, 1862, spending an hour or two with Henry W. Moore "on Broadway, walking up—and in Bleeker Street." On April 29, he met George Marler, who was driving on Fourth Avenue, "a large-nosed, tallish fellow—Western, is from Ohio—has traveled with a show as 'candy butcher,'" and also James Willis, "tall, talks sort of spasmodically," who had been a carman or truckman and was then making his first appearance as a driver. He noted that a "quiet and serious looking" driver, William Mead, had gone to the front, and that Elijah Tompkins, who had joined and then deserted the 2d New York Artillery, was arrested in 1864.³¹

On May 23, we find Whitman at Fort Greene, a favorite resort of his, talking for about two hours to a young man by the name of Mark Ward. Two days later, at Fort Hamilton, he met William Wylie, of the artillery, twenty-three years old, who was a sentry "at the south gate of the Fort—talk &c. in the evening—English lad." On May 27, he noted down the names of Sweeten, a tall, well-tanned stage-driver who "was a boy in Philadelphia riots of '44." Quite interesting is his description of Daniel Spencer,³² a somewhat feminine type, driver of a Fifth Avenue stage, who told him "he had never been in a fight and did not drink at all."

In June and July, Whitman was very friendly with a young man, Charles Kingsley, of the upper class, who was "fond of training for boat-racing, &c." and with whom he often spent his time at Pfaff's. Besides the engaging and notorious Ada Clare³³ and the coterie of dashing literary figures like Henry Clapp and George Arnold, Whitman came in contact there with a number of odd characters. Thomas Gray, for example, is described as a "good-looking young Scotchman elegantly dress'd—does the tricks, cutting his fingers &c.—at Pfaff's and Faffeleys May, June, July, 1862." And he bluntly characterizes Dr. William Lamont Wheeler, a surgeon of the United States Navy whom he met at Pfaff's, as a "damned shyster."

One Sunday evening³⁴ he spent with William Mead at Fort Hamilton, who said "he was at Huntington in 1838, when I printed the *Long Islander*³⁵ there—is now a book-canvasser, for Thomas

³¹ The note about Elijah Tompkins's arrest was added in 1864 when Whitman went to New York to recuperate.

³² May 29, 1862.

³³ Her address twice appears in Whitman's diary.

³⁴ July 5, 1862.

³⁵ See *U. P. P.*, II, 87.

Pelham, Hamp's brother—thinks there must be 60,000 Peterson's & Godey's magazines taken in New York City—talked about canvassing—Huntington &c—Ezra Brown—Bedford Platt &c." Henry Kelly, whom he met on July 7, was about twenty-four years old,

born in Lawrence, father Irish, mother English, has worked about the Lawrence factories had a brother and sister in Pemberton Mill, when it fell—has travel'd some time south and west with Dan Rice's show—florid face—manner fresh and direct—(I notice a few gray hairs)—seems inclined to join the army—rode all the way Wall St. and back to Howard.

The next day he spoke to Frank Swezey: "brown face, large features, black moustache (is the one I told the story to about Ellen Eyre)—talks very little." On the same night Charles Kingsley introduced Whitman to a young American by the name of Pell, at a "lager bier house" on Sixth Street. When he next met Henry Kelly,³⁶ he discussed with him "the mishaps &c of a showman's life, south and north." Nothing illustrates more clearly than these entries the type of conversation Whitman had with the stage-drivers. He jotted down³⁷ the life-history of William Cochran:

Aged 30 was born in Nova Scotia, lived there till 16—went to Boston, was clerk &c—made some money—married—went back to Nova Scotia—went into business—lost all—has a family of wife and two children—middling sized—clean shaved (Aug '64 is supt coaches at Astor House).

The stage-drivers freely confided their troubles to him. John Meyers, who was called "Whitey" because of his white hair and complexion, told Whitman "he has lately been very sick with measles &c."³⁸ On July 20, he was again at Fort Greene, this time with Mark Graynor, "young, 5 ft 7 in, black moustache, plumber—has lived west—travel'd, West Indies, &c." This description is followed by an entry about a "Yankee, with full beard, very smart—quite a great traveler—especially west and south, and in the West Indies—has had much to do in railroad building—south & in Cuba &c—says that white men can labor as well as blacks, or better, in the tropics." He talked with a deck-hand,³⁹ George Myers, who had deserted and been arrested, only to desert again on September 19, 1862.

Whitman was interested in the stages as well as in the men that

³⁶ July 10, 1862.

³⁷ July 11, 1862.

³⁸ July 12, 1862.

³⁹ July 22, 1862.

drove them. If the numerous notes on the omnibus in Paris that he wrote down in his diary are any indication, he apparently contemplated an article on the subject. These notes reveal his characteristic method as a journalist.

Omnibus in Paris—Tickets—which give you a seat—horses are stallions—mostly gray—fare inside is 6 cts outside 3—routes are about the same—omnibusses are larger—asphaltum pavements.

Omnibusses were first introduced in Paris in 1825—and gradually into other cities of Europe—and into Great Britain and America. In London first—1829; in New York—1830.

Omnibusses in Paris—horses are stallion—gray stages larger—set lower—seats partitioned off—4 of them—*conductor at door* drest in blue with visor cap—stands on step behind—no doors—fare in seats outside six sous—driver in his sailor hat—driver only attends to horses and driving—6 seats on top,—each side has 12 seats altogether—fare on top 3 sous—you are allowed to smoke—you go to *bureau des omnibus*—a man there gives you a numbered check, entitling you to the seat of that number.—You don't pay for the tickets when you buy them—you pay the driver—perfect system of transfer, so that you pass anywhere over Paris—all the omnibusses in Paris are owned by one grand company—routes are as long as ours—When they get full, they change the white to *complet*.

In August and September his friendship with the stage-drivers continued unabated. Late one Saturday night,⁴⁰ he walked with a young man, who "had lately joined No. 3 in Henry st. as fireman," from Fulton Ferry to the corner of Portland Street. The next day he had a talk with "Dr. & Chas. Chauncey."⁴¹ On August 16 he met a romantic, picturesque character, Nicaragua Jack,⁴² who had a wound in his forehead and who had spent a life of thrilling adventures on board a ship of war. One day⁴³ William Robinson, a Brooklyn lad with a "Socratic nose" who was about to enlist, "said he would enlist with me in two minutes." Whitman failed to record his reply, if he made any. In September⁴⁴ he rode with a young

⁴⁰ August 3, 1862.

⁴¹ Whitman mentions Charles Chauncey in a letter from Washington, March 19, 1862. See Emory Holloway, *Walt Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York, 1926), p. 204.

⁴² For a description of Nicaragua Jack—his real name was John Macready—see *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, p. 242.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 142. This conversation took place on Aug. 17, 1862.

⁴⁴ The exact day is not stated.

good-looking driver of a Knickerbocker stage, of English extraction, who "had been some at sea, married young, has three children living." More colorful, perhaps, was John McCabe, who had "been in the Crimean war—Irish legends and wraith stories, &c. Sept. '62." He was with him again on the night of October 24. The following entries are typical of the way in which this diary was kept:

James Sloan (night of Sept 18 '62) 23d year of age—born and always lived in N. Y. is an only son—lives with his mother and two younger sisters—plain, homely American—No 7 on 23d street—has driven cart and hack—

William Talbot—harsh-faced—friend of Erie—Sept 17 '62⁴⁵—14th st—told me of Erie's death.

Alanson Fargo, (Erie) Sept 17th '62 heard of his death—was shot on Pope's retreat 15 days since,—Co E. 9th New York—was left on the field, supposed to be mortally wounded.

Later—A mistake—Alanson Fargo is living, he came home safe Oct '64. Saw Erie at Culpeper Va.⁴⁶

Joseph Cornell, 15, 7th av. (306)—smallish, married, friend of Erie's—(the night of Sept. 18th '62 I rode down and up with him, and we talked of Erie's death—I left him at Amity St.)

One is reluctant to omit his description of the driver of a Madison Avenue omnibus, Thomas Cummins: "aged about 34—smallish sized, brown beard, (Gen Kearney fashion) went to sea when about 21, as a whaler, deserted at Valparaiso—has a wife and children."

By October his activities had not undergone any pronounced change. On the first of the month is recorded a meeting with David Brower, a tall and slender youth of American stock, who had been a rodman for his brother, Jefferson Whitman. He accompanied a smiling, plump young driver, James Doyle, who had a "coarse pleasing smiling round face" with hardly any chin.⁴⁷ On the night of October 7 he escorted home John McNelly, a worker in a Brooklyn flour mill, who was returning in a drunken state from a party with some soldier friends. Whitman drew a striking picture of the stage-driver, George Wright, "tallish, thinnish, brunette," with a "black moustache & oily, labial way of talking."⁴⁸ In September,

⁴⁵ That is the order in which these entries appear.

⁴⁶ See *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Oct. 3, 1862.

⁴⁸ The only date for this entry in the manuscript notebook is Oct., 1862.

October, and November he was particularly intimate with a driver on the Twenty-third Street route, Jacob Morris, who was "born and raised near Long Branch, N. J. been on a farm and on the steamboat 'Highland Light.'" On Thanksgiving night he underlined the fact that he rode two trips with him. He was also friendly with Peter Calhoun, who was "born in Rome, N. Y.—my ride with him a trip and more at night—40 5th av—has one brother younger, larger, works on the river—Pete told me of his taking the \$100 from home—also of David Helpers care of him when he had the bad disorder."⁴⁹

One Saturday night⁵⁰ he invited David Wilson, a lad of nineteen who worked in the blacksmith shop at the Navy Yard, to sleep at his home and spent Sunday afternoon and night walking with him through the streets of Brooklyn and New York. We see Whitman fraternally drinking a mug of beer at the House of Lords⁵¹ with William Vreeland, formerly a teamster "down on the Peninsula" but now a stage-driver. James Nelson, who as a sailor had visited the Sandwich Islands, caught Whitman's interest.⁵² Horace Os-trander, driver of a Fourth Avenue omnibus who had also been at sea, told him that he had visited Charles Green in the hospital.⁵³ Almost everyone of these entries points to a genuine, affectionate interest on the part of Whitman in the life and character of these New York "roughs."

The recital of names continues undiminished in November. One driver, Milton Ackerman, stands out in his memory because he had been born and reared in Ohio and because his grandfather had been one of the first settlers in the West.⁵⁴ On the same day he also rode with Philip, an ex-pugilist, "tallish, black-eyed, brownish sharp-faced, with a suspicion of squint in his eyes—reckless—(had a bout with Hughey Smith 2 years ago)." On November 18 he recorded that "Lawrence Ward, (Burns)" went to Sing Sing for passing counterfeit money, and later added: "was liberated Nov. '64—heard that he asked especially about me." One day⁵⁵ a blond lad approached Whitman, "spoke to me at corner of Wall & South st. said

⁴⁹ Oct. 10, 1862.⁵¹ Oct. 13, 1862.⁵⁰ Oct. 11, 1862.⁵² Oct. 21, 1862.⁵³ Oct. 22, 1862. The case of Charles Green is mentioned in the series of articles Whitman wrote for *The New York Leader*. See *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, p. 28.⁵⁴ Nov. 8, 1862.⁵⁵ Nov. 20, 1862.

he was introduced by Charley Deniker on the hill." Two days later he had a talk with James McOwen "about the drivers & \$2 a day—and being more square and respectable." On November 24 George Sanburn, of a "large sanguine" temperament, related to Whitman his experiences in the transportation department of "the rebel service." A number of friends of different nationalities, Dutch, Irish, and Yankee, are listed together with brief descriptive comments. Whitman kept track of these stage-drivers, their routes and occasional transfers, their enlistments, their wounds and sickness and pecuniary misfortunes; he carefully noted down their stories and adventures.

Though there are considerably fewer entries for the month of December, it is apparent that he maintained these friendships and continued these daily jaunts. On December 6 he attended Niblo's Theatre with Lewis Calhoun, the brother of Peter Calhoun. Significantly enough, the last entry deals with the battle of Fredericksburg. It says: "See Jour of Commerce of Dec. 20, '62 for Col Potter's letter."⁵⁶

VI

Though Whitman spent most of his time with members of the powerful, uneducated classes, a careful reading of the diary shows that he was by no means indifferent to the issues of the Civil War. At the Broadway Hospital, where he visited the sick stage-drivers and firemen and also attended the wounded soldiers brought in from the battlefield, he secured that knowledge of medicine and nursing⁵⁷ which stood him in good stead when he walked the wards of the Washington hospitals. Uninitiated readers of Whitman's poetry, however, have often raised the question: what had Whitman in common with these lusty, illiterate drivers? Was he as the avowed poet of the masses merely voicing a literary credo? Or was his comradeship with these original characters simply a matter of consistently carrying out a democratic doctrine? Or were these poems

⁵⁶ Robert B. Potter was Colonel of the Fifty-first New York City Veterans. Whitman left Brooklyn on Dec. 16, 1862, and, after a fruitless search for his wounded brother in the Washington hospitals, arrived at Falmouth, Virginia, on Dec. 19, 1862. See *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, p. 82.

⁵⁷ Years before the publication of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, Whitman had collected a large number of notes on the subject of diet, exercise, and physical culture, some of which are given in the article, "Walt Whitman and Physique," Camden Edition, VIII, 261-274.

in "Calamus" and the fraternal attachment they embody but a manifestation, artistically disguised and sublimated, of a sexually abnormal constitution?⁵⁸ Questions like these, founded as they are on rumor and suspicion and not on fact, leave grossly out of account Whitman's buoyant, loving nature which included all types in its love, particularly the workers, the mechanics, and farmers of America; the democratic philosophy of life which he had practiced from boyhood up; and the literary aim which constantly underlay the book on which he had staked everything, *Leaves of Grass*. An objective analysis of the contents of the manuscript notebook belonging to this year makes clearly evident how deep, how genuine was his affection for the stage-drivers, who represented for him the common people, the divine average. Pete Doyle in an interview which took place in May, 1895, described the irresistible attraction Whitman had for people, how everyone of the drivers knew him and appreciated his friendship. And Whitman, who tried to make plain to Doyle the literary intention behind his book of poetry, would stress this thought: "All other people in the world have had their representatives in literature: here is a great big race with no representative. He would undertake to furnish that representative."⁵⁹ That he was seriously debating this problem with himself; namely, how to represent the people in literature, is shown in this defiant, self-conscious utterance:

We suppose it will excite the mirth of many of our readers to be told that a man has arisen, who has deliberately and insultingly ignored all the other, the cultivated classes as they are called, and set himself to write "America's first distinctive poem," on the platform of these same New York Roughs, firemen, the ouvrier class, masons and carpenters, stage-drivers, the Dry Dock boys, and so forth.⁶⁰

This is a plain, if not altogether precise formulation of his poetic creed. It was his express aim to create a body of poetry which

⁵⁸ Note the confident airing of this point by Messrs. Ludwig Lewisohn and V. F. Calverton in *Expression in America* and *The Liberation of American Literature* respectively, who base their conclusions not on a detailed knowledge of Whitman's life but on a Freudian interpretation of poems which they regard as psychoanalytically revealing. This is not the place to enter upon a lengthy discussion of Whitman's alleged homosexuality and the important issues it involves. Suffice it to say that of the copious literature that has sprung up dealing with pathological aspects of Whitman's genius, not one book adduces a direct, indubitable statement of proof.

⁵⁹ Camden Edition, VIII, 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 35-36.

would speak for the masses, which would be an original and autochthonous contribution. His devotion to the "New York Roughs" therefore becomes explicable on the ground of literary intention. Until more substantial and decisive evidence is presented, it will not do to interpret this friendship as a manifestation of sexually abnormal attachment.

Opposed to the aesthetic systems of scholars and conservative critics, Whitman boldly announced that a poet can be great and truly representative even when he stems from the people and adopts their idiom, their manners, their traditions. He sharply criticized Shakespeare for his aristocratic tendencies because his plays show no recognition of the dignity of the common people. The poet, Whitman felt, must have the inspiration of some profound faith before he can hope to create, and he discovered that faith, long before Tolstoy, in the common people. Hence his pride in the fact that he was the son of a carpenter. Like Wordsworth, who exalted the Cumberland peasant, Whitman found more native strength of character, more truth and humanity among the lower class than among the aristocracy of blood or wealth. Unless one takes into account Whitman's conception of the democratic function of literature, his peculiar experiment in comradeship and its expression in "Calamus" cannot be properly understood. Among the stage-drivers he found that comradeship which he looked forward to as the center and foundation of the Union. He declared:

It is to the development, identification, and general prevalence of that fervid comradeship (the adhesive love, at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it) that I look for the counterbalance and offset of our materialistic and vulgar American democracy, and for the spiritualization thereof. . . . I confidently expect a time when there will be seen . . . threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown.⁶¹

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, V, 131 n.

WALT WHITMAN AND THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

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I

IN THE literary world into which *Leaves of Grass* was born, Boston, and in time *The Atlantic Monthly*, uttered the last critical word. It is true that by 1874 *The Literary World*, a Boston critical review, was admitting the transfer of literary supremacy from Boston to New York;¹ but though as time went on the Boston periodicals had to share their position as arbiters of literature with other magazines, *The Atlantic Monthly* was not superseded. In 1870 *The Nation* declared: "All Americans—Illinoisans, Californians, dwellers in the isles of the sea—have great faith in Boston's critical ability; and perhaps even a larger faith than in her productive powers."² To the end of his life Whitman never lost his sensitiveness to Brahmin opinion. He had much to say about "the New York literary crowd" also, but the attitude of cultured New Englanders, "the scholar class," probably caused him even greater concern.³

A rapid survey of the facts of Whitman's life shows that Boston played a part in some of the most significant events and circumstances. Charles Eliot Norton and Edward Everett Hale, Brahmins both, wrote the most favorable reviews of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*.⁴ The review by Hale was published in no less important an organ of Brahmin opinion than *The North American Review*.⁵ It was a Boston house, that of Thayer and Eldridge, which brought out *Leaves of Grass* in 1860 and gave it for the first time a kind of

¹ In an editorial, "Intellectual Intolerance," IV, 152 (March, 1874).

² X, 255 (April 21, 1870).

³ See Horace L. Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1906; N. Y., 1908, 1914), *passim*.

⁴ For attribution to Norton of the review of *Leaves of Grass* in *Putnam's Monthly* for Sept., 1855, see *A Leaf of Grass from Shady Hill*, with an Explanatory Essay by Kenneth B. Murdock (Harvard University Press, 1928).

⁵ LXXXII, 272-275 (Jan., 1856).

regularity in the book trade. It was a Boston house, that of Osgood and Company, which again undertook the publication of *Leaves of Grass* twenty-one years later. At the invitation of the St. Botolph's Club of Boston, for which George Parsons Lathrop acted as emissary, Whitman journeyed to Boston in the spring of 1881 to deliver his Lincoln lecture.⁶ According to an account of this occasion in *The Literary World*,⁷ he was well received and Howells acted as a sort of master of ceremonies. Writing in *The Critic* (New York) on May 7, 1881, of his late visit to Boston, Whitman acknowledged courtesies received from many literary men, including John T. Trowbridge, James T. Fields, F. B. Sanborn, Howells, and Aldrich.⁸ On the visit to Boston in 1860 also, and on the visit later in 1881 while *Leaves of Grass* was going through the press, he met many persons of literary importance.⁹ In Boston an abortive Walt Whitman Society had its inception in 1887. And in Boston was collected in the same year the Cottage Fund which perhaps went ultimately to the erection of the tomb in Harleigh Cemetery. Boston literati figured conspicuously in the later years of Whitman's life on subscription lists, in letters of congratulation on important occasions, and in the guest lists of such functions as the Lincoln lecture in New York in 1887 and the birthday dinner in Camden in 1889.¹⁰ In the eighties such diverse figures as Sadakichi Hartmann, William Sloane Kennedy, Hamlin Garland, Louise Chandler Moulton, and Harriet Prescott Spofford, all residing in Boston, expressed publicly their approval of Whitman.

Because, then, of the literary standing of Boston and its chief

⁶ William Sloane Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (London, 1896), pp. 3-4. Sylvester Baxter in "Walt Whitman in Boston," *The New England Magazine*, XII, 714-721 (Aug., 1892), credits the invitation to the Bohemian Papyrus Club, of which the most prominent member was John Boyle O'Reilly.

⁷ XII, 153 (April 23, 1881).

⁸ Whitman's Boston visits and his generally favorable attitude toward the city are treated by Clifton J. Furness in "Walt Whitman Looks at Boston," *The New England Quarterly*, I, 353-370 (July, 1928).

⁹ Among the persons whom Whitman met for the first time in Boston in 1860 were John T. Trowbridge, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and William Douglas O'Connor. Baxter in "Walt Whitman in Boston," *op. cit.*, mentions as guests at a party which Whitman attended in Trueman H. Bartlett's studio in Aug., 1881, John Boyle O'Reilly, Joaquin Miller, Francis H. Underwood, Arlo Bates, Frank Hill Smith, and Frederic H. Guernsey.

¹⁰ The list of prominent persons at the Lincoln lecture in 1887 is given in *The Critic*, n. s., VII, 206-207 (April 23, 1887). For the birthday celebration in 1889, see Horace Traubel, *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman . . .* (Philadelphia, 1889).

organ of literary opinion, *The Atlantic Monthly*, because of Whitman's important, though infrequent, contacts with Brahmins and Brahmin culture, and because of his apparent desire for sanction in these high quarters, the treatment which he received during his lifetime from *The Atlantic* is a matter of some critical importance.

II

Concerning the attitude of *The Atlantic Monthly* toward Whitman a biographer of Sarah Orne Jewett writes: "Walt Whitman had contributed two poems in its [*The Atlantic's*] opening decade, but you look in vain for any mention of him during Howells's editorship, while Aldrich thought him little better than a charlatan."¹¹ Whitman's own impression of the treatment he had received is indicated in a conversation of 1888:

Some one asked W. why he was not received in The Atlantic? "How should I know? They will have none of me. I have met Aldrich—used to in New York, at the beershop—indeed, have met Howells often enough. They are friendly in all personal ways, of course. But when I was in Boston, although Aldrich called on me—and O'Reilly, who is my ardent friend . . . went several times to see him and induce him to invite me to contribute to the magazine—he made no tenders of literary hospitality: he was dead still and let me go." Had he ever tried them with verses? "Yes, years ago, with *Elemental Drifts*, for instance, which they published—and some others, I believe. Don't think I blame 'em—feel anyway hard about all this: it all belongs to the story—I always take what comes: kicks, blessings, anything. No man of that stripe could accept me on the whole—could say 'yes' without a touch of 'no.'"¹²

Later in the same year Whitman unearthed for Traubel's use some rejection slips,¹³ among which was one from *The Atlantic* which may be taken as support for a theory of hostility on the part of the magazine, though Emory Holloway does not regard it so¹⁴ and though it is easy enough to find records of rejections sent to persons whose literary status was much more secure than Whitman's could have been.

A study of the history of *The Atlantic Monthly* would not perhaps be encouraging to a person looking for influences favorable to

¹¹ Francis Otto Matthiessen, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 62.

¹² *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 169-170.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 213.

¹⁴ *Whitman* (New York, 1926), p. 189.

Whitman. The aim of the *Atlantic* projectors was interpreted forty years after its founding as follows:

It was not as a mere publishing enterprise, but as an institution, that they regarded it. . . . Holding fast to the faith of its founders, that Literature is one of the most serious concerns of men, and that the highest service to our national life is the encouragement and the production of Literature, the *Atlantic* has never had owner or editor who was tempted to change its steadfast course by reason of any changing fashion.¹⁵

The editors who accepted the burden of this lofty aim were, in turn, James Russell Lowell, with Francis H. Underwood as assistant (1857 to 1861); James T. Fields (1861 to 1871), with William Dean Howells as assistant from 1866 on; William Dean Howells (1871 to 1881), with George Parsons Lathrop as assistant in 1877; Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1881 to 1890); and Horace E. Scudder (1890 to 1898). Of these men, Howells and Aldrich were the ones who would necessarily have influenced most the fortunes of Whitman in the magazine. As assistant editor, Howells seems to have been the power behind the throne. "He [Fields] had left the reading of manuscripts to me," wrote Howells in 1907, "and almost always approved my choice in them, only reserving to himself the supreme right of accepting things I had not seen, and of inviting contributions."¹⁶ As assistant editor Howells wrote nearly all the literary notices. In commenting on his editorial labors, he said:

When I began to share the work of writing literary notices with others, and at last to leave it almost wholly to them, they and I wrote so very much alike that I could not always be sure which notices I had done. . . . I had the help of the best young critics whom I knew, and who abounded in Boston and Cambridge. . . .¹⁷

Aldrich, according to a statement quoted by his biographer, was a little less accessible than Howells to new and unknown talent.¹⁸ He read all the poetry submitted, and the severity of his discrimination is indicated by a statement in a letter to Edmund Clarence Stedman in 1881:

¹⁵ "Forty Years of the *Atlantic Monthly*," *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXX, 572 (Oct., 1897). By Scudder? He was editor at this time.

¹⁶ "Recollections of an Atlantic Editorship," *The Atlantic Monthly*, C, 594 (Nov., 1907).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

¹⁸ Ferris Greenslet, *The Life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich* (Boston and New York, 1908), p. 146.

You are the only one of our day and generation who is doing anything at present. In your letter you speak of having written two poems. I wish you'd send them to me. I am slowly making up my mind to publish none but incontestably fine poems in the 'Atlantic'—which means only about four poems per year.¹⁹

Aldrich's "compact and capable coterie of critical reviewers"²⁰ consisted of Richard Grant White, George Edward Woodberry,²¹ George Parsons Lathrop, Horace E. Scudder, and Harriet Waters Preston.

Since these editors and critics were in a position to determine whether Whitman's work should be accepted for publication and what recognition the poet should receive in the *Atlantic* critical columns, it is worth while to determine whether, in the language of William Sloane Kennedy, they were "whole-hearted accepters" or "bitter and relentless foes and vilifiers."²²

The attitude of the first editor of *The Atlantic* toward Whitman was one of aversion. While in Europe in 1855, Lowell had received from Charles Eliot Norton a copy of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, together with a letter expressing some admiration. His reply indicated a complete distaste for the book, even though it was unread:

... Whitman—I remember him of old ... No, no, the kind of thing you describe won't do. When a man aims at originality he acknowledges himself consciously unoriginal, a want of self-respect which does not often go along with the capacity for great things. The great fellows have always let the stream of their activity flow quietly—if one splashes in it he may make a sparkle, but he muddies it too, and the good folk down below (I mean posterity) will have none of it.²³

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²¹ White and Woodberry had no enthusiasm for Whitman. The principal utterance of the former which I have found is a parody of Whitman put into the mouth of a boisterous American in his *The Fate of Mansfield Humphreys* and quoted in *The Literary World*, XV, 212-213 (June 28, 1884). On June 18, 1881, *The Critic* reproached Woodberry for disregarding Whitman in an article on American literature in *The Fortnightly Review* (*The Critic*, I, 164). The criticisms in his *America in Literature* (New York, 1903), pp. 240-243, show a low estimate of Whitman.

²² By these terms Kennedy in *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926) designates the men who were in general favorable to Whitman and those who were in general unfavorable.

²³ Letter of Oct. 12, 1855, in *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. C. E. Norton (New York, 1894), I, 242-243.

An even more intolerant comment appears in a letter from Lowell on December 7, 1863, to the Reverend W. L. Gage, who had protested, apparently, against the presence of *Leaves of Grass* in the Harvard Library. "It [*Leaves of Grass*] is a book I never looked into farther than to satisfy myself that it was a solemn humbug," Lowell wrote.²⁴ And he concluded the letter: "I am obliged to you, however, for calling my attention to a part of this book of which I knew nothing, and I will take care to keep it out of the way of students."²⁵

That Lowell's opinion probably did not change in later years is indicated by a report of Robert Underwood Johnson of a visit to Lowell with Richard Watson Gilder:

After some desultory conversation, mention having been made of Whitman's "poetry," Lowell broke out, "It isn't poetry at all," and in his *ex cathedra* way he went on to discuss it with Gilder. When they had come to a pause, I ventured to suggest whether the body of Whitman's writing was not something between prose and poetry, whereupon Lowell turned upon me almost fiercely and exclaimed, "There isn't anything between prose and poetry."²⁶

Lowell was present at Whitman's Lincoln lecture in New York in 1887, for John Burroughs mentioned sitting in a box with him and Charles Eliot Norton.²⁷ About this time *The Critic* wrote of him as an admirer of Whitman,²⁸ but there seems to be no corroboration of this statement. Certainly Whitman himself believed that Lowell's attitude toward him was uniformly hostile. "I have always been told by the New England fellows close to Lowell," he said in 1888, "that his feeling towards me is one of radical aversion."²⁹

The second editor of *The Atlantic*, James T. Fields, seems not to have expressed a critical opinion of Whitman, unless the rejection

²⁴ *New Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (New York, 1932), p. 115.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁶ R. U. Johnson, *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston, 1923), p. 329. The date of the visit is not given. It was some time after Johnson's arrival in New York in 1873.

²⁷ *The Heart of Burroughs's Journals*, ed. Clara Barrus (Boston and New York, 1928), p. 140.

²⁸ *The Critic*, n. s., VIII, 43 (July 23, 1887).

²⁹ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 447. See also J. T. Trowbridge, "Reminiscences of Walt Whitman," *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIX, 172 (Feb., 1902); Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (Boston and New York, 1931), p. 142 n.; and Annie Fields, *Authors and Friends* (Boston and New York, 1896), p. 133.

slip previously referred to,³⁰ which was signed simply 'The Editors of *The Atlantic Monthly*,' is indicative.³¹ His influential assistant, Howells, later editor, seems to have had at the time of his connection with *The Atlantic* a very limited appreciation of Whitman. In 1866 John Burroughs distrusted Howells's attitude toward him friend. He wrote to Myron Benton on March 20:

Some time ago a letter from the Atlantic, in answer to one of mine, in which they stated they were quite ready to *see* an article on W. W., though their editors were not prepared to champion him in so unqualified a manner as Mr. Emerson had, led me to prepare an article on 'Drum Taps.' Hearing that Howells was going there on the editorial staff, I hurried it off, but not in time—'Willie, dear' was there ahead of me, and of course it was not accepted.³²

Burroughs's contempt for Howells was probably occasioned by the latter's review of *Drum-Taps*, which had appeared in *The Round Table* on November 11 of the previous year. As a matter of fact, this review, though it condemned Whitman's formlessness, granted him "rich possibilities"; but private correspondence shows that Burroughs was not far wrong in his estimate of Howells's attitude. Howells wrote to Stedman from the *Atlantic* office on December 5, 1866, as follows:

The small but enthusiastic admirers of Walt Whitman could not make him a poet, if they wrote all the newspapers and magazines in the world full about him. He is poetical as the other elements are, and just as satisfactory to read as earth, water, air and fire. I am tired, I confess, of the whole Whitman business.³³

Later utterances of Howells, as conductor of *Harper's* "Editor's Study" in the 1880's, though not enthusiastic, contained some judicious praise. His comments in *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*³⁴ preserve the attitude of tempered appreciation.

³⁰ The poems rejected ("1861" and two others, not named) had been submitted under Lowell's editorship. They are mentioned by Lowell in a letter to Fields of Oct. 8, 1861 (*New Letters of James Russell Lowell*, pp. 101-102).

³¹ Fields showed Whitman some personal kindness. See letter to Burroughs (Dec. 22, 1879) in regard to a Christmas remembrance of one hundred dollars to the "noble old veteran" (Barrus, *op. cit.*, p. 189).

³² Clara Barrus, "Whitman and Burroughs as Comrades," *Yale Review*, n. s., XV, 68 (Oct., 1925).

³³ *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells*, ed. Mildred Howells (New York, 1928), I, 116.

³⁴ (New York, 1901), pp. 73-76.

But what of Aldrich, who read all the poetry submitted during his reign and no doubt kept a watchful eye on the "coterie of capable critics"? From 1858 to 1860 he had been, with Fitz-James O'Brien and William Winter, an assistant editor of *The Saturday Press*, with which Whitman had an important literary connection in the late 1850's, and his biographer states that there are records of several meetings with Whitman;³⁵ but his attitude was either very different from that of his chief, Henry Clapp, or underwent a very great change later. Two letters to Stedman after the appearance of the latter's important paper on Whitman in *Scribner's Monthly* for November, 1880,³⁶ reveal a degree of aversion which gave little promise that Walt Whitman might enjoy the hospitality of *The Atlantic* while Aldrich was its director. In the first of these, he writes:

If Whitman had been able (he was not able, for he tried it and failed) to put his thought into artistic verse, he would have attracted little or no attention, perhaps. Where he is fine, he is fine in precisely the way of conventional poets. The greater bulk of his writing is neither prose nor verse, and certainly it is not an improvement on either. A glorious line now and then, and a striking bit of color here and there, do not constitute a poet—especially a poet for the *People*. There never was a poet so calculated to please a very few. As you say, he will probably be hereafter exhumed and anatomized by learned surgeons—who prefer a subject with thin shoulder-blades or some abnormal organ to a well-regulated corpse. But he will never be regarded in the same light as Villon . . . Whitman's manner is a hollow affectation, and represents neither the man nor the time. As the voice of the 19th century, he will have little significance in the 21st. That he will outlast the majority of his contemporaries, I haven't the faintest doubt—but it will be in a glass case or a quart of spirits in an anatomical museum.³⁷

Horace E. Scudder, last editor of *The Atlantic* in Whitman's lifetime, as early as 1866 had sent *Drum-Taps* to William Michael Rossetti, saying that no one had caught so perfectly as Whitman "the most elusive elements of American civilization."³⁸ In 1887, in a review of Herbert Gilchrist's biography of his mother, Anne

³⁵ Greenslet, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁶ XXI, 47-64.

³⁷ Letter of Nov. 20, 1880 (Greenslet, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139). See, for a second letter in a similar vein, *ibid.*, p. 140.

³⁸ Quoted by Bliss Perry in *Walt Whitman* (Boston, 1906), p. 184, from the *Rossetti Papers* (London, 1902).

Gilchrist, he expressed a not unsympathetic attitude toward Whitman,³⁹ and his paper in *The Atlantic* on the occasion of the poet's death,⁴⁰ though it seemed to a disciple "cold-blooded and ineffectual,"⁴¹ was more thoughtful and more appreciative than articles on Whitman by important literary men commonly were. Since his opinion was not altogether a mean one, it is interesting to note that Scudder was one of the "compact and capable coterie of critical reviewers" previously referred to. Another of the company, George Parsons Lathrop, who was in 1877 assistant to Howells in editing *The Atlantic*, felt genuine enthusiasm for Whitman, though by his own confession he was timid of expressing his admiration. He wrote to John Burroughs from Cambridge on May 19, 1877, as follows:

There are two persons hereabouts who appreciate Whitman, whom I know. Doubtless there are many more who are unknown to me. But I can believe that the scoffing narrowness which meets any avowal of their appreciation has driven them, as it has me, to preserve silence.

It is a great pity his works are not really published, and I have been wondering, long, how to get them. I have nothing but Rossetti's edition. Is there no way of obtaining them? I should be very glad if you would inform me as to this.⁴²

It is evident from other letters of Lathrop to Burroughs⁴³ and from Edward Carpenter's account of meeting him in Boston in 1877⁴⁴ that the literary atmosphere of that city was uncongenial to him. In October, 1877, he wrote Burroughs that he had left *The Atlantic*.⁴⁵ It was unfortunate for Whitman that his influence was removed.⁴⁶

III

Turning to the files of the magazine, one finds at least as much comment on Whitman and as favorable comment as this survey of

³⁹ *The Atlantic Monthly*, LX, 275-281 (Aug., 1887).

⁴⁰ LXIX, 831-835 (June, 1892). This article is unsigned, but it seems probable that it was written by Scudder, who was at that time editor.

⁴¹ Kennedy, *The Fight of a Book for the World*, p. 78.

⁴² *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 17.

⁴³ See *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades*, pp. 144, 169.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴⁶ In 1878 Lathrop wrote to Whitman requesting poems for an anthology, qualifying his request, however, by stating that he must have something "to conform to the more usual rhythms at least as far as *Captain, My Captain!*" (*With Walt Whitman in Camden*, II, 315-316). See also Lathrop's very favorable comment on Whitman in "The Literary Movement in New York," *Harper's*, LXXIII, 823-824 (Nov., 1886).

persons would lead one to expect. In April, 1860, there appeared in the magazine "Bardic Symbols," unsigned, as was the rule for contributions at that period. But the authorship was apparently no secret, since Henry Clapp wrote to Whitman on March 27, 1860: The papers all over the land have noticed your poem in the *Atlantic* and have generally pitched into it strong; which I take to be good for you and your new publishers, who if they move rapidly and concentrate their forces will make a Napoleonic thing of it.⁴⁷

This triumph was achieved during the editorship of Lowell, as a result, one surmises, of the fact that the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* was being brought out by a respected Boston house. It is doubtful whether the *Atlantic* editors enjoyed the press comments which delighted Henry Clapp. At any rate, when Whitman attempted to become a contributor again the following year, he was refused.⁴⁸ But in February, 1869, his "Proud Music of the Sea-Storm" appeared. This poem was sent through Emerson, who gave it to Fields at Whitman's request; and Whitman received one hundred dollars for it.⁴⁹ Thereafter, nothing written by Whitman appeared in the magazine until April, 1904, when "An American Primer" was printed in its pages. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the eighties Whitman had contributed both prose and poetry to *The North American Review* (which had been transferred from Boston to New York and was edited by Allen Thorndike Rice), *The Critic* (New York), *The Century Magazine*, formerly *Scribner's Monthly* (New York), *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (New York), and *Lippincott's* (Philadelphia).

Of the nine editions of *Leaves of Grass* which appeared during Whitman's lifetime, there is in *The Atlantic Monthly* only one genuine review, that of the Osgood edition of 1881, to which four and a half columns were devoted in the issue of January, 1882.⁵⁰ A notice of *After All Not to Create Only* in January, 1872, had dismissed the poem as "one of his curious catalogues of the American emotions, inventions, and geographical subdivisions."⁵¹ As late as

⁴⁷ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 237.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 213.

⁴⁹ See correspondence with Emerson and Fields, *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁰ XLIX, 119-126.

⁵¹ XXIX, 108-109. The same issue of the magazine contains a review two and a third columns long of *East and West Poems* by Bret Harte.

1877, indeed, there was perhaps some doubt of the propriety of an editorial discussion of Whitman from a favorable point of view, although in December of that year a long comment, inspired by the prolonged controversy which was conducted in 1876 in the British press, appeared in the "Contributors' Club."⁵²

The *Atlantic* Whitman record from 1860 to 1877 gives support to the poet's statement that in the early days respectable critics generally ignored him.⁵³ In July, 1860, *Leaves of Grass* was listed among the recent publications, but there was no review. There was no review of *Drum-Taps* (1865). In January, 1870, Thomas Wentworth Higginson in an article on Americanism in literature⁵⁴ did not mention Whitman, though the gist of his complaint of the native literature was its mildness, a fault which Whitman would seem to have overcome. By 1877, however, it had become difficult to ignore Whitman. Besides the article in the "Contributors' Club" in that year, there was a sympathetic comment on John Burroughs's admiration for the poet in a review of his *Birds and Poets*.⁵⁵ Whitman's name appeared twice in 1878 in discussions of the distinction between verse and prose.⁵⁶ In January, 1886, he was mentioned, though not in complimentary terms, in a review of Stedman's *Poets of America*.⁵⁷ In August, 1887, five columns of a long review of Herbert Gilchrist's biography of his mother, written by Horace E. Scudder, were devoted to her relations with Whitman. In July, 1890, appeared a brief notice of Elizabeth Porter Gould's *Gems from Walt Whitman*.⁵⁸ In September, 1890, Holmes gave in "Over

⁵² This article was perhaps written by Lathrop.

⁵³ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 127.

⁵⁴ *The Atlantic Monthly*, XXV, 56-63. Higginson had a strong aversion to Whitman. By his own confession he had read *Leaves of Grass* on a sea voyage and it was associated for him with seasickness (*Cheerful Yesterdays*, Boston and New York, 1898, pp. 230-231). Moreover, he could never forgive Whitman for not having joined the army. On Feb. 4, 1882, he published in his *Woman's Journal* (Boston) an editorial called "Unmanly Manhood" (the principal subject of which was Oscar Wilde), in which he made a thrust at Whitman, whose *Drum-Taps* sounded to him "as hollow as the instruments they counterfeit." His personal distaste, as well as disapproval of the poet's grossness and lack of form, was expressed again in an article for *The Nation* of April 7, 1892, reprinted in his *Contemporaries* (Boston and New York, 1900). An article on Lanier, first published in *The Chautauquan* in April, 1887, and reprinted in *Contemporaries*, gave him another chance for denunciation. In the later *Part of a Man's Life* (Boston and New York, 1905) there is some praise.

⁵⁵ XXX, 113-114 (July, 1877).

⁵⁶ XLI, 391 (March, 1878); XLII, 368 (Sept., 1878).

⁵⁷ LVII, 128-133.

⁵⁸ LXVI, 143. The comment criticized the book, but not Whitman, unfavorably.

the Teacups" a long comment on Whitman. In June, 1892, following Whitman's death on March 26, there were two long articles on the poet.

There is much in this record that is suggestive. If the acceptance of the two poems in 1860 and 1869 be attributed to the influence of Whitman's friends, and if one suppose that the editors were influenced in the choice of material for the magazine not only by personal taste but by a knowledge of the taste of the *Atlantic* clientèle, one may judge that Whitman never became sufficiently established in his lifetime to be acceptable to this conservative, select, but fairly large group—large, that is, as the magazine public existed in the nineteenth century, before the advent of the popular monthly.⁵⁹ It is notable that, though Howells might have been expected to be liberal in his judgment, the only extensive comment on Whitman during his editorship was under the label of "Contributor," and was probably not written by Howells;⁶⁰ and it is even more significant that Whitman's critical advent to the pages of *The Atlantic* came apparently as a result of British favor. The discussions of Whitman in the American magazines and newspapers in 1876 were numerous, and often acrid. Though American critics might resent English intervention in the personal affairs of native poets⁶¹ and commonly disagreed with the English estimate of Whitman's work, attributing this estimate to English *ennui* and desire for New World novelty and for a literature as picturesque as the foreigner's dream of the American frontier, nevertheless the most respectable of them could no longer disregard Whitman, but had to take up the pen for self-justification, if for no more disinterested motive. Whatever the motive of the *Atlantic* "Contributor" in 1877, it was considered by literary people a matter of some importance that Whitman should have won this recognition, as is suggested by a letter to him

⁵⁹ There were 30,000 subscribers when *The Atlantic* was transferred to Ticknor and Fields in 1859.

⁶⁰ A letter of Stedman to Howells on May 8, 1880, implies that Howells had asserted that Whitman had not tried to have anything published in *The Atlantic* during his editorship, and shows clearly that Howells had offered to publish in *The Atlantic* Stedman's paper on Whitman which appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* in Nov., 1880. (See Laura Stedman and George M. Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* (New York, 1910, II, 106).

⁶¹ See Gilder's comment on the subscriptions raised in England, referred to by Whitman in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 170 and 291.

from John T. Trowbridge, who knew his Boston and could set right value on its influence.⁶² The soreness left by the British appreciation of Whitman, acute in 1876, lingered on. It found expression in 1887 in the discussion of Walt Whitman and Anne Gilchrist. Commenting on "a disposition among literary and artistic people of a distinct type to construct an American phantom," Scudder wrote:

With the ardor of worshipers, the more *outré* their idol the more they admired it. An exaggerated type of frontier lawlessness, some sombrero-shadowed, cowhide-booted being, filled them with special ecstasy. . . . They did not ask for form,—they had abundance of that in England; they asked for spirit, and it might take any shape it chose. So, persons whose artistic perception was delicately developed accepted as a fact, which transcended all ordinary laws of art, poetry as huge, as floundering, as inorganic, as Blake's wandering visions, and like those visions shot through with superb lines, touched with gleams of heavenly beauty, suggesting waves of profound thought. Poetry broken loose was what they saw and admired. . . . Americans are accustomed to tall talk, and they treat it good-humoredly, as a weakness of their own. But because they are living freely, generously, and if one may say so, splurgily, they instinctively seek form in their ideals of art, and demand that the spiritual forces which they admire shall have a completeness and precision complementary to their own somewhat vague and unrestrained life. . . . It was this perfection of form which endeared Longfellow to his countrymen, and it is the delicacy of art in Hawthorne which has made him so representative an American writer.⁶³

Here *Atlantic* (that is, Bostonian) standards are maintained and British aberrations explained away.

It is further significant, perhaps, that the long review of the 1881 (Osgood) edition of *Leaves of Grass* appeared during the editorship of Aldrich, who, as has been shown, had slight regard for Whitman. Few magazines failed to notice that edition, bearing the imprint of a Boston house, and during the remaining ten years of his life Whitman could be sure of wide critical attention to any publication.⁶⁴ With characteristic objection to being stampeded,

⁶² *Ibid.*, II, 225.

⁶³ LX, 278-279 (Aug., 1887).

⁶⁴ Critical attention to Whitman in the principal American periodicals increased noticeably in the eighties. The following figures are from a survey I have made of the principal American magazines, monthly and weekly, in search of contributions by Whitman, reviews and notices of his books, and incidental comments on him: 1870, 6 items; 1871, 8;

however, *The Atlantic* ignored *Specimen Days and Collect* in 1882, *November Boughs* in 1888, and *Good-Bye my Fancy* in 1891. Further indication that to the end Whitman stood in a doubtful critical position with *The Atlantic* is given by the discussions of his life and work which appeared in the magazine shortly after his death. Lowell and Whittier, both of whom died within a year of Whitman, were the subjects of long signed articles, comprehensive in discussion of the writer's work and eulogistic in tone; in *The Atlantic* for June, 1892, were "An Impression of Walt Whitman," unsigned, in the "Contributors' Club" and an article, also unsigned, presumably by the editor, Horace Scudder.⁶⁵ Scudder's article gave some mild praise, commended "O Captain, my Captain!" as the greatest of the poet's works because "it obeys the higher law of self-forgetfulness," whereas the poet was usually self-centered, and ended with this forecast of his future fame:

There is unquestionably, for many natures, a tonic in Whitman's verse, his work tells for largeness, for freedom, for the recollection of elemental forces in man and nature; but that it has in it the quality of universality which is the final test of a poet who sets up such claims as he we deny emphatically. A few verses will be everybody's; a few persons will want everything; but for the most part the work is a quarry from which one here and one there will bring away stones precious to him and for his use. There is a law of life for great poetry, and Whitman was not obedient to it; though one may call him a Titan, he will meet the fate of Titans.⁶⁶

The reference here to the "higher law" suggests an ethical and moral basis of such disapproval of Whitman as *The Atlantic* expressed. The comment in the "Contributors' Club" for December, 1877, mentions as the three common indictments against him, that he is nasty, that he is tedious and prosaic, and that he has a barbaric yawp. The writer continues: "The first is true only of those unfortunate Leaves, which yet contain some fine lines; for in his subsequent writings it would not be easy to find a single gross passage."⁶⁷ But when the edition of 1881 appeared, every one was

⁶⁵ It is notable that *Harper's* and *The Century* had no articles at the time of Whitman's death.

⁶⁶ LXIX, 835.

⁶⁷ XL, 749.

forced to observe that Whitman remained unregenerate. The *Atlantic* reviewer takes a judicious tone:

The only profitable point of view from which *Leaves of Grass* can be regarded is one that, while giving distinctness to the serious error of unclean exposure and to the frequent feebleness of form and style which reduce large portions of the work to tedious and helpless prose, leaves our vision clear for the occasional glimpses of beauty that the book discloses.⁶⁸

He goes on to mention felicities as well as absurdities of phrasing, and commends "Pioneers! O Pioneers," "To the Man-of-War-Bird," "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." He considers "To a Locomotive in Winter" the finest embodiment of the grandeur of applied mechanics which American poetry has produced, and thinks that the sentiments of democracy, the manliness, and the hope for humanity in Whitman's work should be valued; but he saves two columns for his discussion of the "fleshliness" of the book and concludes severely:

Fortunately, however, the chief damage done will be to the author himself, who thus dishonors his own physical nature; for imperfect though the race is, it still remains so much purer than the stained and distorted reflection of its animalism in *Leaves of Grass*, that the book cannot attain to any very wide influence.⁶⁹

It was no moral question, however, which engaged Holmes's attention in September, 1890, in his comment on Whitman in "Over the Teacups," and surely no one could express more authoritatively Brahmin judgment. Apparently he found Whitman somewhat vulgar. He coupled his name with that of Timothy Dexter, a comic, illiterate person with delusions of grandeur who likewise declared "literary independence." And he ended his remarks with some condescension:

I confess that I am not in sympathy with some of the movements that accompany the manifestations of American social and literary independence. . . . I prefer to speak of a fellow-citizen already venerable by his years, entitled to respect by useful services to his country, and recognized by many as the prophet of a new poetical dispensation, with the customary title of adults rather than by the free and easy school-boy

⁶⁸ XLIX, 124 (Jan., 1882).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

abbreviation with which he introduced himself many years ago to the public. As for his rhapsodies, Number Seven, our "Cracked Teacup," says they sound to him like "fugues played upon a big organ which has been struck by lightning." So far as concerns literary independence, if we understand by that term the getting rid of our subjection to British criticism, such as it was in the days when the question was asked, "Who reads an American book?" we may consider it pretty well established. If it means dispensing with punctuation, coining words at will, self-revelation unrestrained by a sense of what is decorous, declamations in which everything is glorified without being idealized, "poetry" in which the reader must make the rhythms which the poet has not made for him, then I think we had better continue literary colonists. I shrink from a lawless independence to which all the virile energy and trampling audacity of Mr. Whitman fail to reconcile me. But there is room for everybody and everything in our huge hemisphere. Young America is like a three-year-old colt with his saddle and bridle just taken off. The first thing he wants to do is to *roll*. He is a droll object, sprawling in the grass with his four hoofs in the air; but he likes it, and it won't harm us. So let him roll,—let him roll!⁷⁰

IV

If *The Atlantic* was cool and reluctant, it was courteous. Brahmin distaste for the rude controversy of the marketplace is shown in the review of the 1881 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Even the coolness of *The Atlantic* must be considered in the light of its coolness to most persons who were not of New England. Edmund Clarence Stedman complained to Bayard Taylor in the 1860's of the inhospitality of *The Atlantic* to New York writers. Howells asserted: "The literary theories we accepted were New England theories, the criticism we valued was New England criticism, or, more strictly speaking, Boston theories, Boston criticism."⁷¹

The names which appeared in early numbers of *The Atlantic* were such as to inspire awe: Motley, Longfellow, Emerson, Norton,

⁷⁰ LXVI, 389-390. Holmes was sometimes less tolerant than he appears here. In a letter of June 7, 1877, Edward Carpenter wrote to Burroughs from Boston that Holmes had "whinnied" at mention of Whitman's name (Barrus, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142). On Sept. 7, 1885, Holmes wrote to Whittier, "As to Walt Whitman, some of his poems are among the most cynical instances of indecent exposure I recollect, outside of what is sold as obscene literature" (*Whittier Correspondence*, ed. John Albree, Salem, Mass., 1911, p. 241). Annie Fields quotes Holmes as saying that Whitman was "in an amorphous condition" (*Authors and Friends*, p. 133).

⁷¹ *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*, p. 115.

Holmes, Whittier, Mrs. Stowe, Lowell, and Parke Godwin. Few could hope to be of this group. Longfellow contributed seventy-two poems between 1857 and 1883.⁷² Whittier's contributions were probably almost as heavy. Thomas Bailey Aldrich was the type of person considered a worthy successor to the elder poets. His biographer writes:

The "Atlantic Monthly" was ready to take as much copy as he could send, and between 1875 and 1880 he printed in its pages twenty-three poems, "The Queen of Sheba," "The Stillwater Tragedy" and most of the sketches that carry the reader "From Ponkapog to Pesth,"—or very nearly one half of his entire collected work in prose.⁷³

Writing of the temper of *The Atlantic Monthly* when he took over his duties on it in 1866, Howells stated:

The *Atlantic Monthly*, which was distinctively literary, was distinctively a New England magazine, though from the first it had been characterized by what was more national, what was more universal, in the New England temperament. Its chief contributors for nearly twenty years were Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Emerson, Doctor Hale, Colonel Higginson, Mrs. Stowe, Whipple, Rose Terry Cooke, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Prescott Spofford, Mrs. Phelps Ward, and other New England writers who still lived in New England, and largely in the region of Boston. Occasionally there came a poem from Bryant, at New York, from Mr. Stedman, from Mr. Stoddard and Mrs. Stoddard, from Mr. Aldrich, and from Bayard Taylor. But all these, except the last, were not only of New England race, but of New England birth.⁷⁴

Volume XVI of *The Atlantic* (July to December, 1865) has the following contributors of poetry, most of them New Englanders by birth or long residence and association: Aldrich (2), Trowbridge, Whittier (2), Holmes (2), George H. Boker, C. C. Coxe, H. H. Brownell, Longfellow, Lowell, Bryant, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, T. W. Parsons, Lucy Larcom, Bayard Taylor, Celia Thaxter, Mrs. E. A. C. Akers. The roll for the next six months varies little. In the 1870's, Bret Harte is the striking exception to the tendency to adhere to New England talent.⁷⁵

⁷² Eloise Ruth Shaw, *Longfellow and His Relations to Contemporary Periodicals*, University of Chicago Thesis, 1922.

⁷³ Greenslet, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁷⁴ *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*, p. 114.

⁷⁵ Joaquin Miller had one poem in *The Atlantic* in the 1870's: "The Ship in the Desert," XXXIV, 48-50 (July, 1874).

An examination of critical material in the magazine is suggestive of the prevailing taste, a taste which could hardly embrace Whitman. In 1866 there was a two-column review of *Snow-Bound* but no review of *Drum-Taps*. In 1867 there were four and a half columns in review of J. G. Holland's *Kathrina* and in 1869 there was a two-column review of Stedman's *Blameless Prince*; but there was no review of the 1867 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Poets whose work was reviewed in *The Atlantic* in the 1870's included Bret Harte, Whittier, Longfellow, J. J. Piatt, Hayne, Bryant, Bayard Taylor, Timrod, Stedman, Joaquin Miller, John Boyle O'Reilly, Aldrich, Lowell, Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt, Trowbridge, Louise Chandler Moulton, Edgar Fawcett, Celia Thaxter, Gilder, and Lathrop. Of these names, those of Bryant, Gilder, Stedman, Fawcett, and Taylor are associated with New York; those of Hayne and Timrod with the South; those of Piatt, Harte, and Miller with the West. The rest are of New England.

Whitman's publications in the 1870's were: *After All Not to Create Only* (1871),^{75a} *Passage to India* (1871), *Democratic Vistas* (1871), *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (1872), *Memoranda During the War* (1875), *Two Rivulets* (1876), and two editions of *Leaves of Grass* (1871-1872 and 1876). John Burroughs's *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* appeared in a second edition in 1871 and might conceivably have excited comment. The first four were very slim books, hardly more than pamphlets. The editions were all small, and being privately printed, lacked the advertising of a publishing house. It is not certain that the editors of *The Atlantic* received them all. It may be assumed that George Parsons Lathrop was well informed in literary matters, and yet in 1877 he had only the Rossetti edition of *Leaves of Grass* and did not know where to buy an American edition.⁷⁶

As late as the middle eighties, indeed, Hamlin Garland, just arrived in Boston, considered that he was a pioneer in a taste for Whitman. Within a short time he was lecturing on Whitman to his class of young ladies in Waltham, and on November 15, 1888, he wrote a review of *November Boughs* for the *Boston Transcript*,

^{75a} There was a notice of this a half dozen lines in length in *The Atlantic* for Jan., 1872.

⁷⁶ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 17.

a review that by its conciliatory attitude shows that the writer did not consider the atmosphere very cordial to Whitman. Not so long before, a local clergyman had succeeded in bringing about the relinquishment of *Leaves of Grass* by Osgood.⁷⁷ The city had refused to receive Sidney Morse's bust of Whitman.⁷⁸ The poet's admirers were over-enthusiastic or timid. *The Atlantic*, consistently with its avowed aim as a conserving and ethical force in literature, steered a steady course, veering only slightly and very cautiously toward Whitman as the years passed.

⁷⁷ See Kennedy, *Whitman*, pp. 118-119. Kennedy maintains that the Reverend Baylies Allen, assistant pastor of Trinity Church, was the moving spirit in the proceedings.

⁷⁸ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 284.

BIBLICAL ECHOES IN WHITMAN'S WORKS

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I

CRITICS and Whitman scholars have long recognized the English Bible as a very significant influence on the author of *Leaves of Grass*, both on his style¹ and poetic technique² and on his subject matter;³ but no one has ever estimated in an objective and precise manner the importance of the English Bible in explaining the origin and development of Whitman's ideas and art. Any such study ought to begin, it seems to me, with a detailed examination of the biblical echoes in his work. This is my task in the present essay.

It is significant that when naming great poets or poems of the world Whitman almost invariably includes the poetry of the Bible.⁴ His frequent references to Christ as "the divine life" or "the beautiful God the Christ," etc., indicate the strong emotional appeal that the life of Christ had for him.⁵ Next to Christ, the most frequently mentioned personages of the Bible in Whitman's works are "the prophets of old Judea."

Although Whitman recognized the greatness of the poetry of the Bible,⁶ my catalogue of his allusions indicates that he drew most of his biblical inspiration from the New Testament, and still more specifically from the crucifixion scenes of the Christ-drama. But this is not surprising, for obviously the rôle which he strove to play

¹ See Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman* (Boston, 1906), p. 96.

² See the author's "Biblical Analogies for Walt Whitman's Prosody," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, X, 490-507 (Aug., 1933); also his *American Prosody* (New York, 1934), chap. VIII.

³ Cf. Will Hays, "The Birth of a Bible," *Texas Review*, VIII, 21-31 (Oct., 1922). Whitman himself regarded his work as a 'bible of Democracy.'

⁴ E.g.: "At times it has been doubtful to me that Emerson really knows or feels what poetry is at its highest, as in the Bible for instance," in "Notes Left Over," *Prose Works* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 321. Cf. also "The Bible as Poetry," in "November Boughs."

⁵ Some of the best examples are in *An American Primer*.

⁶ Many of these references are not listed in this paper because I have excluded the mere naming of 'Bible,' 'God,' etc., without specific reference to biblical content.

was modeled far more on the example of Christ than on the prophets of the Old Testament.⁷

It is also to be observed that nearly three times as many "specific allusions" are found in Whitman's early and juvenile writings as in his later poetry and prose.⁸ But even in the paraphrasing and expanding of *Luke* 7. 11-16 as the plot of *Shirval*, we have, as Professor Mabbott had already pointed out, a "foreshadowing of parts of the *Song of Myself*."⁹ Thus as Whitman's mind and art matured, the biblical influence became deeper, more abstract, and more difficult to identify precisely. Regarding the paraphrasing of *Luke* 12. 24, 27 in an *Eagle* editorial¹⁰ Professor Holloway says, "This suggests a probable source of Whitman's inspiration in the moral didacticism with which the *Eagle* editorials are replete; and it also helps to account for his prophetic rôle's assuming so decidedly religious a form."¹¹ Possibly it may also help to explain certain fundamental similarities between Whitman's "indirections" and Christ's poetic parable-method of teaching. For what, after all, is *Leaves of Grass* but a composite parable?

II

BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS, PARAPHRASES, AND QUOTATIONS¹²

A. *Leaves of Grass*

SALUT AU MONDE: (1) I see Christ eating the bread of his last supper in the midst of youths and old persons.—Math. 26.22-30; Luke 22.14-38. (2) . . . the ruins of Nineveh!—Nah. 3.7; Zeph. 2.13. (3) . . . mount Ararat.—Gen. 8.4.

⁷ Whitman himself made this contrast: ". . . Hebrew prophet, with spirituality, as in flashes of lightning, conscience like red-hot iron, plaintive songs and screams of vengeance for tyrannies and enslavement; Christ with bent head, brooding love and peace, like a dove" ("Democratic Vistas," *Prose Works*, p. 240).

⁸ Of course it must be remembered that the use of literary allusion was against the avowed poetic doctrines for *Leaves of Grass*.

⁹ *The Halfbreed, and Other Stories*, ed. T. O. Mabbott (New York, 1927), Introduction, p. 15.

¹⁰ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Emory Holloway (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), I, 111 n.

¹¹ See allusion No. 55.

¹² I do not use any editorial apparatus to distinguish the direct quotation, but usually Whitman has quotation marks for exact biblical phraseology. This list of "Allusions, Paraphrases, and Quotations" is composed mainly of specific references to biblical names, incidents, or 'texts.'

SONG OF THE UNIVERSAL: (4) To the mad Babel-din, the deafening orgies.—Gen. 11.9.

OUT FROM BEHIND THIS MASK: (5) This film of Satan's seething pit.—Rev. 9.2.

FACES: (6) These faces . . . show their descent from their Master himself.—Gen. 1.26.

ELECTION DAY, NOVEMBER, 1894: (7) . . . the still small voice vibrating. . . —I Kings 19.12.

SO LONG!: (8) Remember my words, I may again return.—Acts 18.21.

DEATH'S VALLEY: (9) To accompany a picture . . . "The Valley of the Shadow of Death."—Ps. 23. [The imagery and language of the whole poem are obviously inspired by the text.]

B. *Prose Works*¹³

SPECIMEN DAYS: (10) . . . bitterer than gall—indeed a crucifixion day . . . p. 25.—Math. 27.34. (11) "God doeth all things well," p. 72.—Mark 7.37. (12) Now, indeed, if never before, the heavens declared the glory of God, p. 118.—Ps. 19.1. (13) —was it not, indeed, the peace of God that passeth all understanding, p. 161.—Phil. 4.7. (14) . . . the text, "In the daytime also He led them with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire," p. 162.—Exod. 13.21. (15) Not Isaiah himself more scornful, more threatening: "The crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim, shall be trodden under feet: And the glorious beauty which is on the head of the fat valley shall be a fading flower," p. 168.—Is. 28.3-4.

COLLECT: (16) . . . as Adam and Eve are made in the divine fable, p. 228.—Gen. 1.27. (17) . . . who shall hold in behemoth? who bridle leviathan?, p. 254.—Job 40.15; 41.1. (18) Do we not, amid a general malaria of fogs and vapors, our day, unmistakably see two pillars of promise, p. 282.—Exod. 13.21. (19) . . . the Scriptural text, God overlook'd all that He had made . . . and behold, it was very good, p. 306.—Gen. 1.31. (20) . . . not that the General government is the fountain of all life and power, p. 319.—Prov. 13.14. (21) . . . the law of God is in their hearts, p. 331.—Ps. 37.31. (22) Would not that, indeed, be the kingdom of God come on earth?, p. 331.—Luke 10.9. (23) Little or Nothing New, After All [title of a paragraph], p. 335.—Eccl. 1.9.

NOTES TO LATE ENGLISH BOOKS: (24) That positively "the dry land has appeared," p. 431.—Gen. 8.13; Exod. 14.21. (25) . . . our shibboleth, p. 431.—Jul. 12.6.

¹³ Since some of the McKay imprints are not dated, I give page references to the 1892 edition.

ELIAS HICKS: (26) . . . little brook of . . . ever-living water, p. 469.—John 4.10; 7.38. (27) The blood of Christ—the blood of Christ—why, my friends, the actual blood of Christ in itself was no more effectual than the blood of bulls and goats, p. 469.—Heb. 9.13-14. (28) Elias Hicks . . . lived long, and died, faithful in life and faithful in death, p. 476.—Rev. 2.10.

PIECES IN EARLY YOUTH: (29) God of the all-seeing eye!, p. 347.—Prov. 15.3. (30) In God's voice, I command, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' p. 347.—Deut. 5.17. (31) . . . how beautifully indeed God has made the earth, p. 348.—Gen. 1. (32) It was a time and place of . . . Eden-like beauty!, p. 348.—Gen. 2. 8-9. (33) . . . the children of darkness and the children of light, p. 349.—Eph. 5.8; I Thess. 5.5. (34) And yet not for all is it decreed to attain the neighborhood of the three score and ten years—the span of life, p. 357.—Ps. 90.10. (35) God forgive them! for they surely do it ignorantly or heedlessly, p. 368.—Luke 23.34. (36) "Be and continue poor, young man," so taught one whose counsels should be graven on the heart of every youth, p. 368.—Luke 18.22. (37) "Guilty of the body and the blood of Christ," p. 372.—I. Cor. 11.27. (38) Of olden time, when it came to pass That the beautiful god, Jesus, should finish his work on earth, Then went Judas, and sold the divine youth, And took pay for his body, p. 372.—Math. 26.14-16. (39) He hung in the air, self-slaughter'd [*i.e.*, Judas], p. 372.—Math. 27.5. (40) "What will ye give me, and I will deliver this man unto you?" And they make the covenant, and pay the pieces of silver, p. 372.—Math. 26.15. (41) Thou art reviled, scourged, put into prison . . . With staves and swords throng the willing servants of authority . . . Bruised, bloody, and pinion'd is thy body, p. 373.—Math. 20.19; 27.27-41. (42) "And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thy hands? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of friends," p. 373.—Zech. 13.6. (43) In life walking in that as in a shroud, p. 373.—John 11.44.

C. Uncollected Poetry and Prose¹⁴

POETRY, VOL. I: (44) Desist, O fool! Think what thou'lt be in a few fleeting years, p. 14.—Luke 12.20? (45) . . . at last, our Father who above, p. 18.—Luke 11.2. (46)¹⁵ . . . clothed only with the leaf, As was innocent Eve of Eden, p. 24.—Gen. 3.7. (47) [See No. 42, *supra*.]—Zech. 13.6. (48) Nevertheless, be ready, be not weary of watching, He will surely return; his messengers come anon, p. 30.—Math. 24.42; 25.13;

¹⁴ Holloway, ed., *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Jean Catel, in his *Walt Whitman: la naissance du poète* (Paris, 1929), argues that this poem is not Whitman's (pp. 288-289).

Mark 13.35; Luke 21.36; Acts 20.31. (49)¹⁶ . . . or it will repent ye, When the bridegroom cometh, p. 31.—Math. 25.1-12.

PROSE, VOL. I Con.: (50) They had no acquaintance; and to beg they were ashamed, p. 63.—Luke 16.3. (51) Who might dare cast the first stone? p. 85.—John 8.7. (52) . . . Christ said, "Inasmuch as ye confused it to the least of these your brethren ye refused it to me," p. 94.—Math. 25.40. (53) The spot . . . would surely be cursed forever by God and all goodness, p. 101.—Gen. 3.17; 5.29. (54) "Love your enemies; bless them who curse you," p. 109.—Luke 6.27 and 35. (55) Oh, Fool the little birds, and the sheep in the field, possess more reason than thou; for when once their natural wants are satisfied they repose themselves and toil no more, p. 111.—Luke 12.24 and 27.¹⁷ (56) . . . the harvest is large, and waiting to be reaped, p. 117.—Luke 10.2. (57) . . . no pillow whereon to lay their heads, p. 155.—Math. 8.20; Luke 9.58. (58) . . . Aaron's rod, p. 161.—Exod. 7.12. (59) Eve in Paradise—or Adam either, p. 192.—Gen. 2.25. (60) . . . amid all the works of that Power . . . nothing can compare with the human master-piece, his closing and crowning work! p. 192.—Gen. 1.17. (61) . . . "the lion and the lamb shall lie down together," p. 197.—Isa. 11.6. (62) . . . considerations "for the morrow," p. 202.—Math. 6.34. (63) . . . "all things to all men," p. 204.—I Cor. 9.22. (64) "Thou shalt not kill," p. 207.—Deut. 5.17. (65) . . . "and the Lord set a mark upon Cain," p. 207.—Gen. 4.15. (66) "The lines are fallen to him in pleasant places," p. 208.—Ps. 16.6. (67) . . . he "who runs may read," p. 211.—Habk. 2.2. (68) "Pharoah's lean kine," p. 212.—Gen. 41.19. (69) . . . "darkened counsel," p. 215.—Job 38.2. (70) "The rich man also died," p. 219.—Luke 16.22. (71) . . . "Last Supper" of our Saviour, p. 221.—Math. 26.20-3; Mark 14.18-25; John 13; Luke 22.14-20. (72) . . . the Crucifixion, p. 222.—Math. 27; John 19; Mark 15; Luke 23. (73) "Son of Man," p. 222.—Ezek. 2.1 (and 87 other references in Ezek.). (74) 'Kingdom of God upon earth . . . Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,' p. 229.—Luke 11.2. (75) Joseph to store the grain of Egypt, preparatory to the year of famine, p. 239.—Gen. 41.48. (76) When God, according to the myth, finished Heaven and Earth . . . then God looked forth and saw everything that he had made, and pronounced it good, p. 242.—Gen. 1. (77) To the artist, I say, has been given the command to go forth into all the world and preach the gospel of beauty, p. 243.—Math. 28.19.

¹⁶ T. O. Mabbott shows good reason for believing this spurious. See "Whitman's Lines on Duluth," *American Literature*, III, 316-317 (Nov., 1931).

¹⁷ See note 10, *supra*.

PROSE, VOL. II: (78) . . . not even casting out the devils except by leaving in their place Beelzebub, the prince of devils, p. 7.—Math. 12.24; Mark 3.22; Luke 11.15. (79) Good Samaritans, p. 11.—Luke 10.33-35. (80) . . . not thanking God that he is "not as these Publicans," p. 12.—Luke 18.11. (81) . . . O death where is thy sting? Oh grave, where is thy victory? p. 22.—I Cor. 15.55. (82) . . . as the heart panteth, etc., p. 25.—Ps. 42.1. (83) What Lucifer cursed when tumbling from Heaven, p. 82.—Isa. 14.12. (84) . . . precept upon precept, p. 100.—Isa. 28.10, 13. (85) Babel, p. 136.—Gen. 11.9. (86) . . . wisdom of the serpent, p. 140.—Math. 10.16. (87) Look not upon the wine when it is red, p. 142.—Prov. 23.31. (88) . . . as the apple of his eye, p. 147.—Deut. 32.10; Ps. 17.8; Prov. 7.2. (89) "Father in Heaven, hallowed be thy name," p. 150.—Luke 11.2. (90) . . . the serpent came into our little Eden!, p. 152.—Gen. 3.1. (91) "Inasmuch as ye have refused it to the least of these my brethren, ye have refused it to me," p. 169.—Math. 25.40. (92) . . . city of the plain [Sodom and Gomorrah],¹⁸ p. 176.—Gen. 19.29. (93) You have wrought long and faithfully, and your reward comes in good time, p. 204.—Math. 25.21, 23. (94) . . . fragments enough to rival the miraculous remains of the feast of five loaves and two fishes, p. 320.—Math. 14.19-20; Mark 6.41-44; Luke 9.16. (95) Babel, p. 321.—Gen. 11.9.

D. The Half-Breed and Other Stories¹⁹

THE HALF-BREED: (96) The curse of the avenger of blood, p. 58.—Deut. 19.6. (97) But let us act as determined men, and have blood for blood! p. 65.—Gen. 9.6. (98) . . . "stubborn, like a dumb brute that has no knowledge," p. 66.—Ps. 32.9.

SHIRVAL:²⁰ (99) Her cheeks . . . were like the roses of the plains of Sharon, p. 82.—Song of Sol. 2.1. (100) "O, God of Judgments!" cried Unni,²¹ "what am I that thou hast afflicted me thus!" p. 83.—Num. 11.11. (101) 'Widow of Nain,' he said, 'weep not!' p. 84.—Luke 7.13. (102) O, Nazarine! thou who didst pour out bloody sweat upon the cross, at the Place of Skulls! p. 84.—Math. 27.33; Mark 15.22; John 19.17. (103) 'Live! thou who art dead!—Arise, and speak to the woman thy mother!' p. 85.—Luke 7.14 15.

RICHARD PARKER'S WIDOW: (104) . . . he expressed a hope that his

¹⁸ Cited by T. O. Mabbott in "Early Quotations and Allusions of Walt Whitman," *Notes and Queries*, CL, 169-170 (March 6, 1926).

¹⁹ Collected and edited by T. O. Mabbott, Columbia University Press, 1927.

²⁰ The plot of *Shirval* is the raising of the widow's son from the dead at Nain, *Luke* 7.11-16. Cf. Mabbott edition, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

²¹ ". . . the names of the characters [of *Shirval*] are, I am informed, more or less properly Semitic though apparently not peculiarly appropriate or significant," *ibid.*, p. 16.

death would be considered a sufficient atonement and would save the lives of others, p. 94.—Heb. 2.9.

MY BOYS AND GIRLS: (105) . . . a child that the angels themselves might take to the beautiful land, without tasting death, p. 109.—II Kings 2.11.

E. Miscellaneous

DIARY IN CANADA:²² (106) . . . she rendered Christ stilling the tempest (from Luke, is it?), p. 13.—Math. 8.26. (107) . . . the biblical prayer for 'neither poverty nor riches,' p. 66.—Prov. 30.8.

WORKSHOP:²³ (108) I intend to go up and down the land . . . seeking whom I may devour, p. 32.—I Peter 5.8. (109) . . . "in our Father's House are many mansions," p. 49.—John 14.2. (110) I do not seek those that love me; I would rather seek after some that hate me, p. 49.—Math. 5.44, 46. (111) . . . type of a man to whose nostrils the air of These States has been breathed for the breath of life, p. 55.—Gen. 2.7. (112) . . . on your head be the red blood, and your children's heads, p. 75.—Josh. 2.19. (113) . . . as the Lord God liveth, p. 77.—Jud. 8.19; I Sam. 14.39 and many others.

THE GATHERING OF THE FORCES, VOL. I:²⁴ (114) Did not our Saviour himself pull corn and distribute it on the Sabbath day, and rebuke those who nicely took him to task for his immorality? p. 67.—Math. 12.1-8; Mark 2.23-28; Luke 6.1-5. (115) . . . and how grateful the practice to Him who made man in His own image, p. 108.—Gen. 1.27. (116) The Law of Blood, p. 109.—Gen. 9.6. (117) The "Law of Blood," p. 110.—Gen. 9.6. (118) We ask it in the name of Christ, p. 116.—John 14.13; 15.16; 16.23, 24, 26. (119) Like as arrows in the hands of the giant, says the Bible, even so are young children: happy is he who has his quiver full of them, p. 126.—Ps. 127.4-5. (120) . . . that the Beloved of God chose ye [little Children] to image the Kingdom of Heaven? p. 146.—Math. 18.2-4; Mark 10.15-16; Luke 18.17. (121) . . . on whom the curse . . . of Adam has descended—they have indeed to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, p. 149.—Gen. 3.19. (122) . . . in the name of Him who pledged His sacred word to credit to HIMSELF all aid given to "suffering sad humanity," p. 172.—Math. 25.40. (123) . . . worship Christ in truth by "ministering unto Him," p. 173.—Math. 25.40. (124) . . . like Aaron's rod, swallows up the rest, p.

²² Ed. W. S. Kennedy (Boston, Small, Maynard and Co., 1904).

²³ *Walt Whitman's Workshop*: a collection of unpublished manuscripts, ed. Clifton J. Furness (Harvard University Press, 1928).

²⁴ Editorials from the *Brooklyn Eagle*, ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black (New York, Putnam, 1920).

215.—Exod. 7.12. (125) Such an avowal would stamp any one of our ranks, not only as against us, but worse—for while nominally with us, he would be doing all he could against us, p. 216.—Math. 12.30. (126) . . . hasten the advent of that holy era when all swords shall be beat into plough shares and spears into pruning hooks, p. 253.—Isa. 2.4; Micah 4.3.

VOL. II: (127) . . . though one should pound them "in a mortar, among wheat, with a pestle," yet will not their nature be rubbed out of them, p. 19.—Prov. 27.22. (128) . . . like the handwriting on the wall, p. 30.—Dan. 5.5. (129) This, like Aaron's rod, swallows up all the rest, p. 31.—Exod. 7.12. (130) . . . a style that Christ invariably condemned, and the spirit which he must have meant when he told an enquirer "that *he* could not enter into the kingdom of heaven," p. 91.—Luke 18.24-25. (131) . . . a Jehu [*i.e.*, a (bus-) driver], p. 106.—II Kings 9.20. (132) . . . in comparison with that Babel, p. 169.—Gen. 11.9. (133) O, *our* lot indeed is cast in pleasant places, p. 175.—Ps. 16.6. (134) . . . but human nature is about what it was before the flood, p. 212.—Gen. 7. (135) "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, Good-will toward men! . . . Fear not" . . . "for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people," p. 215.—Luke 2.10-14. (136) Then Christ, the Pure Paragon, was born and laid in a manger, p. 215.—Luke 2.7. (137) Ah, Thou whose office it was "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of Peace," p. 215.—Luke 1.79. (138) Bow thy head to the Good Father "who doth all things well," p. 222.—Mark 7.37. (139) . . . he who like Adam in Paradise, p. 299.—Gen. 2 and 3.

I SIT AND LOOK OUT:²⁵ (140) . . . search not for moths in the eyes of people, when you cannot see straightly for the beams that blind your own, p. 44.—Math. 7.5; Luke 4.23. (141) If there be balm in Gilead, p. 44.—Jer. 8.22. (142) . . . the destruction of Gomorrah, p. 50.—Gen. 19.24. (143) Whit-Monday . . . Of a religious origin, from an event in the life of Christ and the apostles, p. 60.—Acts 2.1. (144) . . . their mantle has fallen on a layman, p. 76.—Kings 2.13. (145) Rachel refuses to be comforted, p. 89.—Jer. 31.15; Math. 2.18. (146) Greeley will hang his harp upon the willows, p. 89.—Ps. 137.2. (147) . . . fleeing away, like the wicked, when no man pursueth, p. 125.—Prov. 28.1. (148) . . . powers of the air, the earth, and the waters under the earth, p. 125.—Deut. 5.8. (149) "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die," p.

²⁵ Editorials from the Brooklyn Daily Times. Selected and edited by Emory Holway and Vernolian Schwarz (Columbia University Press, 1932).

170.—Isa. 22.13; I Cor. 15.32. (150) . . . flourishes like a green bay tree, p. 171.—Ps. 37.35.

WALT WHITMAN AND THE CIVIL WAR:²⁶ (151) . . . as he who runs may read, p. 49.—Habk. 2.2. (152) . . . the race that escaped from Egypt and crossed a certain sea dry-shod, p. 59.—Exod. 14.22; Isa. 11.15. (153) . . . who hath ears to hear, p. 60.—Math. 11.15; 13.9, 43; Mark 4.9, 23; 7.16; Luke 8.8; 14.35. (154) . . . there is a fog as dark as Egypt, p. 103.—Exod. 10.22.

QUOTED BY HOLLOWAY:²⁷ (155) The harvest is large and waiting to be reaped, p. 7.—Math. 9.37; Luke 10.2. (156) Each of these poor Magdalens might have known a mother's love, but never had they knelt at a Saviour's feet, p. 63.—Luke 8.37-38.²⁸ (157) She is barefooted, and, like Lazarus of old, is 'clothed in rags,' p. 63.—Luke 16.20.

PICTURES:²⁹ (158) And here he appears en-route to Calvary, bearing the cross—See you, the blood and sweat streaming down his face, his neck.³⁰—John 19.17. (159) . . . what God's voice is that, sounding from his mouth?—Acts 12.22. (160) . . . it is Lucifer's portrait—the denied God's portrait, . . . cast out and rebellious. . . .³¹—Isa. 14.12.

III

GENERAL OR INCLUSIVE BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS³²

A. *Leaves of Grass*

SONG OF MYSELF: Walking the old hills of Judaea with the beautiful Gentile God by my side, * * * Accepting the Gospels, accepting him that was crucified, knowing assuredly that he is divine, . . .

SALUT AU MONDE!: I hear the tale of the divine life and bloody death of the beautiful God the Christ, . . .

²⁶ Items relating to Whitman's experiences during the Civil War, collected and edited by Charles I. Glicksberg (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933).

²⁷ *Walt Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York, Knopf, 1926). (These quotations are from uncollected items.)

²⁸ "Mary Magdalene, traditionally reported to have been the repentant sinner forgiven by Christ (see *Luke* vii.37)," *Webster's New International Dictionary*.

²⁹ This poem, probably written around 1850, is quoted by Holloway in his article, "Whitman's Embryonic Verse," *Southwest Review*, X, 28-40 (July 1925). Also in *Pictures: An Unpublished Poem of Walt Whitman*, ed. Emory Holloway (London, 1928).

³⁰ Changed to a general allusion in "Salut au Monde!" in which poem Whitman reworked much of the 1850(?) "Pictures." See, *post*, "Salut au Monde!" in "General . . . Allusions."

³¹ Cf. No. 83.

³² I have excluded from this list many passages which are biblical in tone or rhetoric but which cannot definitely be cited as 'allusions' to biblical passages. E.g.: "Heaven gave him length of days, and he filled them with deeds of glory," *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 118.

SONG OF THE EXPOSITION: Repeat at Jerusalem, place the notice high on Jaffa's gate and on Mount Moriah . . .

A SIGHT IN CAMP, Etc.: —I think this face is the face of the Christ himself, Dead and divine and brother of all, and here again he lies.

TO HIM THAT WAS CRUCIFIED [whole poem].

PASSAGE TO INDIA: The true son of God shall come singing his songs . . . The true son of God shall absolutely fuse them . . . the true son of God, the poet * * * Lies the seed unreck'd for centuries in the ground? lo, to God's due occasion.

CHANTING THE SQUARE DEIFIC: . . . the mightier God am I, Foretold by prophets and poets in their most rapt prophecies and poems, . . . All sorrow, labor, suffering, I, tallying it, absorb in myself, Many times have I been rejected, taunted, put in prison, and crucified, . . . All the world have I given up for my dear brothers' and sisters' sake, for the soul's sake, Wending my way through the homes of men, rich or poor, with the kiss of affection, For I am affection, I am the cheer-bringing God, with hope and all enclosing charity, . . .

THINK OF THE SOUL: Recall Christ, brother of rejected persons—brother of slaves, felons, idiots, and of insane and diseas'd persons.

B. Collected Prose

SPECIMEN DAYS: I open'd at the close of one of the first books of the evangelists, and read the chapters describing the latter hours of Christ, and the scenes at the crucifixion . . . the following chapter also, how Christ rose again (p. 41). One can understand, such a night, why, from the days of the Pharaohs or Job, the dome of heaven, sprinkled with plants, has supplied the subtlest, deepest criticism on human pride, glory, ambition (p. 126). . . . one of those far-off Hebraic utterers, a new Micah or Habbakuk (p. 178) . . . polish'd, money-worshipping Jesus-and-Judas-equalizing . . . (p. 178).

DEMOCRATIC VISTAS: . . . Immortal Judah lives . . . in a couple of poems (p. 206). What Christ appear'd for in the moral-spiritual field for human-kind . . . (p. 218). For the men . . . Solomon, most of the Old and New Testament characters . . . (p. 228). Among women . . . certain Bible characters, especially the Holy Mother . . . (p. 228). The whole civilization of the earth, we know, is yours, with all the glory and light thereof (p. 237). . . . Hebrew prophet, with spirituality, as in flashes of lightning, conscience like red-hot iron, plaintive songs and screams of vengeance for tyrannies and enslavement; Christ with bent head, brooding love and peace, like a dove . . . (p. 240). . . . there must . . . appear . . . poets not only possessed of the religious fire and

abandon of Isaiah . . . (p. 253). Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people . . . (1855 Preface).

POETRY TO-DAY, Etc.: . . . nor only poets, and of the best, but newer, larger prophets—larger than Judea's, and more passionate . . . (p. 298).

NOTES LEFT OVER: . . . what poetry is at its highest, as in the Bible . . . (p. 321). . . . the great poems of Asian antiquity . . . the book of Job . . . the . . . perfect idyls of the life and death of Christ . . . (p. 325). . . . the . . . Jews . . . those venerable claims to origin from God himself . . . (p. 326).

NOVEMBER BOUGHS: . . . the Holy Ghost we read of in the Testament (p. 384).

SLANG IN AMERICA: The Hebrew word which is translated *prophecy* meant to bubble up and pour forth as a fountain (p. 405).

SMALL MEMORANDA: Thanksgiving . . . I am not sure but it is the source of the highest poetry—as in parts of the Bible (p. 444).

ELIAS HICKS: . . . differences arose . . . upon . . . the divinity of Christ and the nature of the atonement (p. 470).

C. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*

VOL. I: The splendors of Creation . . . (p. 9). In temper, Job is the lowest example he should take (p. 16). . . . with the smooth look and quiet tread with which I doubt not Judas looked and trod . . . (p. 56). . . . his Creator has planted in his heart . . . (p. 78). O, Master of the Great Laws! (p. 84). . . . God's own voice has spoken against you . . . (p. 98). . . . invades the prerogative of God, for God's is the only power that can give life (p. 102). "O, Bible! . . . what follies and monstrous barbarities are defended in thy name!" (p. 103). . . . the blasphemy which prostituted God's law to their excuse . . . (p. 103). . . . this beautiful earth which the good God has made so well . . . (p. 110). . . . the friendly glance such as the Pardoner himself disdained not to throw on sin and sinners . . . (p. 112). . . . Jericho . . . gates of Jerusalem . . . Babylon the Great . . . (p. 176).

VOL. II: I the Redeemer, the creator and Lord (p. 17). . . . all around me I hear how great were Adam and Eve . . . Yes Christ was large (p. 82). . . . Christ, the Consolator . . . I include the divine Jew . . . (p. 92). . . . young man, I think this face of yours the face of my dead Christ . . . (p. 93) But, wicked as I was, I dared not rush thus blindly into the presence of an offended God (p. 166). He walked

upon the earth worthy the name of one whose prototype is God! (p. 202).

D. Miscellaneous

WORKSHOP: We need somebody or something whose utterances were like an old Hebrew prophet's, only substituting rapt literature instead of rapt religion . . . (p. 67). . . . the Redeemer President . . . (p. 109).

GATHERING OF THE FORCES: . . . living in the full light of the precepts and example of Christ . . . (I, 102). But as long as the divine emanation of Christ's purity and gentleness lives—as long as His example and law live . . . (I, 113) . . . without painting for the day when the prayer of that blood should be listened to—when the vengeance of a retributive God should be meted out to those who so ruthlessly and needlessly slaughtered His image? (I, 241). . . . "pride that apes humility" is far more frequent than the genuine spirit of Christ? (II, 92). The religion of Christ is incomparably superior to all other religions . . . (212). . . . him who spake as never man spake . . . (II, 305).

I SIT AND LOOK OUT: She said of Jesus Christ, that he was not a Saviour in the sense which the evangelical theologians regarded him, but a great reformer (p. 80).

AMERICAN PRIMER:³³ Out of Christ are divine words . . . The name of Christ—all words that have arisen from the life and death of Christ, the divine son, who went about speaking perfect words, no patois—whose life was perfect,—the touch of whose hands and feet was miracles—who was crucified—his flesh laid in a shroud, in the grave (pp. 18-19). What escape . . . from the shoals of Johns, Peters, Davids, Marys? (p. 19).

PICTURES: And here the divine Christ expounds external truth—expounds the Soul * * * There are Hebrew prophets chanting, rapt, extatic * * * There is a picture of Adam in Paradise—side by side with him Eve (the Earth's bride and the Earth's bridegroom).

TOTAL NUMBER OF "BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS,
PARAPHRASES, AND QUOTATIONS"

Genesis	29	Judges	2	Psalms	12
Exodus	8	I Samuel	1	Proverbs	7
Numbers	1	I Kings	1	Ecclesiastes	1
Deuteronomy	5	II Kings	2	Song of Solomon	1
Joshua	1	Job	2	Isaiah	8

³³ *An American Primer*, edited from unpublished MS. by Horace Traubel (Boston, Small, Maynard and Sons, 1904). First printed in *The Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 460-470 (April, 1904).

Jeremiah	2	Zechariah	2	I Corinthians	4
Ezekiel	1	Matthew	34	Ephesians	1
Daniel	1	Mark	12	Philippians	1
Micah	1	Luke	35	I Thessalonians ...	1
Nahum	1	John	9	Hebrews	2
Habakkuk	2	Acts	3	I Peter	1
Zephaniah	1			Revelations	2

Total O. T. allusions 92

Total N. T. allusion 105

Grand total 197

Repetitions 37

Net total 160

INDEX

For "Biblical Allusions, Paraphrases, and Quotations"

Note: Repeated numbers are marked with an asterisk.

GENESIS	EXODUS	JOB	(61) 11.6
(31) 1.	(58) 7.12	(69) 38.2	(152)*11.15
(76) 1.	(124) 7.12	(17) 40.15; 41.1	(83) 14.12
(6) 1.26	(129) 7.12	PSALMS	(160) 14.12
(16) 1.27	(154) 10.22	(66) 16.6	(149) 22.13
(60) 1.27	(14) 13.21	(133) 16.6	(15) 28.3-4
(115) 1.27	(18) 13.21	(88)*17.8	(84) 28.10, 13
(19) 1.31	(152) 14.2	(12) 19.1	JEREMIAH
(139) 2-3.	(24)*14.21	(9) 23.	(141) 8.22
(111) 2.7	NUMBERS	(98) 32.9	(145) 31.15
(32) 2.8-9	(100) 11.11	(21) 37.31	EZEKIEL
(59) 2.25	DEUTERONOMY	(150) 37.35	(73) 2.1
(90) 3.1	(148) 5.8	(82) 42.1	DANIEL
(46) 3.7	(30) 5.17	(34) 90.10	(128) 5.5
(53) 3.17	(64) 5.17	(119) 127.4-5	MICAH
(121) 3.19	(88) 32.10	(146) 137.2	(126) 4.3
(65) 4.15	(96) 19.6	PROVERBS	NAHUM
(53)*5.29	JOSHUA	(88)*7.2	(2) 3.7
(134) 7.	(112) 2.19	(29) 15.3	HABAKKUK
(3) 8.4	JUDGES	(20) 13.4	(67) 2.2
(24) 8.13	(113) 8.19	(87) 23.31	(151) 2.2
(116) 9.6	(25) 12.6	(127) 27.22	ZEPHANIAH
(117) 9.6	I SAMUEL	(147) 28.1	(2)*2.13
(4) 11.9	(113)*14.39	(107) 38.	ZECHARIAH
(85) 11.9	I KINGS	ECCLESIASTES	(42) 13.6
(132) 11.9	(7) 19.12	(23) 1.9	(47) 13.6
(142) 19.24	II KINGS	SONG OF SOLOMON	MATTHEW
(92) 19.29	(105) 2.11	(99) 2.1	(145)*2.18
(68) 41.19	(144) 2.13	ISAIAH	(110) 5.44-46
(75) 41.48		(126) 2.4	(62) 6.34

(140) 7.5	(39) 27.5	(155)*10.2	(118) 14.13;
(57) 8.20	(77) 28.19	(22) 10.9	15.16;
(106) 8.26	MARK	(79) 10.33-35	16.23, 24, 26
(155) 9.37	(114)*2.23-28	(45) 11.2	(72)*19.
(86) 10.16	(78)*3.22	(74) 11.2	(102)*19.17
(153) 11.15	(153) 4.9, 23	(89) 11.2	(158) 19.17
(114) 12.1-8	(94)*6.41-44	(78)*11.15	ACTS
(78) 12.24	(153)*7.16	(44) 12.20	(143) 2.1
(125) 12.30	(11) 7.37	(55) 12.24, 27	(8) 18.21
(153)*13.9	(138) 7.37	(153)*14.35	(159) 12.22
(94) 14.19-20	(120)*10.15-16	(50) 16.3	I CORINTHIANS
(120) 18.2-4	(48)*13.35	(157) 16.20	(63) 9.22
(41) 29.19	(71)*14.18-25	(70) 16.22	(37) 11.27
(48) 24.42	(73)*15.	(80) 18.11	(149) 15.32
(49) 25.1-12	(102)*15.22	(120)*18.17	(81) 15.55
(48)*25.13	LUKE	(36) 18.22	EPHESIANS
(93) 25.21, 23	(137) 1.79	(130) 18.24-25	(33) 5.8
(52) 25.40	(136) 2.7	(48)*21.36	PHILIPPIANS
(91) 25.40	(135) 2.10-14	(71)*22.14-20	(13) 4.7
(122) 25.40	(140)*4.23	(1)*22.14-38	I THESSALONIANS
(123) 25.40	(114)*6.15	(72)*23.	(33)*5.5
(38) 26.14-16	(54) 6.27, 35	(35) 23.34	HEBREWS
(40) 26.15	(101) 7.13	JOHN	(104) 2.9
(71) 26.20-23	(103) 7.14-15	(26) 4.10	(27) 9.13-14
(1) 26.22-30	(156) 7.37-38	(51) 8.7	I PETER
(72) 27.	(153)*8.8.	(43) 11.44	(108) 5.8
(41)*27.27-41	(94)*9.16	(71)*13.	REVELATIONS
(102) 27.33	(57)*9.58	(103) 14.2	(28) 2.10
(10) 27.34	(56) 10.2		(5) 9.2

BAYARD TAYLOR AND GEORGE H. BOKER

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THE authors of the three biographies of Bayard Taylor—Crowell, Taylor-Scudder, and A. H. Smyth—have all noted the personal friendship of their subject with George Henry Boker. E. S. Bradley, in his comparatively recent life of Boker,¹ also comments in interesting fashion on the same theme. It seems unfortunate, however, that in no one of these works can there be found any direct treatment of the question of the literary influence which the two Pennsylvanians exerted upon each other. Yet, to consider their correspondence² is to be made aware of two highly sensitive personalities, both of whom were not only given to periods of most intense enthusiasm but also, at times, to rather settled moods of despondency. And in either state of mind, the one proved a vast comfort to his friend. Appropriately, these emotional upheavals were usually traceable to some literary success or failure.

The two young poets met first in 1848 at the New York studio of Thomas Buchanan Read. Read was a fellow artist and poet from Chester County, Pennsylvania, Taylor's birthplace. Some weeks before this introduction, Taylor reviewed unfavorably Boker's first volume, *The Lesson of Life*, even going so far as to accuse him of plagiarizing from an obscure minor poetess.³ But their correspondence seems to have begun almost at once, for by January 1, 1849, they were discussing their affairs with complete intimacy. "I am about to write another tragedy called *Anne Bullen*," Boker stated then. "You see I am wide awake and don't care a damn for the critics." The next month Boker had sent Taylor a copy of his "The Song of the Earth."

Gods, my dear Boker what a poem you have written. By all we have sworn to do, it is magnificent. . . . I am sick of affectation, and senti-

¹ *George Henry Boker* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927).

² Bayard Taylor MSS. (Cornell University Library). Taylor to Boker, 134 letters. Boker to Taylor, 164 letters.

³ A. H. Smyth, *Bayard Taylor* (Boston, 1896), p. 71. Smyth is of the opinion that Taylor was 'ordered' to abuse the book, and that he apologized at the first opportunity.

mentality and soulless cant and thank God from my heart at every token that tells me there are still true poets' hearts beating. We will resolve to worship poetry in a purer and more glorious sanctuary. I hope a great deal from you, Boker.⁴

In March Boker wrote concerning a review of Taylor's *Rhymes of Travel*, which he had managed to get into *Sartain's Union Magazine*:

I am really and heartily sorry that I was not able to do more for you . . . but I had to beg for the space, line by line, cutting my article down until I fitted it into the page as you see it. Do not frown when you see I have quoted nothing: for I tried hard to get in that glorious something beginning "O deep exulting freedom of the hills," but even this was crowded out by the inflexible printer, damn him!"⁵

This last favor was one of the kind which Boker was constantly doing for Taylor and Stoddard. He sold their poems to *Sartain's* or to *Graham's* or to Griswold; he saw to it that notices of all their forthcoming publications appeared in Philadelphia journals. He wrote favorable reviews of them after they came out. He was their literary agent, gratis.

The following year, 1850, Taylor's *Eldorado* was published. Boker was overjoyed. In his own case he had achieved considerable acclaim, even in his native city, as a result of his success as a dramatist. There was fame enough for everybody! In March, he wrote Taylor, praising his account of the gold fields;⁶ and the following month announced that he had sold his friend's "Pine Forest" for \$25.00. He added that he could sell his "California Ballad" for a like amount, though he had not seen it. The letter closed with this significant passage:

I have marked out a glorious career for you on my chart of fate, and if you do not go through with it, I will appear as your chief accuser at the last great day. So look out for hell, and all that thing.

What can I do for you here, among my enemies? I am chuck full of fight, and only want some other cause than my own to be at them with all my quills erect.

N.B. Do you yet fully understand your mission, O stepper among the upper cloud realms? Say?⁷

⁴ Taylor to Boker (Feb. 28, 1849).

⁵ Boker to Taylor (March 25, 1849).

⁶ Boker to Taylor (March 21, 1850).

⁷ *Ibid.* (April, undated, 1850).

Taylor was more than normally sensitive to criticism, just or unjust, and *Eldorado* had received its share of both varieties. Realizing that an attack which appeared in the *Evening Post* had given his friend offense, Boker wrote him again June 4:

What does that sneering "Post" Peterson mean by what he says of my notice of *Eldorado*? Did you see his contemptible effort at wit—his dreary jocularity on your good six feet? Certainly that is a goodly poetical length—just a long stately Alexandrine, and no more. Does the beast take you for a long footed hexameter? Would he have you an iambic monometer, or a dimeter, or a trimeter, or a tetrameter or even a pentameter? Is not the iambic hexameter, the flowing Alexandrine, containing as it does within itself all the other dignified lengths, just the metrical proportions for a poet? Does the wretch take us⁸ for stunted trochaics, or for jangling anapestics? May his ink dry up! May his pen split! May his paper cut through and through! May his pencil points break! Nay—nay—nay—May he go on just as he is doing, and quietly damn himself with all the above implements.

From this engaging attempt to console Taylor after Peterson's slur, Boker turns in the same letter to a discussion of his own estimate of "The Pine Forest" and "Hylas." It was perhaps the first time a suggestion of Poe's critical theories had been applied to any of Taylor's works, except by Poe himself.

With regard to "Hylas" you are all in the dark and wrong. I love "Hylas" dearly and, in kind, think it equal to anything you have done. The only reason that I do not prize it as highly as the "Pine Forest" is that the latter is of a higher order of poetry—of a superior kind; and therefore, in that I love the sublime above all other kinds of poetry, I love the "Pine Forest" more. Do you not like "The Song of the Earth" more than "Sir John"? Doubtless you do. Yet as far as the latter goes, you may like it very well, and that too without attempting to compare a mere ballad with a—what shall I say? I never knew in what class of poems to place "The Song of the Earth." Tell Stoddard that, on the same principle I am prepared to rejoice in "Prosperine" more than in all that he has written. . . .

So go on, brothers; and if we fall, we fall nobly. Better to be scorched to death in the sun than warmed into a miserable comfort at any earthly fire. Huzza for the Epic! Huzza for the Tragic! Farewell thou little Lyric land! In future we will visit thee only for pasture. I would not

⁸ Boker was also over six feet in height.

write this to thee, my friend, did I not know that thy brain is as full of grand Epic ideas as a hive of bees; and that one day they will swarm into the world to delight us forever more.⁹

It is doubtful if Taylor wrote Boker very often in 1850. Very few of his letters for this year are preserved. It was a busy, trying year for him. He returned from California in March, the month *Eldorado* appeared, and immediately resumed his work for the *Tribune*.¹⁰ He composed the Phi Beta Kappa poem and read it at the Harvard Commencement in July. Later he visited Whittier, "covered" the wreck of the *Elizabeth* at Fire Island, assisting along with Thoreau and Charles Sumner, in the search for the bodies of Margaret Fuller Ossoli and her family. And throughout these weeks he was more and more heavily saddened as each letter that came from his home in Kennett Square confirmed his fears that Mary Agnew would die of consumption before the first snow.

Long before, in childhood, they had planned to marry, and he had sought work in New York to be able to support her. He had told Boker of his plans. It had all affected Boker strangely. Here was a friend living through such a situation as Poe so often employed; for it was said that Mary was beautiful. Boker mentioned her in every letter, seemingly aware of the fact that some complete readjustment in Taylor's attitudes and interests would necessarily take place after her death.

At first he consoled him—"You know how deeply I must feel for your disappointment"—urging Taylor to tell him all of his apprehensions and misgivings. He lamented with him:

Would that it were in my power, by some sweeping sacrifice of myself, to stay your poor Mary's departure, or to console you after she is gone. You say there is no hope. . . . It is horrible. I know it is horrible, from my own experience,¹¹ to feel oneself within the grasp of an invisible power of nature, to know that the control over our fate is taken completely from our hands—to feel that the strong will, the brave heart, and the directing intellect are of no avail; nay are worse than useless, by instinctively forcing us into a struggle with that over which we have no power. I do not attempt to console you; it would be worse than mockery. All I can urge upon you is to endure as calmly as you can. I

⁹ Part of this letter appears in Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁰ A. H. Smyth, *op. cit.*, 78-79.

¹¹ Boker's first child died in 1846.

dare not say that time will heal all, for to a true feeling there is no such thing as time. This, my dear Bayard, I do say—be your grief as violent as it may, you shall have my sympathy to its uttermost extent.¹²

He concludes by telling Taylor to ignore all irritating petty critics "attempting to write themselves into notice by abuse of you." His purpose in recommending such an attitude was plain: he knew that Taylor was sensitive, romantic, and that at this time he might give way to despair and decide to stop writing poetry altogether. Boker sincerely believed that such a renunciation would be a tragedy of the first order, both for Taylor and for American literature!

Taylor informed him of their marriage in October, consummated "that she might bear his name before her death." "We have wrested this much from a hard destiny. . . . Indeed, from beginning to end, the history of our love has been made tragic by those who should have done all in their power to make it happy."¹³

Boker had written the week before, praising his poetry in a fine frenzy:

I have been reading "Hylas"—beautiful "Hylas."¹⁴ You do not know how you have advanced in *strength* and *finish*. There is a beautiful classic polish—a hard yet warm polish—which you have seldom attained to before. How it delights me to see you advancing, stride by stride, slowly yet certainly, in the paths of poesy—the pleasant paths! The boy-poet is fading, the man-poet is coming on, in majestic power, to take his station among men. Fancy is becoming sobered in you, but imagination is increasing into perfect day. Do not forget to send me your Columbia college poem, even though you may not like it yourself.¹⁵

Mary died in December. They buried her in a storm. Taylor went back to New York after the funeral and resumed his work. It seemed to him that he was born to sorrow, that the ill in his experience far outweighed the good, that his woes had all managed, somehow, to fall upon him at once. There was no time left for poetry. When he came to this city, three years before, he gave up a \$700 interest in a country newspaper. He had borrowed that money and since then had paid it back, but it had meant much economizing. He had borrowed more money and bought *Tribune* stock, for that would ensure his advancement with the paper. But meanwhile,

¹² Boker to Taylor (Sept. 30, 1850).

¹³ Taylor to Boker (Oct. 25, 1850).

¹⁴ Taylor had probably revised it.

¹⁵ Boker to Taylor (Oct. 18, 1850).

his associate on the country paper had absconded, and Taylor was forced to pay an additional \$500 of the remaining indebtedness. In the fall of 1850 the chance came to increase his *Tribune* holdings, "at a rare time in the growth of the paper." He borrowed more money, did extra reviewing and other hack work, and he began another thing, lecturing, which Boker regarded as profoundly inimical to his poetry.¹⁶ Audiences flattered Taylor, he was paid well, and for a while he was won over to the Chautauqua idea. But he was never able to write while on any tour.

Taylor himself soon became discouraged. He was saddled with debt. Mary was dead. He couldn't write poetry, he couldn't even read any more, "his soul was sick."¹⁷

And Boker consoled him again. Back in February, Boker had written that Taylor's later works had advanced "far beyond the things of beauty which you formerly wrote." He had introduced a solid intellectual "content" into his verse; yet "I cannot perceive that the beautiful has been banished. On the contrary, each gains by contrast with the other, leaving upon the reader's mind that impression of satisfaction which can be produced only by the author who exercises all his readers' faculties."¹⁸

He continued to write in this vein. "The only approach to a remedy is in your own hands—constant exertions of your poetical faculty."¹⁹ Taylor had an opportunity to go to Central America. Boker envied him his chance.

I wish to travel [he said], to see the world—to escape from the paralysing atmosphere of Philadelphia society. But I am hedged in with flowers, I am bound with garlands. I am prostrated with sighs. I am stupified with tears. You smile at such airy bondage, and so do I, but it is as real as stone.²⁰

In April, however, Boker experienced irritations of his own: Keen, the London producer, had read his drama, *The Betrothal*, and refused it. "He pleads many novelties etc. but I am assured by one deep in his ways that his real reason is his fear of producing a play by an American author." Webster of the Haymarket has the play now.

¹⁶ Taylor to Boker (Feb. 20, 1851).

¹⁸ Boker to Taylor (Feb. 10, 1851).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (May 1, 1851).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* (March 2, 1851).

²⁰ Boker's family was wealthy and conservative and slow to take to his literary ambitions.

I only hope he may produce it and that it may prove successful. This is the only event that can keep me writing for the stage. I long to meet these damned Englishmen on their own ground. Let me get a foothold among them, and if I don't drive the whole scum of dramatists into the channel, I'm no true blusterer. This I can do—not on account of my strength, but their weakness. Did you ever read a play of Jerrolds or Bulwers, or any other dramatic pigmies on that side of the water? I tell you my slow blood is up at last, and it takes it a long time for it to settle.²¹

But Taylor gave no notice to these brave utterances, and a month later he was still disconsolate:

Could you know how utterly discouraged I sometimes feel—how, compared with the originals in my brains, all my best poems seem failures—you would understand my present state of feelings. Your kind anticipations of fame humble me to the dust. I have almost ceased to expect appreciation from the world at large, but as long as I have yours, and that of a few who know me, I shall not complain.²²

Boker next told him to write of his own personal misfortunes. Even they could be made to yield fruit: "Your private feelings you must expose if you would be true to your art; for no gotten up feeling is worth the paper upon which it is printed."²³

This advice was ignored, for Taylor was too lost in hack work to consider it. In July he was engaged by Griswold to write a biographical sketch of Boker. He was working almost daily upon his *Cyclopedia of Literature and the Fine Arts*, which he had bargained to do for Putnam: "It will give me the means of travelling two months in the Orient," he said.²⁴

Taylor sailed in the fall. Before he left, his volume of poetry, *A Book of Romances, Lyrics, and Songs*, written mostly before Mary's death, was brought out by Ticknor and Fields. It did not sell as he had hoped, and he wrote despondently about the fact to Boker. Boker now began to chide him, for it was time:

I know what and how much the world talks of you. Therefore I can safely say that any book from your pen must, as a matter of necessity, challenge respectful attention and secure thoughtful appraisal. What more can you ask. . . . It makes me mad to hear a fat, burly creature of popular favor like you—an intellectual monster who has risen by his inborn power to a

²¹ Boker to Taylor (April 22, 1851).

²² Taylor to Boker (May 22, 1851).

²³ Boker to Taylor (June 6, 1851).

²⁴ Taylor to Boker (August 17, 1851).

most settled fame—a literary hero who has overcome all the literary hydras which circumstance set in his way, and who is now in the direct path to a large fortune, to be reckoned in dollars and cents—it makes me mad, I say, to hear such a man give way to anything like despondency. It makes me mad, and I won't have it.²⁵

In a letter of November 9, Boker discussed the *Book of Romances*. He liked it immensely. But he suggested one critical fault of which Taylor, Stoddard, Read, and even himself were too often guilty. It was perhaps the soundest artistic advice Taylor ever received:

Almost all of us young poets offend good taste by overloading and burying our subject under a weight of imagery. Our good friend Stoddard is not free from this fault, nor am I perhaps. The error lies here: We mistake the works of fancy for those of imagination. We are not content to let an idea flow forth in the warm metaphorical form of its first conception, but we must needs back it up with similes and illustrations and heaven knows what, until the idea is lost, or at least diluted, through an ingenuity which we mistake for the creative power. . . . I am no great lover of "fine" things. Poetry which is rich in beautiful passages and poor in real ideas is a sorry thing to me.²⁶

Taylor spent the next two years abroad, traveling in Africa, in Palestine, going into the Orient, and even into Japan with Commodore Perry. On his return he published two travel books and a volume of verse, *Poems of the Orient*. Evidently Boker's flattery and encouragement, together with his new experiences, had revived him.

When he returned, the lecture bureaus demanded his services, and he needed their money.

In Baltimore [he wrote Boker, February, 1854] I had a great triumph. I spoke to 4000 people in a hall 350 feet long. It was a new and proud experience to magnetize so many people at once. . . . It is a profitable business. . . . I now have not a single evening vacant before the middle of April. . . . My brain is beginning to ferment again, as the vernal equinox draws nigh, but I shall have no chance of relieving it until this vagabondage is over.

Enthusiastic and confident now, Taylor turned comforter himself and began to praise Boker's achievement:

²⁵ Boker to Taylor (Oct. 12, 1851).

²⁶ *Ibid.* (Nov. 9, 1851).

I spent a night with Whittier, who spoke very warmly of you. I make it a point to sound the people about you, wherever I go, and I tell you what perhaps you do not know, and would never learn in Philadelphia—that you are slowly laying the foundation of a fame—a fame which, I am convinced, will finally overshadow all temporary popularities (such as I fear mine is) and stand fast for Time. George, I have entire faith in your genius, and you will one day acknowledge that I have good reason for it.²⁷

But Boker was thoroughly dejected. He had done his best work as a dramatist, and it seemed unending. Why could he not have been a poet instead, as he had wished to be? “I look upon my triumphs in that way [in drama] as if they were another’s—with something of pity, but with much more of contempt. If I cannot be acknowledged as a poet, I have no further concern in literature.”²⁸

Taylor induced Ticknor and Fields to bring out Boker’s *Poems and Plays* in two volumes. But even this was small comfort. Boker thought the publishers should have “asked for” his works, should have sought him out, rather than the reverse. Taylor explained that they were busy and unimaginative, that Tennyson’s works were not asked for until 1850, that Browning’s went long unsought, that his own had come into fashion only recently.²⁹ The whole source of Boker’s melancholy, he stated the month before, was “the social and intellectual life of Philadelphia, which I know is depressing to you, because it would be to me.” He went on to prescribe for his patient:

You need stirring up, man. You are becoming almost morbid in your hopelessness and self depreciation. A theatrical triumph is worth something and you are wrong in under valuing it.³⁰ The “thick blood” you complain of must be diluted, warmed, excited, galvanized—anything to burn the threatened stagnation into a free healthy, vigorous activity.³¹

This advice, Taylor’s dedication to him of *Poems of Home and Travel*, and the fact that his own *Poems and Plays* ran into a second edition in thirty days, made Boker himself again. The two friends had balanced accounts now. Each had passed through his artistic slough of despond and, thanks largely to the other’s assistance, had

²⁷ Taylor to Boker (March 16, 1854).

²⁸ Boker to Taylor (Oct. 21, 1855).

²⁹ Taylor to Boker (Nov. 16, 1855).

³⁰ Yet Taylor regarded his success as an author of travel books with equal contempt. Like Boker, if he could not be known as a poet, he preferred oblivion.

³¹ Taylor to Boker (Oct. 26, 1855).

come out again on solid ground. Their correspondence continued, but mutual literary flattery and extravagant literary praise were no longer necessary. Taylor, one fears, had almost come to believe all that his well-meaning friend had written him. "Mrs. Stoddard has told me of the thousand kind things which you have said to her of me," Boker once wrote, "how you love to repeat my opinions, and are, she says, never so truly happy as when doing so."³² This was natural, but one fears that it was also unfortunate, for it made Taylor even more prone than he naturally was to listen to those voices which were pleasant and soothing, to the kind voices which approved, and not to the harsh ones which condemned. And the result seems to have been that, except in an incidental way, he became impervious to hostile, even if constructive, criticism, and that because of this imperviousness his poetry shows little development. His confidence hardened by gradual stages into complacency.

In later years Boker became deeply absorbed in politics. He served as secretary to the strong Republican Union League in Pennsylvania, supported Grant, when Johnson appointed him Secretary of War in Seward's place and thereby brought on the impeachment trial, and was rewarded with the mission to Turkey, and, later, with that to St. Petersburg. From abroad he wrote Taylor about Browning's priggishness and bad manners,³³ and kept him informed upon other literary matters. He also during these years continued to write poetry. *Poems of the War* appeared in 1864, *Königsmark, the Legend of the Hounds, and other Poems* in 1869, *Kismet*, a narrative poem, was published in *Lippincott's* in 1874, and the unpublished sonnet sequence had been started as early as 1857.³⁴

But one suspects that Boker wrote these later works with little thought that they would bring him the distinguished name which, in his youth, he had hoped for. Always of a more penetrating intelligence than Taylor, he came, rather early, to the conviction that his 'divine mistress, Poesy' had reserved her choice favors for others, and that a chance, stray nod was all he could claim for himself. In 1874 he made a confession:

Lizzie, Dick,³⁵ and one or two others and myself were sitting together one night in the rooms of the Pythoness [Mrs. Stoddard] when suddenly

³² Boker to Taylor (Jan. 23, 1855).

³³ See Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 343-349.

³⁵ Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Stoddard.

she broke forth in her usual oracular manner. "George, you Dick, Bayard, Stedman, Aldrich, Read, the whole of you youngsters, have all been dreary failures as poets. Not one of you has won even a third class position as a poet. There is not one of you who can justly lay claim to popularity, in any true sense of the term. You have not even attained to such a position as is held by that weakling, Longfellow, for whom no one can challenge more than a third class place, as compared with the mass of English poets. Since you began to write, a half dozen young English poets—Swinburne being an example—have arisen and secured the fame to which you in vain aspired. It was not time that you lacked to become known, but poetic ability. The world is not unappreciative of real genius, as you flatter yourself is the case, only you are not up to the required standard. You are all failures, and the sooner you stop writing the things no public will read, the better for your peace of mind. Is not this truth," she said, turning to me sadly. "God's truth," my lips and conscience cried with one voice. "God's truth," echoed poor Dick, with his hearts sickness in his face. "I, you know, have given up writing verses with any hope of success. My poems are jobs now." "Damned bad jobs," muttered our comforter.

. . . I have no more respect for Lizzie's opinions than you have, but once in a while her poisoned shafts hit the white. . . I do not judge for the others whom Lizzie included in her catalog of failures; but in my own relation to her words, I must acknowledge their utter truth. "Knocked over by a woman," you say: "You of all men!" No, dear Bayard, not by a woman. Forget the instrument of heaven. The same truth might have fallen from the lips of babes and sucklings, and would have been not less the holy truth which we worship.³⁶

If Taylor answered this letter, what he wrote has been lost. But one can guess how he might have answered it. He would have reminded Boker of their early virgin vows at the shrine of sacred Poesy. He would have added to what had already become a surfeit of praise of all his friend had written. And finally he would have said that Lizzie Stoddard was a pompous fool, and that Boker's liver was upset or he would never have taken a word of hers seriously.

All of which means, as has been implied, that Taylor avoided unwelcome revelations about his art, while Boker at length faced them fairly. The two remained close friends until Taylor's death

³⁶ Boker to Taylor (July 30, 1874).

in 1878. They had been of great help to each other, for many years. They had given each other much solid advice. They had never quarreled. And if Taylor could not quite bring himself to face the implications in the letter just quoted, perhaps it meant merely that he had hearkened, too eagerly and too well, to the honeyed words that had come from the same pen, in earlier years.

NOTES AND QUERIES

GEORGE W. CABLE AMENDS A MARK TWAIN PLOT

HARRY R. WARFEL

Bucknell University

MUCH has been made of the annoyance George Washington Cable's eccentricities caused Mark Twain,¹ so that it would seem their platform collaboration was wholly a matter of business, a tenuous connection that might have been broken easily. As a matter of fact, Mark, taking no little pleasure in his diminutive companion, frequently held Cable a willing captive in his Hartford home. Here they discussed their literary plans; Mark, always ready to pull the public's ears, proposed many stunts. One of them, probably modeled partly on Browning's *The Ring and the Book* (1868), was taken seriously by both. During one of their chats "Mark proposed," Cable wrote his wife from Hartford, February 13, 1884, "a little literary scheme for him & me & three or four others."² Richard Watson Gilder and probably Howells and Aldrich were the others let into the secret. At any rate, Twain, Cable, and Gilder corresponded about it. The following letter from Cable to Gilder, now in my possession, lays bare the scheme. Characteristically, Mark wanted to send up a rocket to explode in showers of laughter; Cable with dead earnestness amended the scheme to a series of apologies.

229 8th Street

New Orleans, May 9, 1884.

Dear Gilder:

The great central event may be any tremendous calamity. Something dreadful happened—some say one thing, some another. That's one of the things that have got blurred by time & much passing from gossip to gossip. Some say it was a murder or some other crime. Others think—have heard—it was a calamity without crime—a flood, a fire in the night, a tornado, a bankruptcy & suicide.

The people's names remain the same, but they must be names like Miller or Peterson, (-sen,) or Wolf, etc. that can be either English, Irish, Scotch, German, Scandinavian or even French.

¹ See Edward Larocque Tinker, "Cable and the Creoles," *American Literature*, V, 321-322 (Jan., 1934).

² Lucy L. F. Bikle, *George W. Cable: His Life and Letters* (New York and London, 1928), p. 117.

Mark is right. The charm lies in reading a story whose salient events are already known, & reading it told over & over in 1/2 doz ways.

But he is wrong about the stories being "a veiled take-off on the old-fashioned novel." If any one wants to write his version that way, well & good; but if all should do it then there would be a self-consciousness in the scheme and a *big-joke* idea that would be cheap. The thing must be a square, honest hurdle-race, but not a mule-race.

He is certainly right, however, that in the main the story shall always be "*exactly the same story*."

I read on through his letter & find him emphatically right. He says we want one, uniform, simple skeleton of facts with wide liberty of treatment. His names are very bad. Let me suggest a single name of another sort. e. g. take Chappel or Chapel

English, Chapel—	Mr. Chapell
French	M. Chapelle
German	Herr Kappel
Italian	Count Chiapella
Spanish	Senor Capella

So much as to the principal personages. Then the others should be of distributed nationalities. So, then, any one of these rank & file may be inferably (from his name) of some distinct nationality, & yet should the author's needs require it he may make such a one of a nationality different to that which his name indicates.

McMahon may be Fr., or Irish, or Sp. Montgomery may be Eng. or Scotch or Irish. Nuremburg may be German, Fr. Eng. Swiss, &c.

I go on through Mark's letter & find him right according to my notion clear on to page 7—8—no! At the bottom of page 8 he slips. Much interest would be lost by making the role of hero & heroine transferable. No indeed! The interest requires to be concentrated upon a very few persons—3 or 4 at most—and they should occupy the same *general* relation to each other in all the stories. The limitation might be that in a fixed quartette the love, courtship, marriage, fraud, crime, disaster or death, may be distributed according to the writer's choice; but the interest should centre always within that quartette. The difference in the two ideas is but slight.

Again (see his p. 9.) there should be no knowledge, between the writers, of what they are writing. Two or three may happen to take the same hero & heroine & make them happy together or apart, or miserable together or apart. In other words there must no more be a studied & stipulated difference in treatment than there must be a similarity. Should two authors repeat each other for a time it can only be momentarily & will be very interesting & *natural*.

Well, when I come down to the postscript on p. 11 I find he reconsiders his position & we agree almost exactly. So there's a waste of ink.

Now, about a skeleton story. Look at this:

Young Nuremburg loves pretty Mary or Marie or Maria Chapell or Kappel or Chapelle or Chiapella. They are of different nationalities. Marriage is prevented by a dreadful something for which neither is to blame but the blame is imputed to one who cannot clear himself for want of pecuniary means to press his cause. Three years pass. The girl is forced by her kin to marry another man. The 1st lover marries in despair. All four parties are of different nationalities. (If the writer chooses they may be slightly variant, as Eng., Ir. Scot. & Welsh; or if he likes an extravagant difference they can be French, German, English & Semitic; any thing he likes.) Each pair have two children, a girl & boy & a boy & girl. They meet—first time in 6 years—on shipboard, bound for America. The old loves flares up, but they are honest. They make the ship captain their confidant & by his advice & in his presence the two former lovers burn bridges behind them by confess'g their regard for each other to their wife & husband. The old lovers die of ship-fever. In their sickness they put into the skipper's hand his & her purse [of small coins (deleted)] & the five make a league that the four children shall be taught to love each other & that if ever among them or their descendants there shall be [two (deleted)] a pair of lovers who shall in their own experiences repeat the story of love foiled [disaster or the (deleted)] by the unjust suspicion of crime, this little treasure, increased by long compounded interest, shall be theirs to extricate them, if money can, [from (deleted)] & join their hands in that union of young hearts that makes life the most that life on earth can be. At the burial at sea, the captain tells their

story, & he & the surviving pair & each passenger on the ship adds to the sinking fund & the Cap. puts it out at interest.

Have you heard of these descendants? When? Where? Did they ever get the money? Did it extricate them? Did they get married? Who were the later couple? What was the crime? How did the extrication come about & what was it from?

You see here is a pretty problem; how to make an American every time out of European ingredients always differing. Also, how to make an American each time but each time a fresh type of American. Also, to have each type the *legitimate* result of each combination of European ancestry and of the region & climate where the problem is worked out. Then there is the problem of working out—or filling out—a skeleton plot according to each writer's native bent.

I have invented this outline scheme, of course, since I began this letter & had no thought of it before. I throw it down before you simply by way of suggestion.

We ought to keep this a very close secret as it must be kept a long time, & enlist only those who will set to work *very soon* to write the story.

Yours truly

G. W. CABLE

AN UNLISTED ITEM IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PHILIP FRENEAU

LEWIS GASTON LEARY, JR.

New York City

AFTER discontinuing *The National Gazette* on October 26, 1793,¹ Philip Freneau apparently returned almost immediately to his family home in Mount Pleasant, Monmouth County, New Jersey.² Here he published *The Jersey Chronicle*, beginning with the issue of May 2, 1795.³ In the meantime, "he contemplated several newspaper enterprises."⁴ Among these, Professor Pattee conjectures, was "the publication of a paper in Monmouth County," and he quotes an advertisement from

¹ Victor Hugo Paltsits, *A Bibliography of the Separate and Collected Works of Philip Freneau, together with an Account of his Newspapers* (New York, 1903), p. 9.

² Mary S. Austin, *Philip Freneau: The Poet of the Revolution* (New York, 1891), p. 176; Samuel E. Forman, *The Political Activities of Philip Freneau* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 80; and Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Poems of Philip Freneau* (Princeton, 1902), I, lxvii.

³ Paltsits, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ Pattee, *op. cit.*

The New Jersey Chronicle for May 30, 1795, in which Freneau states that he had "proposed to set on foot" a paper the year previous, and hoped that those who had subscribed to the plan "would transfer their subscriptions to the Chronicle."⁵ Although Mr. Paltsits states more definitely that "in 1794 Freneau again sought subscriptions for a Monmouth paper," which never was published, and which, delayed until 1795, finally appeared as *The Jersey Chronicle*,⁶ the original prospectus of 1794 was evidently not available either to him or to Professor Pattee in the preparation of their bibliographies of Freneau.

However, Franklin Ellis, in his *History of Monmouth County*, published in 1885, says that Freneau, soon after his return to Mount Pleasant, issued proposals for the publication of "a Monmouth Newspaper." One, at least, of these proposals is still in existence. It is printed in small pica type on a sheet of common paper, eight by thirteen inches in size, and dated "Mount Pleasant, July 4, 1794."⁷ Ellis continues with a synopsis of the contents of the prospectus. But the copy he mentions seems to have dropped out of existence by the time bibliographies of Freneau were undertaken.

Thanks to the vigilance of Miss E. Marie Becker, Librarian of the Monmouth County Historical Association, two copies of these proposals have recently been found. The first copy is complete except for a part of the last line; the second consists of the lower half of the sheet only. They have been placed together so that they present the complete text, as follows:

MONMOUTH NEWS-PAPER

A NUMBER of the inhabitants of Freehold, Middletown, and neighbouring Townships in the County of Monmouth having intimated their opinion that a WEEKLY NEWS-PAPER, printed in said County, might find a considerable circulation and favourable reception from the Public, the Subscriber has been induced to draw up, and publish the following Proposals, in order to determine whether a number of names will offer sufficient, by the commencement of Publication, to defray the expenses incident to the same.

I. The Gazette shall be printed on a sheet of good Demi paper, and an elegant new type; to be published early every Tuesday morning, and entitled THE MONMOUTH GAZETTE, AND EAST-JERSEY INTELLIGENCER.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Paltsits, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁷ Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 843-844.

II. The Subscription to be one Dollar and a half per Annum; the one half of which sum to be paid on the delivery of the First Number; the remainder at the conclusion of the year, or 52 numbers. After-Payments to be made in cash, or country produce at market prices, every six months.

III. As soon as five hundred subscribers shall be collected, the publisher will undertake to forward the packets punctually, by a stated Post-Rider, to the following places, on the day of publication—viz. To Middletown-Point, Holmes' Mills, Middletown, Shrewsbury, Colts-Neck, Monmouth Court House, Walton's Mills, English-Town, and Major Conover's Mills.

IV. The Publisher engages to give, in his Paper, the freshest foreign and domestic Intelligence, with the proceedings of Congress during the Session, a summary of the proceedings of the Legislature of the state of New-Jersey, and the Laws enacted from time to time by the Federal Government; For the above purposes a constant correspondence will be kept up with the News-Printers in the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, Trenton, Brunswick, &c. from which materials a ready supply of the earliest Intelligence may at all times be had by means of the Public posts; Shrewsbury, Bordentown, and Amboy Stages &c.

V. Every person procuring fifteen Subscribers, and undertaking to remit their subscription money at the stated periods, shall be entitled to a sixteenth paper gratis.—N.B. All papers to be discontinued to persons not paying punctually their six months arrearages, at the regular expiration of said term.

VI. Persons not choosing to subscribe, may be supplied at the Printing Office with the papers, singly at four pence each.

[*Printer's device, three stars arranged in a triangle.*] The advantages to be derived to the inhabitants of this large and populous county from an impartial and judiciously compiled News-Paper, are too obvious to need particularizing. From the publisher's situation, few Advertisements are to be expected; so that the whole four pages of the news-paper would be nearly appropriated to a complete history of the great events passing, and which may be expected to pass, in this age of Revolutions, on the Eastern Continent; together with the affairs of our own Country, and the European Colonies in America, with such other interesting matter as would form a Library of

instruction and entertainment, particularly to persons that have not leisure or inclination to engage in larger and more expensive publications.

Should a Gazette on the above plan meet the general assent and encouragement of the inhabitants of this part of the State of New-Jersey, the First Number will make its appearance on the first Tuesday in October next.

PHILIP FRENEAU

MOUNT-PLEASANT, July 4, 1794.

We, whose names are under signed do engage to take "The Monmouth Gazette, and East-Jersey Intelligencer," for one year, at One Dollar and an half per Annum; the one half of which sum to be paid at the delivery of the first number; the remaining half at the delivery of No. 52. Witness our hands—

A NOTE ON SIMMS'S VISITS TO THE SOUTHWEST

WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE

Birmingham-Southern College

HAMPTON M. Jarrell, in recounting Simms's visits to the Southwest,¹ quotes Professor W. P. Trent to show that the first visit was made in 1824 or 1825; the second, "this one not certain . . . and of which there is no specific record," in 1830. His third trip, Jarrell conjectures, came between February, 1834, and February, 1835, at which time "Simms must have met [Virgil A.] Stewart," the captor of John A. Murrell. Simms wrote in the "Advertisement" to the 1855 edition of *Richard Hurdis*: "I knew Stewart, the captor of Murrell, personally; and had several conferences with him, prior to the publication of his narrative [in 1835]. . . . The crimes here recorded were then [twenty years earlier] actually in progress of commission; and some of my scenes, and several of my persons, were sketched from personal observation, and after the current reports from the best local authorities." To this Jarrell adds:

While there was little spare time for travels during the composition of *The Yemassee* [between August 2, 1834, and April, 1835], Simms must have thought that the chance of getting material from Stewart was sufficiently important to warrant his leaving his work.

¹ Hampton M. Jarrell, "Simms's Visits to the Southwest," *American Literature*, V, 29-35 (March, 1933).

... On learning of the success of his first romance [*Guy Rivers*], Simms would naturally be induced to seek material for a similar book, even at the expense of a difficult journey. ... As I have shown, Stewart was in Mississippi during most of the winter [of 1834-1835], and Simms probably met him there during this period.²

The following letter,³ published in Charleston four months after Simms's death, determines (1) that Simms's second visit to the Southwest came, not in 1830 shortly after his father's death, but in March, 1831, and (2) indicates that the crimes "actually in progress of commission" which were used in *Richard Hurdis* may have been seen at that time, and not on a third journey in 1834-35. Simms's statement in 1855 that he "knew Stewart, the captor of Murrell, personally; and had several conferences with him, prior to the publication of his narrative," might mean that he met him in 1831, "when the wild stories then in circulation of daring adventure and wild lawless life of the frontier had attracted his attention, and he determined to see for himself."

Mr. Editor:⁴

The following verses were written by Mr. Simms in the album of my sister, Miss E. Crowell, and have never appeared in print. The circumstances under which they were written were these:

He had left Charleston with a view of travelling through Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, but especially what was then called the frontier. *The wild stories then in circulation of daring adventure and wild lawless life of the frontier had attracted his attention, and he determined to see for himself.*⁵ It was upon this journey that he obtained materials for *Guy Rivers*. He reached the house of my father, Capt. Henry Crowell, on the west bank of the Flint River, then just emerging from the wilderness and frontier state, on the 6th of March, 1831. The stage having broken down just then, he was compelled to remain there over night. There were several others present, but I remember at this time only Judge H. Warner, now of the Supreme Court bench of Georgia. I shall not attempt to describe the rich and interesting scene of that evening. I have no doubt that Judge Warner remembers it well. I will only state that he expressed himself completely surprised at finding so much in-

² *Ibid.*, V, 33-34.

³ *The Rural Carolinian*, II, 62 (Oct., 1870).

⁴ D. H. Jacques, the editor, was (1848-1851) assistant editor of *The Southern Literary Gazette* (see *The Southern Literary Messenger*, XVII, 701-702, Oct.-Nov., 1851).

⁵ The italics are mine.

telligence, refinement, and taste so far away, as he expressed it, from civilization and society. Upon retiring to his room, although midnight, he asked me for pen, ink and paper, and in the morning as he was compelled to leave early, he handed me the enclosed with a request that it should be copied into my sister's album. On his return from North Georgia, or the border, near where Atlanta now stands, he again visited us, travelling at least one hundred miles out of his way to do so; my father's residence being in what is now Taylor County, thirty miles west of the City of Macon. He remained with us several days, *that we might assist him in the frontier legends, vernacular*, etc. Immediately upon the publication of the work, *Guy Rivers*, he sent each of us a copy.

Yours, [*sic*] truly,
Jno. Crowell⁶

A NOTE ON WHITTIER'S SNOW-BOUND

NATHANIEL L. SAYLES

Bloomington, Indiana

Played cross-pins on my uncle's hat

WHEN, a short time ago, Professor S. F. Davidson of Indiana University asked his class in American Literature to explain a number of allusions in Whittier's *Snow-Bound*, I was somewhat surprised to learn that no one was acquainted with the game "cross-pins." A search in the *New English Dictionary*, through biographies of Whittier, and through notes on the poem had failed to reveal any explanation. The general opinion seemed to be that the game was a form of jack-straws. But not for me.

⁶The poem, "Flowers in the Wilderness," which follows is of eight quatrains. It is a tribute to Miss Crowell's beauty. The first and last stanzas are:

Flowers in the wilderness we meet,
And when we least suppose
The wild can yield one single sweet,
We find its native rose.

Take thou this tribute, gentle one,
And when the travellers roam
Beneath another clime and sun,
God's blessing on your home.

Fourteen years ago in Meadville, Pennsylvania, every small boy played cross-pins. We would borrow our mother's straight pins and play for hours at a time on someone's hat. The hat was placed on a flat surface with the brim down and the crown dented slightly so that there was a little circular depression at the center. One of us would place a pin in the middle of the depression, and another would lay his on the edge of the crown with the point toward the center. Taking care not to hit the pin, the latter would thump sharply the rim of the crown and make the pin fly into the center of the hat. If he could thump his pin so that any part of it lay across his opponent's, he won that pin. Then it was the opponent's turn to thump.

We all carried hat-bands and coat-lapels full of pins to school, and whenever two of us could get together, we took a whirl at this game of chance. Although Mr. Hoyle would have had us always use a hat, we sometimes had to substitute a cap. Only very small boys played, for, as I remember, at eight years I was sufficiently grown up to leave off cross-pins for marbles.

THE SOURCE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S DIALOGUES
BETWEEN PHILOCLES AND HORATIO (1730)

CHESTER EUGENE JORGENSON

The University of Iowa

PROFESSOR I. W. Riley, in discussing Franklin's dialogues between Philocles and Horatio, has suggested that they resemble Prodicus's dialogue as given in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (Book II, Chap. I).¹ Although this work may have been remembered by Franklin when he wrote the 1730 dialogues, I have discovered an unmistakably direct source for them in Shaftesbury's "The Moralists," in the *Characteristics*.²

¹ *American Philosophy: The Early Schools* (New York, 1907), p. 250. Although on p. 254 Professor Riley casually refers to Shaftesbury as Franklin's "master," there is no indication that he meant to suggest that Franklin was beholden to Shaftesbury for the ideas and forms of his dialogues.

² There are only two references to Shaftesbury in the published works of Franklin, one in the *Autobiography* (*The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth, New York, 1905-1907, I, 244), and the other in a letter in 1773 to J. Baskerville, acknowledging a "valuable present of Shaftesbury" (*ibid.*, VI, 125).

One must admit that two pieces written within a certain epoch, each representing the current pattern of ideas, may be alike, without suggesting that one necessarily fathered the other. While I think it unlikely, the following parallelisms could be explained as each having its source in the thought of the age. It seems probable that Franklin borrowed the name "Philocles" from Shaftesbury's "Philocles," even though Shaftesbury represents Philocles as the rapt inquirer beholden for his quest for truth to Theocles, while Franklin represents Philocles as the "enchanted Reasoner" bringing the less sturdy Horatio to the true way of life. One must allow Franklin the liberty of transposing the offices of the two Philocles! Both are, with varying intensity, searching for an immutable Good, each having found the world of senses and things built on evanescence and change. Both are led to acknowledge the existence of degrees and kinds of pleasures, and alike scout the idea that man can be comforted by an anarchic relativism of Goods. They feel that a Good must exist. Then too, Horatio and (Shaftesbury's) Philocles recognize with satisfaction that self-denial, self-knowing or owning, is a reasonable action, admitting, in Franklin's words, that man is subject to "Error, Irregularity, Excess, and Disorder." When Theocles and (Franklin's) Philocles insist upon the Goodness of this Attic sobriety, both of the charmed listeners acquiesce. Finally, the devoted inquirers accept their friends' conviction that compassion, expressed in benevolent action toward their fellowmen, is the highest immutable Good (higher even than self-denial).

While compassion toward one's fellowmen is unmistakably the highest Good in Shaftesbury's work, I feel that there is a slippery dual emphasis in Franklin's dialogues. In the first dialogue, self-conquest is the good, while in the second, humanitarianism is the coveted goal. One feels that in 1730 Franklin was undecided as to whether the happy warrior is he who attempts to win peace through vertical self-conquest, or through horizontal benevolent service.

Not all of the parallelisms between these two works can be explained away through reference to a common source—the current thought-patterns. Not only are Shaftesbury's and Franklin's pieces coterminous in ideology, but also there are passages which are too similar to be fortuitous, such as:

"Tell me, my friend [Philocles], if ever you were weary of doing good to those you loved? Say when you ever found it unpleasant to serve a friend? or whether when you first proved this generous pleasure you did not feel it less than at this present, after so long experience?" ("The Moralists," Part II, Sec. 1 in *Characteristics*. . . . Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, ed. J. M. Robertson, New York, 1900, II, 36.)

"Be you therefore, said I, my instructor, sagacious Theocles! and inform me 'what that good is, or where, which can afford contentment and satisfaction always alike, without variation or diminution.'" (*Ibid.*, II, 35.)

These, I suggest, display *direct* rather than merely probable evidence that Franklin pondered over and was influenced by the Earl of Shaftesbury.³

ADDENDA

JEAN SIMON

The University of Aix-Marseille

AFTER reading my article, "French Studies in American Literature and Civilization," published in *American Literature*, VI, 176-190 (May, 1934), Professor Fernand Baldensperger, of the Sorbonne, has been kind enough to send me the following information concerning his own work, which I am sure will prove of interest to students of Franco-American relations:

P. 179 n. Add: G. Clemenceau, *The American Reconstruction* (New York, 1928). Preface and identification of articles by F. Baldensperger.

³ In a projected work on Franklin's religion and philosophy I shall attempt to show the manner in which, presumptively, Shaftesbury's ideology was one of several that lent philosophical sanction to Franklin's brand of deistical thought.

Philocles: "Did you ever find yourself weary of relieving the Miserable? or of raising the Distressed into Life or Happiness? Or rather, don't you find the Pleasure grow upon you by Repetition, and that 'tis greater in the Reflection than in the Act itself? Is there a pleasure upon Earth to be compared with that which arises from the Sense of making others Happy? Can this Pleasure ever be absent, or ever end but with your Being?" (Franklin, *Writings*, II, 167.)

Philocles: "This is that constant and durable Good, which will afford Contentment and Satisfaction always alike, without Variation or Diminution." (*Ibid.*, II, 167.)

P. 185. Professor Baldensperger's article on Sinclair Lewis was published in *Le Correspondant*, Dec. 25, 1925, and not in *La Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Dec. 15, 1925.

P. 186. Add to the articles on Edgar Lee Masters: F. Baldensperger, "Spoon River Anthology d' E. L. Masters," *Le Correspondant*, Dec. 25, 1924.

P. 189. Among the French reviews interested in American literature should be listed *La Revue de Littérature Comparée* (5 Quai Malaquais, Paris 5), of which Professors Baldensperger and Hazard are joint editors.

I may add that Professor Baldensperger is also the author of three articles listed below, although it is only fair to note that they were published earlier than the period covered in my article: "Walt Whitman and France," *The Columbia University Quarterly*, 1919; "L' Education d' Henry Adams," *Le Correspondant*, Dec. 25, 1920; "Les Tendances de la Poésie aux Etats-Unis au début de la Guerre," *France-Etats-Unis*, Feb., 1920-Jan., 1921.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- William Ellery Channing the Younger. Frederick T. McGill, Jr. (Columbia).
Harold Frederic. Paul Haines (New York University).
Life, Letters, and Essays of Francis Walker Gilmer. Richard B. Davis (Virginia).
The Rev. Frederick Henry Hedge. Martha I. Tuomi (Maine).
Edgar Allan Poe in American and British Criticism. Dudley Hutcherson (Virginia).
Edward Rowland Sill. Horace J. Kelly (Pennsylvania).
Thoreau's Religion. William A. Huggard (Indiana).
The Life and Writings of Samuel Woodworth. Kendall B. Taft (Chicago).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- The Development of the Local Color Short Story and Novel in Georgia. Annie May Christie (Chicago).
The Influence of *The Spectator* in American Literature before 1800. E. C. Coleman (Illinois).
The Literature of American Friends, from the First Settlements to 1825. Robert Handel (Harvard).
The Theory of Poetry in America, Especially as Shown in the Letters and Journals of American Poets. Mary Hartshorn (Southern California).
Travelers' Records of American Culture, 1700-1776. J. R. Masterson (Harvard).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- American Literary Annuals and Gift Books. Ralph Thompson (Columbia).
The American Tours of William Makepeace Thackeray, 1852-1853, 1855-1856. Kenneth R. Pringle (Western Reserve).
British Literary Men's Opinions about America, 1750-1832. Joseph Jones (Stanford).
The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900: A Study of American Novels Portraying Contemporary Conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. George Arthur Dunlap (Pennsylvania). Printed for the author and obtainable for one dollar by addressing him at 6621 N. 12 St., Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

- Deism in Eighteenth Century America. Herbert M. Morais (Columbia). New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Farmertypen nach dem Amerikanischen Roman. Sigfrid von Koch (Hamburg). Hamburg: H. Schimkus, 1933.
- A History of the Prosody of the Chief American Poets. Gay W. Allen (Wisconsin). To be published, with additions, as *American Prosody*, by the American Book Company, 1934.
- The Literary and Cultural Background of Charleston, S. C., 1830-1860. William Stanley Hoole (Duke).
- Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development. Kenneth Wyer Rowe (Johns Hopkins). Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. \$1.25.
- Emerson in Frankreich: Wirkungen und Parallelen. Hans Keller (Giessen). Giessen, Germany, 1932 (first three chapters only).
- Herman Melville and Christianity. William Braswell (Chicago).

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- A History of *The Western Literary Messenger* (Buffalo, N. Y.). Ernest W. Clement, 162 Bellmore St., Floral Park, N. Y., will appreciate information, especially letters bearing on the subject.
- Libraries in Early St. Louis (to be published this winter). John Francis McDermott (Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.).
- Social Backgrounds between Creoles and Americans in the Early Nineteenth Century. John Francis McDermott (Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.).
- Noah Webster: A Definitive Biography. Harry R. Warfel (Bucknell).
- Walt Whitman and the Bible. Gay W. Allen (Shurtleff College, Alton, Ill.).
- Professor Carl J. Weber (Colby College, Waterville, Me.) wishes information on Lowell's "snub" indicated in the following excerpt of a letter from Edmund Gosse to W. D. Howells (Nov. 19, 1886): "Hardy . . . was very much wounded by what Lowell was reported to have said about him. . . . I cannot myself believe that Lowell said all that. . . . Hardy . . . is wretched at this supposed snub."

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ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Gummere, R. M. "John Adams, *Togatus*." *Philol. Quart.*, XIII, 203-210 (April, 1934).

Classical background of Adams's reading and education.

Haraszti, Z. "John Adams on Frederick the Great." *More Books: Bull. of B. P. L.*, IX, 161-173 (May, 1934).

Adams's notes in his copies of Frederick's posthumous works.
(Continued from the April issue.)

———"John Adams on Napoleon and the French." *Ibid.*, IX, 201-231 (June, 1934).

Marginal notes from his copy of the Comte d'Hauterive, *The State of France*.

[BARLOW, JOEL] dell' Isola, Maria. "Joel Barlow: Précurseur de la Société des Nations." *Revue de Litt. Comparée*, XIV, 283-296 (April-June, 1934).

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Lyle, Guy R. "William Byrd, Book Collector." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 163-165 (May-June, 1934); 208-209 (July, 1934).

On the library of Byrd.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Crane, Verner W. "Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin on the British Empire and the American Colonies." *Papers of the Bib. Soc.*, XXVIII, 1-27 (Part I, 1934).

"This essay is the prospectus for a fuller survey, now in progress, of the political writings of Franklin during his two periods of residence in England as colonial agent: between 1757 and 1762, and from 1764 to 1775."

[GODFREY, THOMAS] Pollock, Thomas C. "Rowe's *Tamerlane* and *The Prince of Parthia*." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 158-162 (May, 1934).

The influence of Rowe's play on Godfrey's work is discussed in greater detail than heretofore.

[SMITH, WILLIAM] Hornberger, T. "A Note on the Probable Source of Provost William Smith's Famous Curriculum for the College of Philadelphia." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVIII, 370-377 (Oct., 1934).

Suggests Robert Dodsley's *Preceptor*, and Samuel Johnson's preface to it in particular, as the probable source.

[TUCKER, ST. GEORGE] Coleman, Mrs. G. P. "Randolph and Tucker Letters." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLII, 211-223 (July, 1934).

One dated Oct. 27, 1813, from Tucker to Richard Rush and another dated Dec. 2, 1813, from Rush to Tucker.

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Anonymous. "Important Roger Williams Letter." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXVII, 85-92 (July, 1934).

The complete printing of a general letter answering charges against Williams's conduct in relation to the Indians and the purchase of lands.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Clark, Harry H. "American Literature, 1787-1800." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 481-487 (June, 1934).

Factors to be investigated in this period are: classicism, the Christian tradition, neo-classicism, rationalism, the frontier spirit, primitivism, agrarianism, federalism, sentimentalism, Gothicism, and conflicting currents of aesthetic theory.

Gilmer, Gertrude. "Maryland Magazines—Ante-Bellum 1793-1861." *Md. Historical Mag.*, XXIX, 120-131 (June, 1934).

A bibliographical list.

Keidel, G. C. "Early Maryland Newspapers." *Md. Historical Mag.*, XXVIII, 119-137 (June, 1933); 244-257 (Sept., 1933); 328-344 (Dec., 1933); XXIX, 25-34 (March, 1934); 132-144 (June, 1934); 223-236 (Sept., 1934).

A bibliographical list. (To be continued.)

Morris, E. P. "A Library of 1742." *Yale Univ. Library Gaz.*, IX, 1-11 (July, 1934).

Notes on a catalogue of the Yale Library, 1742.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "William Cullen Bryant and Communism." *Modern Month.*, VIII, 353-359 (July, 1934).

Bryant's attitude toward the workingman.

McDowell, Tremaine. "An Uncollected Poem by Bryant." *Americana*, XXVIII, 299-301 (July, 1934).

"To William," published in a gift book edited by Seba Smith (1845).

Winterich, John T. "Early American Books and Printing, Chapter IX (Concluded): Enter the Professional Author." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 1863-1866 (May 19, 1934).

Bryant, gift books, etc.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Thompson, Ralph. "Emerson and *The Offering for 1829*." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 151-157 (May, 1934).

The poem "Fame" was contributed by Emerson to Andrews Norton's annual, along with "An Extract from Unpublished Travels in the East" and, probably, another poem: "William Rufus and the Jew." The sources of these works, so far as possible, are discussed.

[FOSTER, S. C.] Jillson, W. R. "State and National Collections of Fosteriana." *Register of Ky. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXII, 270-273 (July, 1934).

A description of the materials relating to Stephen Collins Foster to be found in various repositories, followed by a list of books of reference.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Williams, S. T. and Leisy, E. E. "Polly Holman's Wedding: Notes by Washington Irving." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 449-454 (July, 1934).

A hitherto unpublished story by Irving, sketched on his trip to the Southwest.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Hatfield, James T. "Professor Hatfield Replies to Mr. Thompson." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 193-195 (May, 1934).

Mr. Lawrance Thompson is challenged for certain statements made in his review of Professor Hatfield's *New Light on Longfellow*.

Thompson, Lawrance. "Longfellow Sells *The Spanish Student*." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 141-150 (May, 1934).

The play was rejected by several publishers before it finally appeared in *Graham's Magazine* for 1842.

[NEAL, JOHN] Richards, Irving T. "Audubon, Joseph R. Mason, and John Neal." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 122-140 (May, 1934).

John Neal's attack on the veracity of Audubon's reports of personal experiences involve Joseph R. Mason, a painter, and for several months a companion of the naturalist. Mason's letter of June 29, 1834, is reproduced—a letter which provided Neal with material for his damaging accusations.

An appendix on Neal's subscription to *Birds of America* includes a number of letters from MS. written by Neal, Audubon, George C. Shattuck, and George Parkman.

[PARKER, THEODORE] Commager, H. S. "Theodore Parker, Intellectual Gourmand." *Am. Scholar*, III, 257-265 (Summer, 1934).

[POE, E. A.] Goodwin, Katherine C. "Old Documents and Their Marketing." *Daughters of the Am. Rev. Mag.*, LXVII, 539-546 (Sept., 1933).

Contains a hitherto unpublished letter by Poe, dated June 3, 1836, addressed to James H. Causten, and dealing with Mrs. Clemm's claim against the government.

Jackson, David K. "'Some Ancient Greek Authors': A Work of E. A. Poe." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 368 (May 26, 1934).

Evidence that Poe used his own work, "Some Ancient Greek Authors," as a source for his "Lionizing."

Suarès, André. "Edgar Poe." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, XII, 1-2 (April 7, 1934).

An appreciation.

Taylor, Walter F. "Israfel in Motley." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLII, 330-339 (July-Sept., 1934).

Poe mocked the heavy moralizers of his age, satirized sentimental extravagance, indulged in farce, and burlesqued the short prose fiction of which he was a master.

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Beatty, R. C. "Swinburne and Bayard Taylor." *Philol. Quart.*, XIII, 297-299 (July, 1934).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Southworth, James G. "Thoreau, Moralizer of the Picturesque." *PMLA*, XLIX, 971-974 (Sept., 1934).

The author objects to certain conclusions made in William Templeman's article on Thoreau and Gilpin in *PMLA*, XLVII, 864-889 (Sept., 1932).

[WEEMS, MASON] Foster, James W. "Weems Genealogy." *Md. Historical Mag.*, XXVIII, 265-271 (Sept., 1933).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Campbell, Killis. "Miscellaneous Notes on Whitman." *Univ. of Texas Stud. in Eng.*, XIV, 116-122 (July, 1934).

Five short sections: Bibliographical Notes, Literary Echoes in *Leaves of Grass*, Coinages and Other Rare Words in *Leaves of Grass*, Textual Errors in *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman's Use of the Figure Metanoia.

Cooke, Mrs. Alice L. "Whitman's Indebtedness to the Scientific Thought of His Day." *Ibid.*, XIV, 89-115 (July, 1934).

Parry, Albert. "Walt Whitman in Russia." *Am. Mercury*, XXXIII, 100-107 (Sept., 1934).

After years of curious misconceptions about Whitman, the Russians accepted him in 1917, not as a mystic, but as a revolutionary.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Fatout, Paul. "Yarning in the 1850's." *Am. Scholar*, III, 281-293 (Summer, 1934).

The period, a decade of feminism, was in favor "not of Poe's unity of effect, but rather of unanimity of effect—the effect of boredom."

Lyle, G. R. "College Literary Societies in the Fifties." *Library Quart.*, IV, 487-494 (July, 1934).

The nature of the interests and programs of the societies.

See also under *Miscellaneous* in Section I of this check-list, items by Gertrude Gilmer and G. C. Keidel.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Bixler, Paul H. "A Note on Henry Adams." *Colophon*, Part XVII (June, 1934).

Correspondence between Adams and President C. F. Thwing of Western Reserve University.

Leslie, Shane. "Letters of Henry Adams." *Yale Rev.*, XXIV, 112-117 (Sept., 1934).

Shumate, Roger V. "The Political Philosophy of Henry Adams." *Am. Pol. Science Rev.*, XXVIII, 599-610 (Aug., 1934).

[ALCOTT, LOUISA] Adlow, Dorothy. "Louisa Alcott's Sister May." *Chr. Science Mon.*, XXVI, 10 (Magazine Section, Aug. 29, 1934).

May Alcott occasionally illustrated her sister's books.

[BELLAMY, EDWARD] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Edward Bellamy." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 1125 (Sept. 22, 1934).

[TARBELL, IDA M.] "New Dealers of the Seventies: Henry George and Edward Bellamy." *Forum*, XCII, 133-139 (Sept., 1934).

[BROWNE, C. F.] Anonymous. *London Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 1682 (April 26, 1934).

A leading article concerning the career and humor of Artemus Ward.

Nock, Albert J. "Artemus Ward's America." *Atlantic Month.*, CLIV, 273-281 (Sept., 1934).

Ward is presented as "the first really great critic of American society."

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Altrocchi, Julia C. "Along the Mother Lode." *Yale Rev.*, XXIV, 131-145 (Sept., 1934).

A description of the Clemens-Harte trail in California.

Douglas, Gilbert. "Behind That Door." *N. Y. World-Telegram* (Aug. 15, 1934), p. 21.

Prints an unpublished letter of Mark Twain, dated, Hamilton, Bermuda, Jan. 26, 1910.

Leacock, Stephen. "Two Humorists: Charles Dickens and Mark Twain." *Yale Rev.*, XXIV, 118-129 (Sept., 1934).

Older, Fremont. "Mark Twain and Jackass Hill." *Overland Month.*, LXXXII, 118 (July, 1934).

The spot on which the "Jumping Frog" story was written is suggested as the site for a national shrine to Clemens.

[CRAWFORD, F. M.] Chapman, Grace. "Francis Marion Crawford: Some Observations on His Novels." *London Mercury*, XXX, 244-253 (July, 1934).

Treats particularly the series of novels dealing with the Saracinesca family.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Powell, Desmond. "Emily Dickinson." *Colo. College Pub.*, General Series, No. 200 (May, 1934).

Critical discussion of her life and work.

Starke, Aubrey H. "Emily Dickinson as a Great Unknown." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 245-246 (Aug.-Sept., 1934).

A brief résumé of her publishing career.

Whicher, George F. and Bingham, Millicent Todd. "Emily Dickinson's Earliest Friend." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 191-193 (May, 1934).

Mrs. Bingham writes to explain the fact that in Mabel L. Todd's *Letters of Emily Dickinson* (1931) there is no mention of B. F. Newton, whom Professor Whicher described in the March, 1934, issue of *Am. Lit.* Two letters of the Rev. Edward Everett Hale are printed, dated Feb. 1, and Feb. 7, 1894. Professor Whicher comments upon Mrs. Bingham's letter.

[HALE, E. E.] See item above.

[HARTE, F. B.] See entry under *Clemens, S. L.*, item by Julia C. Altrocchi.

[HOWE, E. W.] Crawford, Nelson A. "Kansas Honors a Genius." *Midwest*, I, 1 and 11 (Oct., 1934).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Thomas, Benjamin P. "A Unique Biography of Lincoln." *Bull. of A. Lincoln Assn.*, No. 35, pp. 3-8 (June, 1934).

The sources of Howells's campaign life of Lincoln are discussed, and notes are given concerning corrections made in a copy which Lincoln read.

[JAMES, HENRY] Arvin, Newton. "Henry James and the Almighty Dollar." *Hound & Horn*, VII, 434-443 (April-June, 1934).

This article, in the special Henry James number of *Hound & Horn*, maintains that James was not unaware of the social consequences of great wealth.

Blackmur, Richard P. "The Critical Prefaces." *Ibid.*, VII, 444-477 (April-June, 1934).

A discussion of James's prefaces for the New York edition.

Boughton, Alice. "A Note by His Photographer." *Ibid.*, VII, 478-479 (April-June, 1934).

James was the only sitter who ever frightened Miss Boughton.

Cantwell, Robert. "A Little Reality." *Ibid.*, VII, 494-505 (April-June, 1934).

Early in his career James wanted to be a realist. Never did he altogether lose contact with the source of reality—the lower classes.
Fergusson, Francis. "The Drama in *The Golden Bowl*." *Ibid.*, VII, 407-413 (April-June, 1934).

An interpretation of the novel.

Hays, H. R. "Henry James, the Satirist." *Ibid.*, VII, 514-522 (April-June, 1934).

James, Henry. "*The Ambassadors*"—Project of a Novel." *Ibid.*, VII, 541-562 (April-June, 1934).

James's "manifesto" of the novel, sent to his publishers, and heretofore unprinted. Edited by Edna Kenton.

James, Henry. "Two Unpublished Letters." *Ibid.*, VII, 414-416 (April-June, 1934).

Letters to William Heinemann and Richard Watson Gilder.

Kenton, Edna. "Henry James in the World." *Ibid.*, VII, 506-513 (April-June, 1934).

James was international, at heart the citizen of no country.

———"Some Bibliographical Notes on Henry James." *Ibid.*, VII, 535-540 (April-June, 1934).

Leighton, Lawrence. "Armor Against Time." *Ibid.*, VII, 373-384 (April-June, 1934).

James lived in Europe not because he hated America but because he was generally out of sympathy with his age.

Moore, Marianne. "Henry James as a Characteristic American." *Ibid.*, VII, 363-372 (April-June, 1934).

Orcutt, William D. "Celebrities off Parade: Henry James." *Chr. Science Mon.*, XXVI, 12 (Aug. 24, 1934).

Anecdotal reporting of the novelist as he was before the World War.

Spender, Stephen. "The School of Experience in the Early Novels." *Hound & Horn*, VII, 417-433 (April-June, 1934).

At first James reported European society. In his later novels he retreated to a world of inner experience.

Westcott, Glenway. "A Sentimental Contribution." *Ibid.*, VII, 523-534 (April-June, 1934).

Comments on Henry James and his influence.

Wheelwright, John. "Henry James and Stanford White." *Ibid.*, VII, 480-493 (April-June, 1934).

Wilson, Edmund. "The Ambiguity of Henry James." *Ibid.*, VII, 385-406 (April-June, 1934).

[MARKHAM, EDWIN] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Edwin Markham (1852-)." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 220 (July 21, 1934).

[MURFREE, MARY N.] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Mary Noailles Murfree (Charles Egbert Craddock, 1850-1922)." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 510 (Aug. 18, 1934).

[NORRIS, FRANK] Bixler, Paul H. "Frank Norris's Literary Reputation." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 109-121 (May, 1934).

[PORTER, W. S.] Ratchford, Fanny. "The Rolling Stone." *Colophon*, Part XVII (June, 1934).

The history of O. Henry's early humorous column.

[SHAW, H. W.] Clemens, Cyril. "Josh Billings: A Neglected Humorist." *Overland Month.*, LXXXII, 12 (Jan., 1934).

[TIMROD, HENRY] Voigt, G. P. "Timrod's Essays in Literary Criticism." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 163-167 (May, 1934).

Timrod was "an earnest and thoughtful student of literary art and theory," writing in a tone "of independence and dignity, occasionally lapsing into caustic indignation." Various critical essays by the poet are summarized.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Admari, Ralph. "Bibliography of Dime Novels." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 215-217 (July, 1934).

Conclusion of a bibliography of the Beadle Collection.

Haugen, E. I. "Ibsen in America: A Forgotten Performance and an Unpublished Letter." *J. E. G. P.*, XXXIII, 396-420 (July, 1934).

An account of "the first Ibsen performance in English in America and the second in the English speaking world," in Milwaukee on June 2 and June 3, 1882.

Howland, Hewitt H. "An Historical Revival: Nothing Succeeds Like Success in Setting a Literary Fashion." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 2135-2137 (June 9, 1934).

The phenomenal rise of the romantic-historic novel began in 1880 with *Ben Hur*, reached its height ten years later, and passed out of popular favor in 1910. Today we have perhaps changed the romantic for the realistic.

IV. 1900-1934

[CRANE, HART] Birss, J. H. "American First Editions: (Harold) Hart Crane (1899-1932)." *Pub. Week.*, CXXV, 2223 (June 16, 1934).

A check-list.

Crane, Hart. "Letters." *Hound & Horn*, VII, 677-682 (July-Sept., 1934).

Two letters to Otto H. Kahn regarding "The Bridge."

[EASTMAN, MAX] Eastman, Max. "Bunk About Bohemia." *Modern Month.*, VIII, 200-208 (May, 1934); 292-300 (June, 1934).

Eastman's relations with *The Masses*, *The Liberator*, and *The New Masses*.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Calverton, V. F. "T. S. Eliot: An Inverted Marxian." *Ibid.*, VIII, 372-373 (July, 1934).

Discusses especially *After Strange Gods*.

[FROST, ROBERT] Cox, Sidney H. "New England and Robert Frost." *New Mex. Quart.*, IV, 89-94 (May, 1934).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Jameson, Storm. "The Craft of the Novelist." *Modern Thinker*, IV, 290-302 (March, 1934).

A brief discussion of Hemingway is included.

[HEYWARD, DuBOSE] de Saint Jean, Robert. "DuBose Heyward dans sa cabane." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, XII, 8 (March 24, 1934).

[LEONARD, W. E.] Meyer, Ernest L. "William Ellery Leonard." *Am. Mercury*, XXXII, 334-340 (July, 1934).

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Gillmor, Frances. "The Curve of a Continent." *New Mex. Quart.*, IV, 114-122 (May, 1934).

Discussion of the poetry of MacLeish.

[MENCKEN, H. L.] Anonymous. "Mencken, Moralist!" *Catholic World*, CXXXIX, 257-266 (June, 1934).

Mencken and Catholicism.

[MILLAY, EDNA ST. V.] Macdougall, Allan R. "Husband of a Genius." *Delineator* for Oct., 1934, pp. 21, 40-41.

E. Boissevain, the husband of Edna Millay.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] St. Clair, George. "E. A. Robinson and Tilbury Town." *New Mex. Quart.*, IV, 95-107 (May, 1934).

[SINCLAIR, UPTON] Sinclair, Upton. "Planning the Model State." *Modern Thinker*, V, 23-25 (Oct., 1934).

Sinclair presents his own exposition of the "Epic Plan."

[STRIBLING, T. S.] Dickens, B. "T. S. Stribling and the South." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLII, 341-349 (July-Sept., 1934).

[STEVENS, WALLACE] Hays, H. R. "Laforgue and Wallace Stevens." *Romanic Rev.*, XXV, 242-248 (July-Sept., 1934).

A comparison of the two men as poets.

[TEASDALE, SARA] Fisher, Irene. "Strange Victory: One Woman's Life." *New Mex. Quart.*, IV, 123-126 (May, 1934).

A brief criticism of Sara Teasdale's verse.

[WILCOX, ELLA W.] De Ford, Miriam A. "Poetess of Passion." *Am. Mercury*, XXXII, 435-439 (Aug., 1934).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Clark, John A. "Why Poetry Languishes." *Modern Thinker*, IV, 44-49 (Nov., 1933).

Dobrée, Bonamy. "Modern Prose Style." *Criterion*, XIII, 561-576 (July, 1934).

Eaton, W. P. "Revolt from Realism." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, X, 515-528 (Oct., 1934).

The theater needs something more than realism to buy back its kingdom.

Merriam, H. G. "Expression of Northwest Life." *New Mex. Quart.*, IV, 127-132 (May, 1934).

Discussion of certain contemporary Northwest writers.

Smith, Henry Justin. "The Midwest's Literary Background." *Midwest*, I, 3 (Sept., 1934).

Is there a Midwestern school of letters?

V. Language and Folk Literature

Davidson, L. J. "Auto-Tourist Talk." *Am. Speech*, IX, 110-114 (April, 1934).

Chittick, V. L. O. "Ring-Tailed Roarers." *Frontier*, XIII, 257-264 (May, 1933).

A study of frontier boasters.

Foreman, Grant. "The Story of Sequonah's Last Days." *Chronicles of Okla.*, XII, 25-41 (March, 1934).

Sequonah gave the Cherokee language an alphabet of eighty-five characters.

Green, O. M. "Pidgin-English." *Fortnightly Rev.*, No. 813, n. s., pp. 331-340 (Sept., 1934).

Maginty, Edward A. "Four Famous Catholic Songs." *Catholic World*, CXXXIX, 541-545 (Aug., 1934).

Includes a discussion of the chantey "Shenandoah."

Penzl, H. "New England Terms for 'Poached Eggs'." *Am. Speech*, IX, 90-96 (April, 1934).

Ramsey, R. L., Read, A. W., and Leech, Esther G. "Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-Names." *Univ. of Mo. Studs.*, IX, 1-124 (Jan., 1934).

Read, A. W. "Noah Webster as a Euphemist." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 385-391 (July, 1934).

—"The Philological Society of New York, 1788." *Am. Speech*, IX, 131-136 (April, 1934).

Reinecke, J. E. and Tokimaso, A. "The English Dialect of Hawaii." *Ibid.*, IX, 122-131 (April, 1934).

Sanford, Winifred and Jackson, Clyde. "Derrick Jargon." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 335-345 (April, 1934).

Vestal, Stanley. "The Works of Sitting Bull." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 265-278 (April, 1934).

The author separates the poems of the Sioux leader from literary forgeries.

VI. Miscellaneous

Anonymous. "Ninety Years On." *Living Age*, CCCXLVI, 198-199 (May, 1934).

A short history of *The Living Age*.

Austin, Mary. "Spanish Manuscripts in the Southwest." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 402-409 (July, 1934).

Benson, Adolph B. "The Scandinavian Collection in the Yale University Library." *Scand Studs. and Notes*, XIII, 33-47 (Aug., 1934).

On collections of Swedish-American and Scandinavian research in this country.

Brown, E. K. "The National Idea in American Criticism." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XIV, 133-197 (July, 1934).

Hogan, W. R. "The Theater in the Republic of Texas." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 374-401 (July, 1934).

Howard, J. T. "Native Elements in American Music." *Am. Scholar*, III, 325-335 (Summer, 1934).

Lüdeke, H. "American Literature in Germany: A Report of Recent Research and Criticism, 1931-1933." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 168-175 (May, 1934).

Lynch, John W. "Parnassus to Calvary." *Catholic World*, CXXXIX, 178-181 (May, 1934).

Mentions some American Catholic writers.

Maginty, E. A. "'America': The Origin of Its Melody." *Musical Quart.*, XX, 259-266 (July, 1934).

Traces the probable course of the melody from a Gregorian antiphony.

McDermott, J. F. "Novels and Other Worthless Books." *Am. Book Collector*, V, 259-261 (Aug.-Sept., 1934).

The prejudice against the novel in the early history of the United States.

McMurtrie, D. C. "The Printing Press Moves Westward." *Minn. Hist.*, XV, 1-25 (March, 1934).

McWilliams, Carey. "Localism in American Criticism." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 410-428 (July, 1934).

Simon, Jean. "French Studies in American Literature and Civilization." *Am. Lit.*, VI, 176-190 (May, 1934).

The topic is limited to recent years.

Smith, Henry. "The Dilemma of Agrarianism." *Southwest Rev.*, XIX, 215-232 (April, 1934).

A reply to the Nashville theorists.

Yarmolinski, Avraham. "Bibliographical Studies in Early Polish Americana." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XXXVIII, 223-240 (April, 1934).

On the earliest Polish accounts of America.

BOOK REVIEWS

WALT WHITMAN IN ENGLAND. By Harold Blodgett. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1934. ix, 244 pp. \$2.50.

In 1887 the editors of *The Fortnightly Review* ran a series of articles composed of selections in prose and verse chosen by many of the leading literati of the day. Matthew Arnold displayed the effects of his classical training—as, indeed, did many another who felt that the Greeks had more than a word for beauty of style. Thomas Bailey Aldrich selected as his favorites a poem by Emerson and Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech; Oliver Wendell Holmes, not to be outdone by Arnold, culled passages from Æschylus, from Gray, the Bible, and Tacitus. Olive Schreiner chose a portion of Emerson's essay on Friendship as her favored prose masterpiece; and Sir Edwin Arnold found a place among passages from Lovelace, Horace, and George Herbert for Whitman's "Come lovely and soothing death"—the lyrical climax of the poem which Swinburne, that "howling dervish" of criticism, once called "the most sonorous nocturne ever chanted in the church of the world." Certainly the acceptance of Whitman in English literary circles is an astonishing phase of the unfortunately neglected subject of Anglo-American cultural relations.

The study of Whitman's literary reputation, like all aspects of Whitman scholarship, sprawls in the chaos of reminiscence, hectic partisanship, and unmitigated detraction. The Pete Doyles are involved as well as the Emersons and Tennysons. The student who limits his research to the history of the poet's fame and notoriety in the British Isles up to 1892 confronts no easy task. He may be expected to discuss the publication in England of *Leaves of Grass* and the other volumes, to consider carefully the reviews and biographical notices in newspapers like the London *Daily News* and magazines like *The Broadway* as well as the better known chroniclers of opinion, to examine a vast horde of manuscript letters written about Whitman and his cause, as well as the biographies and epistles already in print—and largely known to scholars.

Dr. Blodgett has not satisfied expectations in these respects. He has approached his subject from the angle of the chief literary personalities involved, recording neatly and accurately the history of the interest in, and criticism of, Whitman on the part of W. M. Rossetti, Dowden, Symonds, Buchanan, Anne Gilchrist, Swinburne, Tennyson, a few minor poets, a few "Major Prophets" like Carlyle, Ruskin, and Stevenson, a number of enlightened professors, and an assortment of journalists who

vented their spleen at "the bastard jargon" of the poet or prophesied that the future would be "with him and his school."

Much is lost by this approach—particularly the reaction of the more ordinary Englishman; and much is gained—especially neat organization. Indeed, *Walt Whitman in England* is almost unique among scholarly studies of the Son of Manhattan in being sustained in an even tone and balanced upon a structural principle from which there is little deviation. As a well written, and even spicy, summary of the chief facts known about the reaction of the literary folk of Great Britain to our Poet of Democracy Dr. Blodgett's work is to be highly commended. The present writer believes, however, that much would have been gained by looking a bit further for fresh material. Then we should know just what Carlyle was reported as saying about Whitman (see the letters of Smalley); and perhaps then we should not be told that the early English critiques of Whitman's poems are "so similar to the early American reviews that, shuffling them together, one cannot tell the difference." (There is no evidence in the text or the bibliography that a large number of the early reviews have been read.) Moreover, the method of the book demands that a careful and complete summary of the activities of Moncure Conway in behalf of Whitman abroad be presented, since at the beginning of Whitmania in England Conway was the fount of information.

"The question of why the English were interested in Whitman," Dr. Blodgett writes, "may best be considered after telling the story of that interest." At times he offers his opinions on this most important problem (see, for example, pp. 9, 11, 43, 50, 54, 59, and 144), but his general conclusion leaves this reviewer cold—or, perhaps, better, cool. One looks in vain for the obvious facts that Emerson and others had prepared a good many English writers for Whitman and that not only do rebels like rebels but that mystics find pleasure in mystics even though they write free verse, howl praises of America, and believe that sex is as important as friendship in the life of a normal man. It seems obvious, too, from a reading of *Walt Whitman in England* that, whereas Whitman was better known in America during his day, in England his admirers early included a larger number of writers who later developed considerable influence as critics or as creative artists. John Burroughs is matched by many an Englishman. Finally, in discussing the reasons for English enthusiasm over the Good Gray Poet Dr. Blodgett does not appear to have given sufficient consideration (1) to the tremendous sympathy with Taine's critical theories manifested by nineteenth-century writers, (2) to the force exerted by the democratic movement in the level of workingmen's colleges and "low-brow" periodicals long after intellectual

sophisticates seemed to agree that "democracy as a public issue" was settled, and (3) to the spread of foreign interest in America attendant upon the wide publicity given the Civil War and the opening of the new West.

But the author's choice of the more "literary" phase of his subject may be said to have relieved him of the necessity of explaining the lower level of the English reaction; and where the higher level of taste is involved he has probably been wise in refraining from philosophizing too shrewdly anent his findings, since such celebrations often end in the contradictions of personal interests. Dr. Blodgett has done a faithful work of summarizing, and many a student will be grateful to him for presenting such a neat account of the more artistic aspect of the subject with which he has concerned himself.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI CONCERNING WHITMAN, BLAKE, AND SHELLEY *To Anne Gilchrist and Her Son Herbert Gilchrist: With Appendices Containing a Letter to President Cleveland and an Uncollected Whitman Circular.* Edited by Clarence Gohdes and Paull Franklin Baum. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1934. 201 pp. \$2.50.

We think of William Michael Rossetti as the "solid man" of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who in the enlisting of British art under neo-medieval banners, performed the pedestrian services which no one else was there to do. How, employed for nearly fifty years in the Inland Revenue Office, he yet found time to act as the clerk of the Brotherhood, to issue their manifesto, *The Germ*, to record the history of the Rossetti circle, and to engage besides in a multitude of other editing tasks is enough to arouse our respect for his sheer diligence.

But he had more than diligence,—he had judgment, and he always considered that a major reward of his critical career was the part he played in introducing to English readers the poetry of Walt Whitman, about whom his opinion never wavered during long years in which he saw *Leaves of Grass* met by extremes of scorn and adulation. This is his rôle in the letters edited by Dr. Gohdes and Dr. Baum. The most remarkable result of all the currents set in motion by Rossetti's edition of *Poems by Walt Whitman* in 1868 was their impact upon Anne Gilchrist, widow of Blake's first biographer. Her story is now familiar—how she came upon Whitman's poetry through this selection, how her impassioned defense of his art in letters to Rossetti was turned into the famous article "An Englishwoman's Estimate of Walt Whitman," how she fell

in love with the poet, crossed the Atlantic to meet him, and established there an enduring bond of tranquil friendship.

In making available the letters of Rossetti to Anne Gilchrist and her son, Herbert, the editors have made a substantial contribution to the long record of Whitman's English connections. While a few of the letters have to do with Rossetti's interest in Blake and Shelley, most of them deal with his and Mrs. Gilchrist's strenuous concern for Whitman's welfare. Especially useful is the light they throw upon the English subscription movement of 1885, which is not nearly so well known as the much publicized campaign of 1876. The second subscription, initiated by Charles Aldrich, of Iowa, who wrote to Rossetti of Whitman's indigence, brought £155 to Walt's pocket from a distinguished company of English admirers. It also brought a letter from Rossetti to President Grover Cleveland, affirming that "Thousands & ten-thousands of people will in future years declare that to leave Whitman to die, old, paralyzed, & poor, was an indelible stain upon the star-spangled banner. . . ." President Cleveland, it appears, did nothing to avert the disgrace, even though Robert Buchanan, Rossetti's enemy, had also petitioned the President concerning a pension for Whitman.

The letters are those of a busy man, written not to charm but to give information or get things done. They are in their self-revelation a tribute to the reliability and generosity of this man of whom Whitman said somewhere that he never forgot the market-basket. Apparently no task was too great where Whitman was concerned. He even recopied the manuscript of Anne Gilchrist's "Englishwoman's Estimate" lest the secret of its authorship should be revealed through the handwriting.

Competent editing, full annotation, and beautiful printing contribute to making this collection of letters an estimable item in Whitmaniana. The reviewer noticed but two trivial misprints: on page 86 the indication for footnote 2 is missing, and on page 105 the date of Mrs. Gilchrist's departure from America is given as June, 1878 instead of June, 1879.

HAROLD BLODGETT.

THE GREAT TRADITION. By Granville Hicks. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. 317 pp. \$2.50.

AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1880-1930. By A. C. Ward. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh. The Dial Press. 1932. 273 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Hicks has caused something more than a ripple in the waters of American criticism by this history of our literature. It covers, more or less chronologically, the period from the Civil War to the present day,

with a brief preliminary chapter on the "heritage" of the New England Group. But its distinguishing feature is the theory of literary criticism which underlies its narrative. Mr. Hicks believes that literature is determined by the social forces which shape the environment in which it appears, and that the central social force in American civilization is the slow coming of Marxian Communism.

The first of these beliefs is now no novelty to students of American literary history. When V. L. Parrington, in 1927, boldly reviewed the history of American thought in terms of Jeffersonian agrarianism, the elder critics received their first major shock; but the way was once and for all time opened to a reinterpretation of our literary history. The language link with English literature, which had previously made it impossible to consider American writings in terms of the forces which conditioned their production, no longer could bind so tightly. The protest against "mental slavery," which was voiced by Cooper, Channing, and Emerson a century before, had found adequate grounds. Subsequent research and criticism in American literature have proceeded on the axiom that a mature civilization should look to its literary past for the factors which determined its mental growth.

Mr. Hicks is an extremist in his acceptance of this view. His individual literary judgments, as well as his general principles of historical interpretation, are largely determined by it. He does not make the mistake of believing that a writer is an artist merely because he gives expression to native and contemporary realities, but his æsthetic judgments are so far colored by his deterministic views as to fail frequently of objectivity. A few examples will illustrate the point. After recognizing the "flawless metaphor" of *Moby Dick*, he stresses the comparative failure of this "metaphysical epic" to grasp "all the principal varieties of experience" in its era. The timeless theme of obsession in Ahab, suggestive of Æschylus, Shakespeare, and Dostoyevsky, is subordinated by this critic to the demand that Melville interpret the whole thought of a particular time and place. Whitman is more fortunate in his hands, because his cosmic intuition was in harmony with his understanding of America, the common man, and the meaning of the frontier; and we are not surprised at rediscovering the weaknesses of Lowell, Aldrich, and Stedman. The positive values of Howells as recorder of the contemporary scene are brought out with a deserved emphasis, but he is judged to be weak because he was "wrong on many [social] issues" rather than because a conventional ethic hampered his understanding of essential human nature and because he could not free himself from the formal limitations of the popular romance of his day. The

judgment of Emily Dickinson suggests Macaulay's classic misinterpretation of Boswell: that his strength lay in his weakness. Negative virtues, thinks Mr. Hicks, made her "tower over other poets of the period," but "she could have none of the vigor that is found in an artist for whom self-expression is also the expression of the society of which he is a part." Norris and Sinclair failed, he says, only because they did not fully assimilate their material, but they were on the right track.

Mr. Hicks lays too much emphasis in all his judgments on the writer's ability to understand and express the society in which he lives; too little on his comprehension of more nearly absolute values and recurrent qualities in nature and human nature. And he pays too little attention to a writer's style and mastery of his art. The work of authors like Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, James, Henry Adams, E. A. Robinson, and Robert Frost fail, in his hands, of adequate and discriminating appreciation because the sources of their inspiration and the qualities of their art are too subjective, and because they express a social philosophy which is opposed to his. By demanding always the epic in preference to the lyric or other forms of the imagination, the social rather than the individual comprehension, Mr. Hicks has closed his mind to a good half of human experience. On the other hand, authors like Howells, Crane, Norris, and notably John Dos Passos, gain through an emphasis upon one or more of their principal virtues. His derogatory criticism, in these cases, is more acceptable because he is asking for the thing which these writers were attempting to supply; but even here the highly specialized basis of his thought makes him fail in well-rounded judgment.

I hesitate to quarrel with Mr. Hicks on the dogma that Marxian Communism is the ultimate formula of American society and that our writings up to this time which point toward its consummation are in "the great tradition." I am not convinced that this is true; neither am I sure that it is false. A conviction on this point would have to be, as it is in Mr. Hicks, a matter of faith. The evidence is, up to this time, insufficient to prove it. It is a fact that social protest, particularly in the decades between 1890 and 1910, furnished a predominating theme in our literature, and it is also true that our literature today is socially conscious in a broader and more fundamental way than it ever has been. This does not, however, lead me to turn away from the critical method of objective analysis of all the causal factors of literary production and from the intuitive appreciation of beauty and truth where I find it. I am no more willing to accept Mr. Hicks's formula as final than I am to be content with that of Parrington, the similar Marxian formula of Mr. Calverton, or the Freudian-Puritan formula of Mr. Lewisohn. All of these

challengers are stimulating, but they are ultimately valuable only when the arbitrary barriers in their thought are broken down; when their findings are related, the one to the other; and when the whole problem is reëxamined in terms of a broader understanding of the human experience than any one of them will allow.

It may seem paradoxical to conclude by saying that Mr. Hicks's book seems to me to be one of the best rapid surveys of the later American literature that I have read. He has rather more æsthetic sensibility than other social interpreters of our literature have demonstrated, and the restricted and dogmatic formula of his thought has afforded him the means for a swift and clear charting of his course through a mass of reading which has left many critics in mental confusion. Furthermore, he seems to have read carefully the works upon which he comments, and he has depended consistently upon his own reactions rather than on the repeated words of censure and praise of earlier critics. His book is one to be referred to and reckoned with by any student who ventures into his field, but it has the virtues and the defects of an original piece of historical criticism rather than those which make for ultimate acceptance as authority. We need more literary histories as conscientious, consistent, and adventurous as this.

The values and faults of the book become increasingly obvious when we turn from it to *American Literature 1880-1930*, the work of an Englishman of taste and discrimination who has read widely if not exhaustively in the same period. Mr. Ward has no criteria other than his perceptions of literary values and his common sense. His comments are sensitive, urbane, and often witty, rather than correlative or profound. Not as ambitious or as earnest a work as *The Great Tradition*, it may be read for its flavor alone. It is perhaps significant that the one critic points to John Dos Passos and the other to Henry Adams as an index to the mature and independent American mind.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

WASHINGTON IRVING: *A Bibliography*. Compiled by William R. Langfeld with the Bibliographic Assistance of Philip C. Blackburn. New York: The New York Public Library. 1933. \$4.00.

Irving himself, could he revisit the upper air, would, I believe, be deeply interested in this exact and comprehensive study of his writings. His own scholarly life, if we examine it, reveals a tangle of paradoxes. His formal education remained less than that of today's grammar school graduate. His ignorance of science and of the classics was at one time a matter of public comment. Although he studied four modern languages,

he mastered only one (Spanish), and he blushed as he surveyed, when a diplomat, his execrable French. In his informal writing he sinned repeatedly against spelling, punctuation, and syntax; and at dinner-tables or in published books he satirized learning and learned men. Yet few writers ever polished more patiently or more effectively than did Irving; the time he consumed in first drafts was nothing compared with that devoted to his beloved "toning" process. He could toil inexhaustibly to discover a lost play by Calderón; to verify a minute fact in his biography of Columbus; or to track down in an Elizabethan book a detail of hunting or hawking. He was a born antiquarian, and he could be an extremely accurate one. Though betrayed, if you will, by zest for the romantic tale, he had a sense of historical fact, and he passed the better part of the last four years of his life in honest and painstaking researches for a five-volume biography.

Thus he would admire, even as he admired Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber's collection of old Spanish dramatists, the care and labor which have shaped this excellent bibliography. Mr. Langfeld's book supersedes the previous bibliographies of Irving,¹ and will presumably remain the final study of its kind. Mr. Langfeld, a distinguished collector of Irving, has composed naturally a collector's bibliography, dealing chiefly with first editions, though other sections, such as those on manuscripts and posthumous works, lay the foundations for studies of later editions of Irving. The compilers, for example, rightly make no attempt to list the critical books and articles concerning Irving, or, to cite another instance of the limits of this work, to indicate the fate of *The Sketch Book* during the century after its first success. They attack instead the difficult problem of the separate numbers of this work. Sending it across the Atlantic to his brothers and to Henry Brevoort in packages of four or five essays, Irving created bibliographical variants which are at once the despair and delight of the modern collector. Was the slip opposite page 97 of Part II, warning against copyright infringement, placed in every copy? How many classes of textual changes were there in Parts I and II? Answers to such questions in careful bibliographical notes, tables of variants, illustrations, collations, and pertinent illustrations define both the difficulties and the achievements of Mr. Langfeld. Each book of Irving's he has subjected to the same careful analysis.

Such investigations of works published during Irving's lifetime (from *Salmagundi*, 1807-1808, to *Wolfert's Roost*, 1855) carry us through exactly one half of this Bibliography. Twelve other sections impair slightly perhaps, the unity of this initial purpose, but synthesize, for the first time,

¹ See *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 510-517.

groups of interesting bibliographical data. From the section "Posthumous Works" we deduce that from the time of the immediately posthumous writings in 1866 and 1867 there was a lapse of nearly fifty years before the appearance in rapid succession, beginning in 1915, of a dozen Irving items, apart from the plays, which are discussed in a later division. Such addenda, consisting chiefly of letters and journals, are of slight literary value compared with the famous *Sketch Book* or *The Alhambra*, but demonstrate the birth of a sound critical interest in Irving. They mark the substitution for vague appreciation of our first man of letters of a precise and scholarly evaluation of his performance as an author.

Two sections ("Books Which Irving Edited or to Which He Contributed"; "Contributions to Periodicals and Annuals") reveal Mr. Langfeld's patient explorations of the difficult terrain of the magazines. Irving, unlike Hawthorne and Poe, whose beginnings were in the periodicals, won fame directly and suddenly by the printed book, and to the end of his days held to a shrewd avoidance of self-interment, anonymous or otherwise, in these ephemeral pages. Nevertheless, he was drawn in at times by poverty or ambition toward this instrument for persuading public opinion. The listing of his contributions to magazines, particularly in the cases of *The Analectic Magazine* and *The Knickerbocker*, restores the proper emphasis to this part of his work, and shows the influence upon him, however intermittent, of this pallid moon which so swayed the tides of our bourgeois culture during the first half of the century. Of the remaining sections, that called "Translations of Works by Irving" is most suggestive. It may be argued here that such a section cannot be complete and that it is slightly inconsistent with the omission of Irving's later editions, but it is ground work of the highest importance for the later check-list which may show the destinies until the present day of all Irving's writings.²

Thus the twelve sections, apart from the technical study of first editions, serve two purposes. They stimulate further study of the bibliography of Irving, exclusive of first editions, and they include, as does also the core of the work, substantial information for the biographer or critic. This second service lifts Mr. Langfeld's book far above the status of an exact collector's manual. For example, the study of *Salmagundi* renews the discussion of the authorship of these various papers; that of *The Sketch Book* shows Irving's padding of his most remarkable book by previously published sketches; that of the *Letters of Jonathan Olystyle, Gent.* describes the curious, belated revival of Irving's juvenilia; and that

² The present writer will include a check-list of the writings of Irving in a forthcoming biography.

of *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* throws light on Irving's methods of revision. Similarly the definition of Irving's connection with *The Knickerbocker* attests his painful reluctance, which so irritated Longfellow and certain English reviews, to scrap his old notes. Like Poe, he published and republished old material. To these few examples of Irving lore in the book may be added the fact that implicit in the bibliography are significant data concerning international copyright and publishing conditions which dominated American authorship in the day of Irving and Cooper,³ and which, coupled with other causes, made Irving tell John Pendleton Kennedy that, after all, writing in America was but "a gentleman's avocation."

To Mr. Langfeld for such study and for his stimulation of further study of Irving, the student of American literature cannot, I think, be too grateful.

Yale University.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

POE AND *The Southern Literary Messenger*. By David K. Jackson. Foreword by J. H. Whitty. 325 copies for general circulation. Illustrated. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1934. 126 pp. \$3.50.

The author of this little volume is already known to readers of *American Literature* as the author of articles on Poe which have given promise of even more important contributions to our knowledge. One therefore takes it up with the expectation of good work, the intelligent handling of known material, and a fair amount of actually new information about the beginnings of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, its publisher White, and its three earliest editors, Heath, Sparhawk, and Poe. These expectations are all happily fulfilled, and one does not know whether to be better pleased by the new light on Poe, whose struggles at the beginning of his career as magazinist become clearer than before, the information which gives us a little understanding of the shadowy Sparhawk (whose name White tried to suppress, with success for decades), or the revealing letters of White, whom one feels before one in the flesh. Of course Poe is the protagonist, as he is in every action in which he joined. Mr. Jackson has felt this so strongly that he has handled the material by first giving a synopsis of the poet's life from 1833 to 1837, and then returning to his other material. In this one place I wish Poe's own advice to "begin at the beginning" had been followed; the story is a single one, and it might

³ See *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper*, by Robert E. Spiller and Philip C. Blackburn, New York, 1934, "Introduction." See also S. T. Williams, "Two Bibliographies and American Authorship a Century Ago," in a forthcoming issue of *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

have developed best chronologically. This is of course a criticism of the order alone from a literary standpoint. For if White is brought alive by his own words before us, it is because of his association with Poe that it really matters.

White clearly was an able fellow, with vision; he combined with "nerves," and a tendency to sentimental gushing, a hard-headed determination to run his own magazine as he liked, and a keen eye to the main chance. Some sentences at random from his letters will illustrate:

"When I knew [Dr. Shattuck] in Boston, I was indeed a child of nature. Poor—but happy." . . . "The 'Indian Captive' is no great thing—but it is free—and the writer is a gentleman." . . . "Except Walsh, Rights of Authors and Poe's articles, no one would accept of cash for their articles." . . . "I am very nervous today." . . . "Added to all this I am cramped by [Poe] in the exercise of my own judgment, as to what articles I shall or shall not admit into my work."

One can see why Poe had a hard time, but it is not right to think badly of White; he was an honest and kindly man, and Poe was a brilliant but "difficult" and sometimes drunken editor. Yet it was the clash of literary taste that was most fatal to the association.

After this one may say something of the minor points that tempt one to comment. White's constant use of the epithet "gentleman" for anybody he likes, shows that its application to Poe did not indicate so much courtliness as pleasant personality. The discussion of the tale (sometimes thought Poe's) "The Doom" is excellent, and tells us in a footnote that Mr. Whitty now seems to feel, as Mr. Jackson, and most of the special students of Poe's work, that this is by an acquaintance of, rather than by, the poet himself. I am almost persuaded with Mr. Jackson to believe that the review of Bird's *Calavar* in the *Messenger* for February, 1835, is by Poe; though I think he should have pointed out the existence of a cross reference which is the chief argument for his authorship. And I join in his rejection of the celebrated note criticizing a poem by Chivers; clearly the work of the editor of the March, 1835, issue, who was Heath. But I fail to see much resemblance between "Lines written on one of the Blank Leaves" and Poe's "To Helen." One wishes that Sparhawk's attack on White might be found; the allusions make me suspect it was a printed denunciation in the *Petersburg Intelligencer*. And if there is evidence of Poe's meeting Sparhawk in Boston in 1827 it should be presented, or a reference given for it.

White's remarks on Poe's method of not reading through all the books he reviewed, save occasionally, confirms one's suspicions that Poe's remarks on the ability of some readers to get the meat from a book in a hasty examination were a record of his own practice, which falls in with

my own observation that Poe's quotations from some books come from a decidedly limited range of pages. Comment on a few small slips that met my eye in the "galleys" from which this review is prepared would be ungracious; one hopes they have been mended in the final text, which will be out before this appears; the omission of page references is also for this reason necessary. One slight tendency, rather a fault of our age than of the author, tempts me to protest. It is the use of a man's full name frequently when it was his own custom to use a shorter form on all ordinary occasions. Should we write, except on his first introduction, of Thomas Willis White, when the exact middle name is obscure enough to be quite properly the subject of a footnote?—happily we are spared Samuel Foster Damon, and William Hervey Allen.

Hunter College.

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT.

L'ÉTRANGE VIE ET LES ÉTRANGES AMOURS D'EDGAR POE. By Émile Lauvrière. Collection "Temps et Visages." Avec huit portraits. Paris: Declée de Brouwer et Cie. 1934. xviii, 583 pp. 30 francs.

This is the third book by M. Lauvrière on Poe; his first one, *Edgar Poe: sa vie, son œuvre* (Alcan, 1904), is the classic on Poe in France, and was crowned both by the Académie Française and by the Académie de médecine; his second was *Edgar Poe: étude biographique et critique* (Coll: Grands écrivains étrangers, Didier, 1919). The author, so far as we know, is connected with no institution of learning; he has certainly taken advantage of his leisure to obtain a most thorough documentation,¹ and absolutely up to date. He does not give in the volume just published as many references as in his first, which was a thesis for the Doctorat ès lettres, but one needs only read the Avant-Propos of eighteen closely printed pages to realize how well-read he is, knowing even the smaller contributions to the subject in England and America. Moreover, at the end of the book he adds several appendices, one on "Graves controverses posthumes: l'affaire Griswold"; and in others he demolishes without fear a number of fanciful appreciations by men who tried to study Poe from a purely literary point of view and who imagined a poet that had to fit into their creation: Barbey d'Aurevilly, for instance, and even more Camille Mauclair, whose *Le génie de Poe* has received here the death blow (Mauclair bases his knowledge of Poe's life entirely on Ingram's Life, he takes literally "The Philosophy of Composition," and he declares that in Poe "la santé artistique et littéraire est parfaite"). His arraignment of the formidable—in size—psychoanalysis of Poe, that was

¹ He has written several volumes on the history of Acadia and Louisiana and on *Alfred de Vigny* (crowned by the Academy).

published recently in Paris, by the Princess Marie Bonaparte (two volumes in octavo of the Bibliothèque Psychanalytique, Denoël et Steele, Paris, 1933) is truly masterly; it would be difficult to show more strongly how childish Freudian theories look when applied without restraint to a tempting case like Poe's.

The idea of Lauvrière's book is well expressed in the following words of the Introduction, in which he emphasizes his determination to tell all the truth:

Cette vérité n'en reste pas moins aussi passionnante que nous l'avons trouvée en notre prime jeunesse [the book of 1904]. Alors, en notre indulgence pour notre auteur, nous disions certes "la vérité et rien que la vérité"; cette fois, contraint par la violence de certains contradicteurs, nous dirons "toute la vérité."

So he did: tell all the truth. And this is the great merit of the book, especially when he reaches the period of the last loves of Poe. Although those stories are grotesque, or rather shockingly tragic, Lauvrière does not allow himself to be distracted from his purpose; he pities Poe, but he does not lose his head while pitying; he goes to the bitter end. One is reminded of Lamartine's claim that any laughter, even at the grotesque and ridiculous, is degrading.²

Shall we say, however, that there remains a misunderstanding in Lauvrière's book? For it would almost seem as if he accepted himself the idea: whoever admires Poe's writings must also declare him admirable in his life, and whoever does not consider him morally superior must depreciate his writings. This too simple way of putting things certainly obtains no longer with the serious scholar. As a matter of fact, one may well question whether it ever obtained even with the general public: Who has actually denied himself the pleasure of enjoying the genial writings of Goethe, of Byron, of Musset because the lives of those men did not conform to the orthodox moral code? And now has not this state of mind obtained for Poe, especially since the commanding work of Professor Woodberry? At times, therefore, one has a feeling that Lauvrière, in certain parts of his book, fights against windmills. None the less, he may be right, when he writes about the recently founded Société des amis d'Edgar Poe:

Si son but est de faire admirer l'œuvre comme elle le mérite, nous ne saurions que louer; mais s'il s'agit d'exalter l'homme aux dépens d'autrui et de la vérité, nous ne pouvons approuver.

The University of Pennsylvania.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

² Emile Henriot in one of his excellent "Courriers littéraires" in the Paris *Temps* is somewhat shocked by the severity of Lauvrière: "Une nouvelle vie d'Edgar Poe" (Feb. 27, 1934).

DAVY CROCKETT. By Constance Rourke. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1934. 276 pp. \$2.50.

THE ADVENTURES OF DAVY CROCKETT, Told Mostly by Himself. With illustrations by John W. Thomason, Jr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. 255 pp. \$2.50.

Having written what is probably the most important book on the subject of American humor in general, Miss Rourke has now written the most important book on one of the outstanding individuals in her chosen field. There have been numerous "lives" of Davy Crockett before. Hers is the first to measure up to the task which she believes the needed telling of his story imposed on the teller: the writing of "a full biography . . . in which his purposes, his rash and engaging character, the circumstances of his many adventures, and the bold legends about him should all have a place." It is the legendary material chiefly, though by no means solely, that makes this volume on the famous backwood hunter and fighter, who was also three times a Congressman, the rounded biography he has long deserved. And Miss Rourke is thoroughly justified in integrating the fact and fiction that have gathered together around the name of Crockett. For he was more than a notable human being. He was, or, rather, he became, a figure of mythology as well, and his is perhaps the one case of a native-born American, not a member of the so-called subject races, who has attained to actual, if comic, deification. From the time of his being cradled in the shell of a snapping-turtle to that memorably cold morning, told about at an indefinite period after his death, when he climbed the Peak o' Day, thawed the earth's frozen axis loose with hot bear grease, freed the stalled sun with a backward kick at the terrestrial cog-wheels, and returned home with a piece of sunrise in his pocket, his colorful career, real or imagined, was all of one weave. Miss Rourke has not been content, however, with merely presenting her readers with a series of anecdotes of hairbreadth escapes, desperate encounters, and superhuman performances. She has rendered them besides the service of doing ample and considered justice to various aspects of Crockett's life which her predecessors have either neglected through ignorance or exaggerated into absurdity. The existing data concerning her subject as farmer, war-time scout, public servant and speaker, defender of settlers' and Indians' rights against the Jackson administration, participant in the defense of the Alamo, and author, she has painstakingly come at and carefully set down. What is more, out of her wealth of research she has created a gratifying work of art, and thus, once and for all, has afforded signal proof that those inferiority-afflicted critics who have been insisting

that there is no beauty to be found in, or made from, the annals of our frontier have been egregiously mistaken.

Students of Americana will hardly fail to agree that among the most fascinating of Miss Rourke's chapters is her last, "Behind This Book." In it she settles, in so far as such things are likely ever to be settled, several questions of disputed authorship. Of the four books at one time or another attributed to the redoubtable Tennessean, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett . . . Written By Himself* (1834), *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East* (1835), *The Life of Martin Van Buren* (1835), and *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* (1836), she shows that only the third owed nothing to Crockett. The significance of the *Narrative* in estimating the literary importance of its author she tersely defines in speaking of it as

a classic in our literature because it was one of the first to use the American language with fullness and assurance, and because it reveals a way of life in a distinctive style.

Though it has been frequently credited to other hands, it is undoubtedly Crockett's own. This is established by a comparison of its characteristic idiom with that of other documents known certainly to have been his, an address and a circular directed to his constituents, and with that preserved in the register of debates in Congress, which records a number of his speeches in the House of Representatives. That Crockett had the assistance of someone more skilful than he in the preparation of manuscript for the press Miss Rourke readily admits—indeed she identifies the collaborator as one Thomas Chilton of Kentucky—but she argues, and convincingly, that he had little more to do with the writing of the book than Crockett himself indicated to his publishers: "The aid I needed was to Classify the matter but the style was not altered." The *Tour* seems to have owed rather more to the partner in another auctorial joint-venture, Clerk of the House Matthew St. Clair of Pennsylvania, although it was composed largely from the declared author's personal jottings. ". . . the talk and narrative are unmistakably Crockett's." Obviously the *Exploits* as we have it could not have been written by Crockett. Still it is not an unreasonable conjecture that it was written by a person who had access to Crockett's letters and notes, and a possible diary, that had been sent to his relatives and friends at intervals during, or closely after, his contact with affairs in Texas. As to the relationship between the anonymous *Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. David Crockett of West Tennessee* (1833) and the *Narrative*, Miss Rourke contends that they are merely those that arise from an author's employing the labor-saving short-cut of taking back what he had previously, perhaps unintentionally,

given away. Personally I incline to a slightly different opinion; namely, that whoever had the major share in writing the one book had the major share in writing the other. To hold to such a view, I realize, involves one in the necessity of explaining why within a year of its publication the earlier compilation was subjected to so thorough a revamping as assuredly took place. A shrewd guess as to why is not impossible, of course, but guesses however shrewd clear up nothing much—and, as Miss Rourke might suggest, the point at issue does not matter greatly anyhow. On all points that do matter she has had the last word, and that by virtue of the meticulous scholarship that marks this her latest work, as it has marked everything of a similar nature she has done before. She need never fear that her results will be seriously invalidated by anyone else's study.

The Adventures of Davy Crockett purports to consist of the reprinted texts of the *Narrative* and the *Exploits*. For no discoverable valid reason, however, practically all the passages critical of Andrew Jackson and his policies have been omitted. Captain Thomason, favorably known for his drawings of his comrades in arms, the United States marines, demonstrates his ability as an artist once again with his sketches of another leather-necked breed, the ring-tailed roarer, horse-alligator types of the old South West. Illustrations more nearly in the spirit of the "true history" portions of the Crockett saga would be hard to imagine.

Reed College.

V. L. O. CHITTICK.

AH SIN AND HIS BRETHREN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By William Purviance Fenn, Ph.D., College of Chinese Studies coöperating with California College in China: Peiping (Peking), China. 131 pp.

Dr. Fenn's study is concerned with Chinese characters as pictured in American literature and with the attitude toward the Chinese immigrant displayed in imaginative writings by Americans. It does not include the Chinese at home, or the Chinese in America as pictured by travelers, or the ideas and literature of China as they may have influenced those of the United States. Although the field is thus circumscribed and although the literature discussed is largely of no great artistic merit, still the modesty of Dr. Fenn's preface seems needless, for in an age which sees the publication of so many meticulous studies of literary minutiae surely an attempt to determine the attitude of one great race toward another may pass without apology. One should not forget, moreover, that for a study of this kind the writings unimportant from the artistic point of view are often historically the more important. Where the great writer often ex-

presses only himself, the mediocre or poor writer expresses the average man, so that his work comes to have something of the importance of folk-literature.

Dr. Fenn is excellently fitted for this study, for he knows the Chinese in China, and has therefore a better basis of judgment than anyone whose approach is merely literary could possibly have. With his general conclusions no one will be likely to find fault. His study indicates that American literature has been but moderately interested in the Chinese, as representing a social problem, and as offering a fine opportunity for local-color, particularly of a humorous nature. Of individual writers he considers Harte the most important: "Any consideration of the treatment of the Chinese immigrant in American literature necessarily revolves around the figure of Bret Harte" (p. 45). Of writings he considers Harte's "Plain Language from Truthful James" sufficiently outstanding to be printed *in extenso* as a prefatory poem. The only other work likely to vie with Harte's in lasting interest, Dr. Fenn apparently considers to be that of Chester Bailey Fernald.

Dr. Fenn has covered his field of study fully, with the exception which he himself notes, that is, that he has not investigated in detail the magazines and other local writings of California. Since California was by far the most important point of contact between the two races, this would seem to be a somewhat important omission. Dr. Fenn has avoided a *Hamlet* without Hamlet, however, by considering the more important California writers, and he has also used most of the books published locally in California. Nevertheless his failure to use the periodicals, although it is far from leaving his study without a leg to stand on, does certainly deprive it of one leg. By not working in California he has also missed such materials as might have been supplied by the invaluable newspaper index in the State Library, and by the scrapbooks of newspaper clippings upon the Chinese contained in the Bancroft Library.

Just how far this material would go toward changing the picture no one could state without much research upon his own part, but from a general knowledge of the periodicals I should say that Dr. Fenn's general conclusions would not be greatly affected. Further study would, I believe, detract somewhat from the importance which he assigns to Harte. Certainly Californian writers as early as the fifties were highly conscious of the comic possibilities of the Chinese. For instance, two plays acted in San Francisco in that decade (Alonzo Delano's *A Live Woman in the Mines*, and Joseph A. Nunes's *Fast Folks*) make use of a "Chinaman" in a small part for comic effect. The colorful costume of the character,

his pidgin English, and his cowardice in the face of physical danger are stressed.

I note as of curious interest that in printing "Plain Language" Dr. Fenn goes over to the "jacks" side of the old "jacks-packs" controversy, although that reading has no authority from Harte himself. In another card game he comes to worse grief in describing as "a poker game" (p. 102) a contest which from the terminology used by the characters engaged is certainly not poker. He has also cited as an authority the spurious *Diary of a Forty-Niner*, "edited" by Chauncey Canfield.

Ah Sin and his Brethren must be classified as an exploratory rather than as a definitive work. Nevertheless its conclusions will be likely to stand. Additional materials will probably do no more than add detail and cause some slight reappraisals. The notes and bibliography open up a new field, and are of considerable value.

The University of California.

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.

BRIEF MENTION

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE AND RELIGION. By Halford E. Luccock. Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark & Company. 1934. \$2.00.

Here is a thorough and resolute exploration of modern American literature which will surprise and, perhaps, put to shame many a professional student of the period. Dr. Luccock does not merely write about the fiction, poetry, and criticism of the present; he has read it patiently and exhaustively. True, all his judgments are centripetal, relating themselves on every page to his deepest interest, which may be defined by the caption of his concluding chapter, "The Search for God." His quest among the realists, naturalists, pessimists, and futilitarians is for intimations and recognitions of the life of the spirit. He discovers modern literature to be, on the whole a land of sand and thorns, but he does not come home empty-handed, for the book is constantly ennobled by the author's tolerance and penetrative perception of the frequent "faith within the fear," of the unconquerable hope, sometimes unconscious, sometimes timid of expression, which does, in spite of its shrouding despair, appear intermittently in contemporary writing. Dr. Luccock is strongly akin in spirit to those moderns who, though finding a nature-interfering deity incredible, still crave the good life; like them he faces squarely recent disturbing evidence, and retains his courage.

The book offers little that is significant in literary criticism. The oversimplification, for example, of the meanings of T. S. Eliot (p. 134) or of Henry Adams (pp. 137-139) are typical, and are, presumably inherent to the plan of the book. The fiber of Dr. Luccock's study is in his plea against the isolation of religion from these powerful voices, however strident, however distorted. They must be heard, not disregarded, not denounced, at least until their full meaning is comprehended. The book is, therefore, not an attack upon the defeatists, but a well-informed, skilful attempt at adjustment between the complex moods of modern literature and an enlightened conception of religion.

S. T. W.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF BRET HARTE IN THE MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS OF CALIFORNIA 1857-1871. By George R. Stewart, Jr. University of California *Publications in English*. Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 119-170. Berkeley: The University of California Press. 1933. \$.50.

The title gives a fair idea of the nature of this useful work, the result of the author's search in *The Golden Era*, *The Northern Californian*, *The*

Daily Evening Bulletin, *The Californian*, *The News Letter*, *The Overland Monthly*, and the *Alta California*—all (save the sixth) papers of extreme rarity. He has had access to an unprinted bibliography by Charles M. Kozlay in the Huntington Library, and to Harte's own scrapbook.

The book is very workmanlike, and the author, who begins by rebuking bibliographers for a tendency to include the doubtful, has certainly avoided that fault. It is hardly possible to doubt that any of the items he includes are surely Harte's, for he gives only items published with Harte's name or an established pseudonym, reprinted with his name under his authority; included in his scrapbook; or existing still in his manuscript. In a second group he places articles of which he believes Harte the author, but on other grounds; and in a third group pieces he thinks erroneously ascribed by previous authors. But if one must criticize, it is fair to point out that articles signed with the known nickname of Harte's baby son, "Wode" (unique enough in all conscience) surely should be included as under an established pseudonym (Nos. 303, 304) in the sure group. Existence in manuscript is strong presumptive evidence of authorship, but not quite as unquestionable as other kinds of evidence, since an editor sometimes copies out and revises someone else's work, and Nos. 348, 350, etc., are hardly as certain as 132, 210, and 302, identified by a common use of a rare quotation beloved by Harte.

Of "Effie," No. 52, Professor Stewart writes "Printed in 'Answers to Correspondents,' with the introduction; 'C. S. F.—Here are your lines to Effie.' According to ordinary practice in *The Golden Era* this would mean that C. S. F. was the author of the lines. . . . I can offer no explanation." Is it not a case where a correspondent, seriously or in fun requested a poem for a lady, and was given one by the poetic member of the staff?

T. O. M.

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR YEAR BOOK. Edited by George Jean Nathan, Ernest Boyd, Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, James Branch Cabell, Eugene O'Neill. New York: The Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1934. xii, 359 pp. \$2.75.

This volume of selections from the first volume of *The American Spectator*, founded in October, 1932, is readable, amusing, sophisticated.

DESIGNED FOR READING: *An Anthology Drawn from The Saturday Review of Literature, 1924-1934*. Edited by the Editors of *The Saturday Review of Literature*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xviii, 614 pp. \$3.00.

This excellent collection of critical articles, book reviews, editorials, poems, etc.—designed for college classes as well as the general reader—

includes five brief essays on the art of writing: "Forms," by Henry Seidel Canby; "Style," by Christopher Morley; "Poetry and Periodicals," by William Rose Benét; "Reviewing," by Amy Loveman; and "Looking it up in Books," by May Lamberton Becker.

REDISCOVERING AMERICA. By Harold Stearns. New York: The Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1934. 224 pp.

The editor of the well-known symposium *Civilization in the United States* (1922), after having lived for thirteen years in France, gives his impressions of present-day America. Especially interesting is the chapter on "The 'New' Intellectuals, *Who Look So Old-Fashioned After France*."

1934 ESSAY ANNUAL: *A Yearly Collection of Significant Essays, Personal, Critical, Controversial, and Humorous*. Edited by Erich A. Walter. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company. [1934.] 374 pp.

In addition to the thirty essays included in Professor Walter's second volume of the series, there is a list of "Outstanding American Essays Published in American Periodicals from March 1, 1933, to March 31, 1934."

THREE LIVES. By Gertrude Stein. With an Introduction by Carl Van Vechten. New York: The Modern Library. [1933.] xi, 279 pp. \$.95.

Mr. Van Vechten contributes an interesting essay to this new edition of *Three Lives*, which was first published in 1909.

"TO MARKIE": *The Letters of Robert E. Lee to Martha Custis Williams from the Originals in the Huntington Library*. Edited, with an Introduction, by Avery Craven. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press. 1933. vii, 91 pp. \$1.50.

The forty letters included, written in the years 1844-1870, reveal a very human Lee. His reaction to secession is given in an extremely interesting letter written from Fort Mason, Texas, on January 22, 1861.

MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF OSCAR W. FIRKINS. [With a Preface by Ina Ten Eyck Firkins.] [1934.] vii, 312 pp. \$2.50.

SELECTED ESSAYS. By Oscar W. Firkins. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. [1933.] 298 pp. \$2.50.

The *Memoirs and Letters* contains Richard Burton's "Oscar W. Firkins: An Estimate and Appreciation," Netta W. Wilson's "Oscar W. Firkins as a Teacher," selections from Firkins's letters and lecture notes, and a bibliography of his writings. In the *Selected Essays* appear "Undepicted America" and "Has Emerson a Future?"

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM, *Second Series*. By Members of the Department of English, University of California. Berkeley, Cal.: The University of California Press. 1934. 270 pp. \$2.50.

Students of American literature will be interested in Myron F. Brightfield's "Leigh Hunt—American" (pp. 225-245).

AFTER THE GREAT COMPANIONS: *A Free Fantasia on a Lifetime of Reading*. By Charles J. Finger. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. [1934.] 311 pp. \$3.00.

Delightful comments on a wide variety of books.

MAXWELL ANDERSON: *The Man and his Plays*. By Barrett H. Clark. New York: Samuel French. 32 pp. \$.25.

An excellent brief account.

LAFCADIO HEARN: *A Bibliography*. Compiled by Martha Howard Sisson. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company. 1933. 30 pp. \$.25.

Reprinted from *The Bulletin of Bibliography*.

AMERICA THROUGH WOMEN'S EYES. Edited by Mary R. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. 558 pp. \$3.50.

The story of America told mainly in extracts from the writings of women.

AN UPTON SINCLAIR ANTHOLOGY. Compiled by I. O. Evans. With a Preface by Upton Sinclair. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. [1934.] 328 pp. \$2.50.

An excellent selection compiled by a British editor, primarily for British readers.

FIRST AND LAST. By Ring Lardner. With a Preface by Gilbert Seldes. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. vi, 377 pp. \$2.50.

"This collection of Ring Lardner's non-fiction was begun before his death, so it is not, in any sense, a 'memorial volume.' The original intention, which has been followed, was to select from his early and later writings, those pieces which were not entirely transient and to group them in such a way as to give them the cohesion which, in the case of a writer of daily or weekly articles, is sometimes lost because of the variety of subjects and changes of treatment." (Preface.)

POETRY: *Its Appreciation and Enjoyment*. By Louis Untermeyer and Carter Davidson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1934.] xxv, 530 pp. \$2.50.

This excellent text is a combination of treatise and anthology.

SUMMARIES OF [HARVARD] THESES *Accepted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1933*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the University. 1934. x, 396 pp.

Of interest to students of American literature are Irving T. Richards, "The Life and Works of John Neal" and C. L. Johnson, "Longfellow and France."

THE PIT: *A Story of Chicago*. By Frank Norris. [With a Foreword by Juliet Wilbor Tompkins.] New York: The Modern Library. xi, 403 pp. \$.95.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: *Representative Selections*. With Introduction Bibliography, and Notes. By Austin Warren. [1934.] xci, 368 pp. \$1.50. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW: *Representative Selections*, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes. By Odell Shepard. [1934.] lxiv, 371 pp. \$1.50. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta: The American Book Company.

These two volumes of selections, recent additions to the American Writers Series under the general editorship of Harry H. Clark, are models of their kind. The selections are well chosen, the notes are just the kind needed, and the well written introductions are compact of pertinent information and sound criticism.

AN INTRODUCTION TO WALT WHITMAN. By Henry S. Saunders. With Two Scarce Whitman Portraits. Toronto, Canada: Henry S. Saunders. 25 pp. Limited edition. \$1.50.

The *Introduction* consists largely of selections from Whitman's prose skilfully arranged to acquaint the general reader with Whitman's life and work.

WINE AND PHYSIC: *A Poem and Six Essays on the Fate of our Language*. By Alexander Laing. With Decorations by Isabel Lattimore. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. [1934.] xii, 157 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Laing was moved to write his poem, "The Flowering Thorn," and the six essays (which have the same theme) at least in part by liberties taken with the English language by Gertrude Stein and James Joyce. "The rightful study of the philologist," he states in his preface, "is with

words as they have been, while that of the creative artist is with words as they are about to be; so the artist cannot avoid becoming an informal philologist in order to gain perspective for his task." He believes that "the trade of scholarship, in this century, has been appallingly neglectful of its first duty: the maintenance of a stable medium for the exchange of ideas." The following paragraph gives some notion of the author's point of view as well as of the excellence of his prose style:

Perhaps our present life has no precious blood in it at all: certainly the authors who have represented, for a decade or two, the conscious cutting edge of literature have rejected the immemorial notion that a good book is one that treasures up the precious blood of their own lives. The realists deliberately take much that is not precious, and the prophets have dealt in technologies not yet manifest as actual life. In their use of English, the members of one group have been content to accept the whole of current speech, uncritically, the others have tended to invent each a language of his own. Few indeed, and little regarded, are those who have felt a responsibility to pass on to their children the best of their heritage, with the worst winnowed away—a faculty apparently given only to those egoists who love the past well enough to strive on purpose toward a life beyond life (p. 44).

EXILE'S RETURN: *A Narrative of Ideas*. By Malcolm Cowley. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. [1934.] 308 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Cowley's story of his life is interesting reading, and it throws light upon certain tendencies in recent American literature; but it is hardly the complete story of the "Lost Generation," nor are the ideas which he develops those of the majority of his own literary contemporaries. The "Epilogue: Yesterday and Tomorrow" seems an excellent statement of the point of view of "art for Marx's sake."

THE POETS AND POETRY OF ARKANSAS. Compiled and Edited by Fred W. Allsopp. Little Rock, Ark.: The Central Printing Company. viii, 237 pp.

A popular anthology compiled by a notable collector of Arkansas history and literature who is also the biographer of Albert Pike.

THE SINGING HEART: *Selected Lyrics and Other Poems of Clinton Scollard*. Edited, with a Memoir, by Jessie B. Rittenhouse. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. lv, 247 pp. \$2.50.

Miss Rittenhouse (Mrs. Scollard) has compiled an admirable volume of selections from her husband's poems and prefaced them with a suitable memoir.

MODERN AMERICAN PROSE. Edited by Carl Van Doren. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1934.] xiii, 939 pp. \$2.75.

This, the Literary Guild selection for August, is—apart from collections of plays and short stories—almost the only available collection of

American prose covering the past fifteen or twenty years. It covers the period "which may be said to have begun with the Younger Generation and to have ended with the New Deal." One misses a few names, but a selection which includes such diverse figures as Paul Elmer More, Gertrude Stein, Stuart P. Sherman, Ring W. Lardner, Carl Becker, William Beebe, and Constance Rourke shows a hospitality to nearly every type of writing which characterizes the period.

AN INDEX TO BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONTRIBUTIONS *Relating to the Work of American and British Authors, 1923-1932*. By Nathan Van Patten. Stanford University, Cal.: The Stanford University Press. 1934. vii, 324 pp. \$6.00.

This useful compilation by the director of the Stanford University libraries was compiled, says Mr. Van Patten in his preface, for the use of collectors, research workers, and librarians. "Its purpose is to facilitate the acquisition of information concerning the printed and manuscript work of individual authors and data relating to the writing of an author's books, their printing, binding, paper, size, pagination, illustrations, variants, editions, issues, rarity, conditions, points, value, location, etc." An appendix lists general bibliographies and bibliographical contributions to journals. "Some of the entries," notes the editor, "particularly for contemporary authors, actually are rather trivial check-lists, but such material has been included as of some value in the absence of comprehensive bibliographies." For older authors, one finds here convenient reference to bibliographies, for instance, not listed in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*. It is a very useful reference book.

LAUGHING THEIR WAY: *Women's Humor in America*. Edited by Martha Bensley Bruère and Mary Ritter Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xv, 295 pp. \$4.00.

This extremely amusing collection reveals much that falls outside of the traditional "concept of American humor as beginning in the robust expression of frontiersmen and remaining in that gusto and temper while a new world was subdued to the plow, while an agricultural civilization swung toward an industrial one, while the nation was hammered into form by war and peace, by prosperity and depression" (Foreword). The collection begins with Caroline Kirkland and comes down to Gertrude Stein. The material included is perhaps as significant for the student of American history as for those interested in our literature. There are numerous illustrations.

THE BRITISH THEATER IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1778

FRED LEWIS PATTEE
Rollins College

THE best theater in America before the establishment of the new republic was the theater organized by the officers of the British Army during the winter of 1777-1778 in Philadelphia. The dramatic exhibitions in New York the winter before had been distinctive and the organization had been unbroken by removal to new quarters. The army, which contained a surprising number of second sons and even first sons of the English nobility, found a social element in the old Quaker City that surprised them. The assemblies of the winter were episodes unique in the Revolutionary era and so were the dramatics.

During the autumn and early winter of the occupation, entertainment of a social nature was not to be thought of. The opening of the river for British supply ships, the raids of the Colonial troops that made the building of fortifications necessary, and the hard work of making a winter camp for a large army occupied every moment. But with December the work was practically done and amusements were in order. That there were cock-fighting bouts, and races, and Club gatherings at the "Friendly Brothers" Inn, one learns from the newspapers of the time, but the youngsters of the army away from home in the wilds, as they considered America, missed most of all the theater exhibitions that were running so brilliantly in London and other English cities. As a result, no sooner was the city fortified than dramatics began to be planned.

A tolerable theater was at their disposal on South Street above Fourth Street, a building erected in 1766, "the first permanent theater in America. It was called the Southwark Theatre, and was a rough brick and wood structure, painted red. The stage was lighted with oil lamps without glasses and the view was interrupted by the pillars that supported the upper tier and roof."¹

The experience gained during the preceding winter in New

¹ A. H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama* (New York, 1923), p. 16.

York enabled the theatrical element among the officers to improve in every way upon their previous work. Says Sargent:

André and Oliver DeLancy—"a lusty, fat, ruddy-looking fellow between 20 and 30 years of age," went to work to prepare the needful scenery and decorations. André's readiness with the brush has already been declared. On this occasion he produced effects that might have stood beside the scenic labors of Hogarth, De Louthembourg, or Stansfield himself. His foliage was uncommonly spirited and graceful. The two amateurs made several very useful and attractive additions to the old stock scenery.²

Sargent was speaking of the New York season of 1777. But now both André and DeLancy were with the army in Philadelphia, and it is but reasonable to infer that they continued their work with scenery and decorations. Several others we know were in Philadelphia with experience gained the preceding winter in New York. Dunlap's brief note concerning the New York theatricals is illuminating:

The manager for several years and the principal low comedian was Dr. Beaumont, Surgeon General of his Majesty's Army in America. We remember his *Scrub* and *Mock Doctor*, characters which seen a few years after in London as performed by Quick and Edwin, appeared, such is the force of first impressions in early life, very inferior to the representations of the manager doctor of John's Street. . . . Colonel French played *Scrub* likewise. . . . Major Williams of the Artillery was the hero of tragedy—the Richard and Macbeth.³

All of these were in Philadelphia. It is worthy of note perhaps that in the famous Meschianza *fête* in May Dr. Hammond Beaumont served as "Herald of the Blended Rose."

The first allusion to dramatics is to be found in *The Pennsylvania Ledger* on the day before Christmas:

Wanted for the Play-house, a person who writes quick and a legible hand;—also, a Person well versed in accounts, to act as Clerk and Vice-Treasurer.

² Winthrop Sargent, *The Life of Major André* (New York, 1871), p. 153. Sargent adds this information: "In 1821 [the old South Theatre] burned down; and despite every effort to save the scenery, particularly the drop painted by André, its contents were consumed. . . . There is still preserved in Philadelphia a figure of a British grenadier, cut out of half-inch board, six feet high, with rounded edges, and painted to the life, which tradition says was made by André."

³ William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832).

Any people that have ever been employed about the Play-house, as carpenters or scene-shifters, may get employment by applying to the Printer.⁴

The man selected for this work seems to have been a Mr. Smith, perhaps the proprietor of Smith's Tavern in Second Street, where were held the brilliant assemblies of the winter. His office, according to various advertisements, was in "Front Street, below the Draw-bridge, and a few doors below Peter Suter, Hatter." After the Meschianza *fête* it seems to have been Mr. Smith's job to clean up the ruins. Advertising a "large quantity of boards and scantlings," he added, "Any Person wanting the whole apply to Mr. Smith at the office of the theatre."⁵

From the first, the theater seems to have been run with military discipline. No tickets were sold at the door, and attempted bribing of door-keepers was severely handled. Tickets could be bought at designated places in the city and during designated hours could be procured at the theater office. Announcements had a military ring:

N. B. Places for the boxes to be taken at the office of the theatre in Front-Street, between the hours of nine and two o'clock, after which time the Box-Keeper will not attend. Ladies or gentlemen who would have places kept for them, are desired to send their servants to the Theatre at four o'clock, otherwise their places will be given up.

On February 4 the advertisement ran:

The doors will be open at 5 o'clock and begin precisely at 7.

The first play decided upon by the army thespians seems to have been Susanna Centlivre's comedy "The Wonder: A Woman Keeps a Secret." No copy of the somewhat *risqué* thing could be found in the old Quaker City even after three rounds of advertising:

The Comedy, called A Wonder, or a Woman Keeps a Secret, is wanted for use of the theatre. Any person having it, that will either sell or lend it, is requested to apply to the printer.⁶

⁴ James Humphreys issued his *Pennsylvania Ledger* on Wednesdays and Saturdays during the period of the British occupation. His office was "between Front and Second Street, nearly opposite the Guard-house."

⁵ *Pennsylvania Ledger*, May 23, 1778.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 4, Jan. 3, 4, 7, 1778.

The advertising for the first play began on January 14:

For the benefit of the Widows and Orphans of the Army, on Monday next, the 19th Instant, will be represented at the theatre, in Southwark, a Comedy called No One's Enemy but his Own, and The Deuce is in Him. The characters by the Officers of the Army and Navy. Boxes and pit \$1. Gallery one half dollar.⁷

The Prologue for this opening night, according to Sargent, was composed by Major André. A mere guess. The verses, later printed for the use of the army, have always been regarded as hopelessly anonymous. A manuscript volume in the Pennsylvania Historical rooms, however, ascribes it to Jonathan Odell. The text in this volume differs so radically from that reproduced by Sargent⁸ that I am reproducing it entire:⁹

Prologue spoken by Major Robert Crewe¹⁰ at the opening of the Theatre in Philadelphia Jany. 19th, 1778. Written by the Revd. Jonathan Odell.¹¹

Once more ambitious of Theatric Glory
Howe's strolling Company appears before ye.
 O'er hill & dale & bogs, thro wind & weather,
 With many a hair-breadth scape we've scrambled hither.—
 For *we*, true Vagrants of the Thespian Race,
 While Summer lasts ne'er know a settled place.
 Anxious to prove the merit of our Band,
 A chosen Squadron wand'ring thro' the land,
 How beats each Yankee Bosom at our drum:
 "Hark *Jonathan*, Zounds here the Strollers come."
 Spruc'd up with Top Knots & their Sunday dress,
 With eager Looks the maidens round express:
 "*Jemima* see—A'nt this a charming sight?"
 "Look *Tabitha*—Oh! Lord, I wish 'twas night."
 Wing'd with Variety our Minutes fly,
 Each moment tinctur'd with a diff'rent dye.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 14 and 17.

⁸ *Life of Major André*, p. 155.

⁹ The book from which this is taken is the "Manuscripts Common Place Book, 1778," presented to the Hist. Soc. of Pa. by Dr. I. T. Sharpless in 1868. In a note inserted, Dr. Sharpless says he "knows nothing of its origin or author."

¹⁰ "First director of the Theatre"—Note in *Manuscripts Book*. It is elsewhere noted that Major Crewe, first director of the theater, kept a mistress and was insanely jealous of Tarleton.

¹¹ On the copy of the *Pennsylvania Ledger* in the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. Rooms is pencilled "Written by the Revd. Jno. Odell and spoken by Maj. Rob Crew first assistant of the theatre, Jan. 19, 1779" [*sic*].

Balls we have plenty and *al-frescos* too,
 Such as Soho & King Street never knew.
 Were you to see how sometimes we're arrayed
 You'd fancy we designed a masquerade.
 'Twould tire your Patience were I to relate here
 Our Routs, Drums, Hurricanes & *Fetes Champetres*.
 Let Ranelagh still boast her ample dome
 While Heaven's our Canopy, the world our Rome.
 Still let Vauxhall her martial'd lamps display
 And gild her shades with artificial day.
 In boasting Terms, old vaunting Sadler wells
 Of her Tight Rope & Ladder-dancing tells,
 But *Cunningham*¹² in both by far excels.
 Now winter—(bell rings) Hark! & I must not say no;
 But soft—A word or two before I go.
 Benevolence first urg'd us to engage,
 And boldly venture on the public Stage.
 To guard the helpless Orphans' tender years,
 To wipe away th'afflicted Parents' Tears,
 To lull the anxious Widow's Cares to Rest,
 To sooth the Sorrows of the friendly Breast,
 This our Design—& sure in such a Cause,
 E'en Errors self may challenge some applause.
 With Candour, then, our imperfections scan,
 And where the *Actor* fails, absolve the *Man*.

The intention seems to have been to present a play every Monday evening, and with few exceptions the plan was adhered to until May 19, when was given the last performance. The following schedule of the plays I have prepared from contemporary newspaper notices:

Jan. 19. *No One's Enemy but his Own*, by A. Murphy. Also *The Deuce is in Him*, by Colman.

Jan. 26. *The Minor*, by Samuel Foote. Also *The Deuce is in Him*.
 Every week such advertisements as this:

On Monday, the 26 inst, at the Theatre at Southwark. For the benefit of a public charity will be presented a comedy called *The Minor* to which will be added *The Deuce is in Him*. Characters by Officers of the Army and Navy.¹³

¹² "The Provost Martial in Philadelphia"—Note in *Manuscript Book*.

¹³ *Pennsylvania Ledger*, Jan. 24.

Feb. 9. *The Minor*. Also *Duke and No Duke*, by N. Tate.

The play should have been given a week earlier—Monday, February 9—as shown by the following advertisement:

On account of the preparation for the next play the time of performance is obliged to be deferred for a few days of which timely notice will be given in this paper.¹⁴

Feb. 16. *The Constant Couple*, by Farquhar. Also *Duke and No Duke*.

Feb. 27. Play postponed. "On account of the indisposition of a principal performer the play which was to have been on Friday is obliged to be postponed."¹⁵

March 2. Again postponement. *The Constant Couple* and *The Mock Doctor* had been advertised, but on February 28:

For very particular reasons the play advertised for Monday next must be postponed.¹⁶

March 9. *The Inconstant*, by Farquhar. Also *The Mock Doctor*, by Fielding.

On Monday next after the performance of *The Inconstant* and *The Mock Doctor* the house will be entertained by a beautiful display of fire-works.¹⁷

March 16. *The Inconstant*. Also *Lethe*, by Garrick.

March 25. *Henry IV*, Part I, Shakespeare. Also *The Mock Doctor*.

March 30. *Henry IV*. Also *Lethe*.

April 10. *The Wonder: A Woman Keeps a Secret*, by Centlivre and also *A Trip to Scotland* by Whitehead were announced for April 10, when appeared this advertisement:

On account of the Indisposition of one of the actresses the play which was to have been performed Friday [is] postponed.¹⁸

April 13. *The Wonder* and *A Trip to Scotland*.

The advertising had this information: Tickets delivered for 10th will be taken.¹⁹

April 18. Postponed. "This week being Passion Week the play advertised for the 18th is postponed to Monday 20."²⁰

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Advertisement in supplement, Feb. 28.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, April 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, April 11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 12.

April 20. *The Wonder*. Also *A Trip to Scotland*.

April 24. *The Wonder*. Also *The Mock Doctor*.

May 1. *The Liar*, by Foote. Also *A Trip to Scotland*.

Wanted for the use of the Theatre The Tragedy of Douglass and a Farce called The Citizen. Any person having them will much oblige the gentlemen of the Theatre if they will either lend or dispose of them and are requested to leave them with the printer.²¹

May 6. *The Liar*. Also *Duke and No Duke*.

May 19. *Douglass*, by Dr. John Home. Also *The Citizen*, by A. Murphy.

The season was over. On the 16th the advertisement: "Every method will be taken to render the house as cool as possible." And on the 29th "Any person having demands against the theatre bring them to Mr. Smith at the office in Front st."

Sargent's chronology of the plays in his *Life of André* is full of errors. He gives January 14 as the opening night. He seems to have worked from the collection of handbills and posters collected by Humphreys during the occupation by the British and so neglected sudden postponements. He did not observe that the play for March 9 was postponed at the last moment, and he omitted entirely the presentations of *The Wonder* and *A Trip to Scotland* on April 13 and April 20. He lists but thirteen presentations whereas there were fourteen.

"The success of the first night was really beyond expectation." All the presentations seem to have been well attended. Sargent from Humphreys's collection of handbills makes this discovery: "Of notices of performance 1000 copies would be printed; and 660 box-tickets."

Of the quality of the acting we have little evidence. The reiterated fact that "the characters are by the Officers of the Army and Navy" makes it reasonably certain that the feminine parts were played by men.

A picturesque episode surely. Elements everywhere for romance. General Howe attended most of the performances, bringing with him into the "Royal Box" his mistress, Mrs. Loring. On a night in March the arch traitor Charles Lee from the American Army was

²¹ *Ibid.*, May 2 and 6.

with Howe in the "Royal Box." But it is the presence of Major André that throws the glamor of romance over all. His was a leading part. The parts he acted, however, we shall, perhaps, never know.

"When the curtain fell, the officers resorted to a sort of club-room in the large apartments of the City Tavern, where their weekly balls were held." Time and again advertisements of the meetings of The Friendly Brothers at The Indian King Tavern or The Bunch of Grapes, their motto *Quis separabit* always evident. Then, too, there was the Yorkshire Club, Major Stwawbenzie its president and The Bunch of Grapes its meeting place.

Would some taker of notes had been present, some Boswell with sharp pencil to record those after-the-play evenings when the current comedy and all art dramatic were discussed with youthful positiveness.

THE CHRONOLOGY AND PERSONNEL OF THE BREAD AND CHEESE CLUB

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THE renaissance of interest in the life and writings of James Fenimore-Cooper has, unfortunately, added little to our knowledge of the literary coterie which he gathered about him in New York City during the third decade of the nineteenth century. This organization, the Bread and Cheese Club, or the Lunch, as it was sometimes called, belongs to the most genial and engaging period of Cooper's life. At a time when the earliest of his works had attained immense popularity and won him a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, Cooper held sway in New York as the amiable autocrat of a group of writers, artists, and professional men. He was envied by none, nor had he yet entered upon the sharp literary and personal controversies which were to embitter his life after his return from Europe.

Even in the best and most recent account of the Bread and Cheese Club, Professor Nelson F. Adkins¹ follows his predecessors in depending to some extent upon evidence offered by Dr. John Wakefield Francis. The description of this organization which may be found in Francis's *Old New York* runs as follows:

The Bread and Cheese Club originated in 1824 through the instrumentality of James Fenimore Cooper shortly after his renown burst forth as the author of the *Spy*. The selection of members for nomination to this fraternity rested, I believe, entirely with him: bread and cheese were the ballots used and one of cheese decided adversely to admittance, so that, in fact, an unanimous vote was essential to membership. This association generally met at the Washington Hall once, if I remember rightly, every fortnight, during the winter season. It included a large number of the most conspicuous of professional men, statesmen, lawyers, and physicians. Science was not absent. Our most renowned poet was Halleck, our greatest naturalist was De Kay; William and John Duer were among the representatives of the bar; Renwick of philosophy, letters found asso-

¹Nelson F. Adkins, "James Fenimore Cooper and the Bread and Cheese Club," *Modern Language Notes*, LXVII, 71-79 (Feb., 1932).

ciates in Verplanck and King, merchants in Charles A. Davis and Philip Hone; and politicians who had long discharged their public trusts were here and there chronicled in fellowship.²

When biographers of the various club members and historians of early nineteenth-century New York do not quote the learned and jolly Dr. Francis directly or paraphrase his remarks, the details which they offer are often contradictory. There is little agreement as to the exact membership of this organization, its temporal limits, or its relation to similar literary and quasi-literary groups which led ephemeral existences in New York about this time. The publication, within the last twelve years, of the Cooper correspondence³ has made available a little more first-hand information about the Bread and Cheese Club. Some use of this material has been made by Professor Adkins and also by Mr. Boynton and Professor Spiller in their recent biographies of Cooper,⁴ but its possibilities seem not to have been fully realized. It is desirable at this time, I believe, to attempt a new synthesis of evidence which may be brought to bear upon the date and membership of this delightful organization.

Virtually all the accounts of the Bread and Cheese Club accept 1824, which was given by Dr. Francis, as the correct date of organization. Although Susan Fenimore-Cooper in her *Small Family Memories*⁵ gives few dates, she has evidently taken some pains to present the various incidents of Cooper's life in their proper chronological sequence. This appears to be particularly true of Cooper's first period of residence in New York City during the years 1822-1826. She mentions first the removal from Mamaroneck to New York, then the founding of the Bread and Cheese Club, next, the death of her uncle Thomas De Lancey "during that winter," and finally the removal to Turtle Bay and the death of her brother Fenimore in the following summer.⁶

All of Cooper's biographers agree that he removed to New York

² John Wakefield Francis, *Old New York* (New York, 1865), p. 291.

³ James Fenimore-Cooper, *Correspondence*, ed. James Fenimore-Cooper III (New Haven, 1922).

⁴ Henry W. Boynton, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1931), pp. 108-112.

Robert E. Spiller, *James Fenimore Cooper, Critic of His Times* (New York, 1931), pp. 76-96.

⁵ Susan Fenimore-Cooper, "Small Family Memories," in James Fenimore-Cooper, *Correspondence*, I, 7-72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 48-51.

in 1822. The death of Thomas De Lancey is known to have occurred on December 22 of that year.⁷ The date of little Fenimore's death was August, 1823.⁸ Assuming the founding of the Lunch to have been placed in proper relationship to the other events, which Miss Cooper has set down in their correct order, it is possible to conclude that this organization came into existence during the autumn of 1822, some time before December. Miss Cooper speaks of the club upon two other occasions in her reminiscences. First, in connection with the family's removal to Greenwich Street in the autumn of 1824, there is the significant comment, "The 'Lunch' was in full vigor."⁹ Again in connection with the parade in October 26, 1825, celebrating the completion of the Erie Canal, Miss Cooper has written: "There was a great procession. . . . One carriage, in passing our house, made an especial demonstration; it contained gentlemen, several of whom had on the ends of their uplifted canes slices of bread and cheese—members of Father's Club, The Lunch, no doubt."¹⁰

To accept Miss Cooper's chronology in preference to that offered by Dr. Francis may seem, at first glance, a rejection of primary for secondary evidence. In justification of this procedure it may be pointed out that both Dr. Francis's and Miss Cooper's accounts were written several decades after the events they treat. Although Miss Cooper's accuracy in small points of fact is not always of the highest order, it should be noted that Dr. Francis's two descriptions of the Bread and Cheese Club, that from *Old New York* which has already been quoted and the somewhat briefer mention in the Cooper memorial volume¹¹ are by no means consistent in detail. The slight,

⁷ *New York American*, Dec. 23, 1822.

⁸ Mary E. Phillips, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1913), p. 99. Boynton, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁹ Cooper, *Correspondence*, I, 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 58.

¹¹ John Wakefield Francis, "Reminiscences of the Late Mr. Cooper," *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1852), p. 94. In *Old New York* Dr. Francis speaks of fortnightly meetings of the club and of the fact that only a single negative vote was necessary to reject a prospective member. In the Cooper memorial volume the meetings are given as weekly and "two ballots of cheese against an individual proclaimed non-admittance." Another interesting example of Dr. Francis's unreliability comes to light when the original draft of his "Reminiscences of the Late Mr. Cooper," now in the possession of the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University, is compared with the published version. The manuscript lists the poet, Joseph Rodman Drake, who died in 1820, among the Lunch members. A copy of this manuscript was furnished me through the courtesy of Mr. Andrew Keogh, Librarian of the Yale University Library.

but nevertheless significant, variations in these two accounts serve to cast some suspicion upon Dr. Francis's accuracy, and it seems not unreasonable to believe that by 1850 he may have confused to a certain extent the several organizations to which he had belonged thirty years before.

In this connection it is important to note that neither Dr. Francis nor William Cullen Bryant, whose account of the Lunch next to that of Dr. Francis has been drawn upon most frequently, was acquainted with Cooper as early as 1822. According to his own statement, Dr. Francis first met the novelist in 1823. He does not claim to have been a charter member of the Lunch, but merely says that he "had the honor of an early admittance" therein.¹² Bryant describes what is usually considered his first meeting with Cooper at the home of the Sedgwicks in a letter dated April 24, 1824.¹³ It is obvious that some little time must have elapsed before he was sufficiently intimate with Cooper and his friends to be admitted to their circle. As a matter of fact, we know from a letter written by Samuel Morse that Bryant did not become a member of the Lunch until November, 1825.¹⁴ It would seem, then, that hitherto our chief sources of evidence as to this organization have been the statements made by those who were definitely not among its founders or charter members.

A few other incidental facts may be brought forward to support the earlier date. The first of these is William Dunlap's mention of his admission to membership. He writes, "This winter (1823-4) I became a member of a club which called itself the Lunch."¹⁵ If the organization were being founded at this time it is quite probable that Dunlap would have mentioned it, as he does in the case of the Sketch Club, of which he was a charter member.

It is notable, moreover, that Bryant includes Henry D. Sedgwick in his list of Bread and Cheese Club members.¹⁶ Yet Bryant, who first met Cooper at the Sedgwick home, also tells us that Cooper,

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹³ Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1883), I, 189.

¹⁴ Samuel F. B. Morse: *His Letters and Journals*, ed. Edward L. Morse (Boston, 1914), I, 282.

¹⁵ William Dunlap, *A History of the Arts of Design in the United States* (Boston, 1918), I, 347, 360.

¹⁶ William Cullen Bryant, "Discourse on the Life, Character and Genius of James Fenimore Cooper," *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1852), pp. 49-51.

soon after this meeting, had "a difference with Robert Sedgwick which put an end to this intimacy with the family." This difference must have occurred shortly after April, 1824; yet if the Lunch was not organized until 1824, it is difficult to understand how Henry Sedgwick could have been a member.

Certainly no one of these facts would be, in itself, sufficient to establish 1822 rather than 1824 as the date of organization, yet the combination of them together with positive evidence as to Dr. Francis's unreliability does create a supposition in favor of the earlier date.¹⁷ To settle upon 1822 as the date of the founding of the Lunch is important in that it shows Cooper to have been the center and dominant spirit of his coterie for a period of four—rather than two—years previous to his departure for Europe. There is no doubt that he moved from Mamaroneck to New York in order to be near the center of literary and intellectual activity. The publication of *The Spy* had made him well known among the literati of New York, as a letter from Wiley to Cooper in January, 1822, definitely indicates,¹⁸ and there is no reason to suppose that a man of his social endowments would have required two years to form a circle of acquaintances that might be gathered about him in an informal group.

Although Mr. Boynton has said, "The full roster of the Lunch or 'Cooper's Club' we know not,"¹⁹ it is possible, from evidence given by the club members themselves, to arrive at a somewhat more comprehensive and accurate club roll than has hitherto been presented. Information of this nature may be drawn from several first-hand sources²⁰ and when it is put together, the result is a club

¹⁷ Professor Adkins has made some use of meeting notices in *The New York American* as a guide to the chronological limits of the organization. These have value as positive evidence of the club's existence at the dates for which they occur, but since they are very infrequent, their absence from 1822-1824 does not prove that an organization did not exist. As a matter of fact, the earliest of these announcements mentioned by Professor Adkins is in the issue of Oct. 24, 1825, and a search of the files of *The New York American* has elicited nothing with an earlier date.

¹⁸ Boynton, *Cooper*, p. 95.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁰ The *Cooper Correspondence* includes one letter from the organization to Cooper (I, 105-109) which lists a number of newly admitted members, and there are several other letters in which the club is given passing mention (I, 118, 133, 166). It has been noted previously that Dr. Francis wrote two accounts of the Lunch, one for the Cooper memorial volume and a second in his *Old New York*. William Cullen Bryant's memorial discourse on James Fenimore-Cooper has a list of members which differs in some respects from Dr.

roster of thirty-five members. Such a list is probably not complete, but the letter from the Lunch to Cooper states that the attendance at the meeting held the previous evening had been twenty-seven; so allowing for absences, it may be assumed that there are not a great many omissions in the reconstructed membership roll.

Besides its "venerated constitution," as the founder was called, the Lunch seems to have included the poets Bryant, Halleck, Richard Hillhouse, Robert Sands, and Henry Sedgwick; Henry Brevoort, the friend of Irving; Charles King, then editor of *The New York American* and later to become president of Columbia College; William Dunlap, Asher B. Durand, John Wesley Jarvis, and Samuel Morse, all artists; Henry James Anderson, James Dean, James De Kay, James Griscom, Nathaniel Moore and James Renwick, representatives of the scientific and scholastic world, most of them on the Columbia faculty; Surrogate James Campbell, John and William Duer, Chancellor James Kent, and Hugh Maxwell, members of the legal profession; Gulian Verplanck, at this time in the House of Representatives; Drs. J. W. Francis, Augustine Smith, and John B. Stevenson; Philip Hone, Isaac Hone, and Charles Augustus Davis, merchants; Charles Wiley, Cooper's publisher; Anthony Bleecker, something of a wit and a gentleman about town; William Gracie, Jacob Harvey, I. Morton, and James de Peyster Ogden, about whom little is known. Dr. Edward G. Ludlow is undoubtedly a justifiable addition to this list of names, for James Grant Wilson relates an anecdote in connection with Halleck's proposal of his name for membership.²¹ Professor Adkins has mentioned as well the admission of Irving and Washington Allston as honorary members at the banquet given for Cooper before he sailed for Europe.

A survey of secondary sources, chiefly James Grant Wilson's *Bryant and his Friends*,²² as well as his biography of Halleck and

Francis's as does that of William Dunlap in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*. Somewhat less extensive sources of information are a letter from Samuel Morse to his mother telling of his admission into the society, two letters from Brevoort to Irving, discussing some of the club members (George Hellman, *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving*, New York, 1916, I, 160-161; II, 6) and two meeting notices which are preserved in James Grant Wilson's biography of Fitz-Greene Halleck (*Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, New York, 1869, p. 401).

²¹ Wilson, *Halleck*, p. 400.

²² James G. Wilson, *Bryant, and his Friends: Some Reminiscences of the Knickerbocker Writers* (New York, 1886), p. 45.

Godwin's life of Bryant,²³ adds to the list the poet and geologist James Gates Percival; the artists Inman, Weir and Vanderlyn; Thomas Addis Emmet and Edward Griffin, lawyers; Professor Anthon of Columbia; and John King, a merchant. Certain of these names, however, may represent a confusion with the membership of the Sketch Club or some of the other groups existent at the time.

Although with the limited amount of information at hand it is obviously impossible to determine who the charter members were, and the order in which newcomers were admitted, yet a closer examination of the roster may bear some fruit. If the occupations of these members are taken into account, they definitely corroborate Dr. Francis's statement that the Lunch included a large number of the most conspicuous professional men. It is interesting to observe, as well, that the poets and artists gained rather early admittance to the organization. Morse, Bryant, Dunlap, and Hillhouse had all been invited to join by November, 1825. On the other hand, the new members listed in the letter of 1827 are all men of decidedly different occupations, merchants, lawyers, physicians, and scholars. This should be kept in mind in connection with the next topic to be considered; namely, the eventual break-up of this society.

If the accounts of the membership of the Bread and Cheese Club may be considered inconsistent, statements as to the length of its life and date of dissolution are flatly contradictory. They all agree on only one point, that Cooper was the dominating personality of this heterogeneous group and after his departure for Europe on June 1, 1826, the club "felt keenly the loss of its founder's vigorous personality."²⁴ From this point on, all agreement ceases. According to William Cullen Bryant, "Cooper was scarcely in France when he remembered his friends of the weekly club and sent frequent missives to be read at its meetings; but the club missed its founder, went into a decline and not long after quietly expired."²⁵ S. I. Prime in his biography of Samuel Morse gives an account which is similar in many respects.

The Second Exhibition of the National Academy was held (1827) in the room over Tyler's Baths in Chambers Street. . . . Previous to the

²³ Godwin, *William Cullen Bryant*, I, 208.

²⁴ Adkins, "Cooper and the Bread and Cheese Club," p. 78.

²⁵ Bryant, *loc. cit.*

opening of the school, resting in a corner were Morse, Durand, Cummings, and Ingham. The subject of conversation was the breaking up of that most agreeable club, the "Lunch." Mr. Ingham remarked that now there was an opportunity for the artists to establish a club. All agreed that such a thing was feasible. Mr. Ingham proposed that those present should consider themselves the nucleus of one which when established should be called the Sketch Club—to consist of artists, authors, men of science and lovers of art. . . .²⁶

A similar statement is to be found in Godwin's biography of William Cullen Bryant.²⁷

At the other extreme is the assertion by James Grant Wilson, "At the Bread-and-Cheese Club were entertained for nearly fifteen years, either at Washington Hall . . . or at the houses of the members, nearly every distinguished person who visited New York during that period."²⁸ Even assuming the Lunch to have been founded as early as 1822, this statement would signify that the organization lived on until 1837.

Professor Adkins has attempted to compromise between these two views. His conclusion as to the eventual fate of the club is summed up in the following quotation:

But there is no evidence to support such a [Wilson's] statement. During the next three years [1826-1829] it is probable that the members rallied with less and less enthusiasm to the support of the Bread and Cheese. The last recovered advertisement of a club meeting appeared in the *American* for November 28, 1828. Cooper himself in a letter written to a member in May 1829 speaks as if he had heard nothing of the Lunch for a long time. Wilson has preserved in his life of Halleck an invitation dated April, 1831, which is addressed to the poet, and informs him of the next meeting of the club. But this is the last extant reference to the organization bearing a date; and we are forced to assume that after 1831 its death was speedy.²⁹

While we are forced to agree that 1831 is the last specific reference to a club meeting, this conclusion does not tell the whole story. Particularly it fails to explain the impression given in the accounts of Morse and Bryant that Cooper's departure for Europe resulted in

²⁶ S. I. Prime, *Life of S. F. B. Morse* (New York, 1875), p. 241.

²⁷ Godwin, *Biography of Bryant*, I, 236: "Cooper's club, the Lunch, was no more, owing to his departure for Europe, and the Sketch Club was meant to be a sort of substitute."

²⁸ Wilson, *Halleck*, p. 401.

²⁹ Adkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

almost immediate dissolution of the organization. This peculiar discrepancy may be accounted for, I believe, by reviewing the heterogeneous character of the club roster already referred to. Not only were the several arts and professions as well as trade liberally represented, but the members differed in temperament as well. The group who formed the Sketch Club included Bryant, Verplanck, Morse, Hillhouse, Dunlap, Durand, Sands, Inman, and Weir. Besides representing the artistic rather than the professional side of the Lunch membership, these men had something else in common. They were all of a liberal turn of mind, and might be said to represent as much of the Bohemian spirit as any early nineteenth-century American city could have furnished. Those who had political convictions were Democratic rather than Whig. Many of them were young artists struggling to gain recognition from a world all too practical and too engrossed with humdrum commercial pursuits. As a matter of fact, these same artists in 1826 had turned their backs upon the staid and conservative American Academy of the Fine Arts and formed their rival organization, the National Academy of Design, with Morse as president.

Contrasted with this, on the Bread and Cheese Club roll there was also a group distinctly conservative in character. Philip Hone's diary offers ample evidence of his opposition to the democratic policies of Jackson. Charles Augustus Davis continued the Jack Downing letters, which satirized the administration. Charles King, although originally a Tammany supporter, made *The New York American* a Whig party after 1823. Chancellor Kent seems to have been of the same political complexion. Moreover, we may see most of this group meeting together later in the 30's in what was called the Literary Club or the Book Club. An entry from the diary of Philip Hone is valuable for the information it gives as to the personnel of this later organization:

May 27, [1835]—I went last evening to a grand supper at Washington Hall, given by members of the Book Club to the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, who is considered the founder of the club. The party was larger than usual, and comprised several of the élite of the city. There were Pres. Duer, Dr. Wainwright, Dr. Jarvis, Henry Brevoort, Colonel White, of Florida, General Scott, Joseph Blunt, Charles King, Ogden Hoffman, John Duer, Jacob Harvey, Arthur Barclay, James J. Jones, Dr. Francis,

Beverly Robinson, Charles A. Davis, Dr. A. E. Hosack, Isaac S. Hone, P. Hone, Washington Irving, M. C. Patterson, and two or three more whom I do not recollect.³⁰

Of the list of twenty-one guests, it is significant that ten are known to have been members of the old Lunch, and two others, Hosack and Robinson, are mentioned as frequent visitors there.

An account of the founding of this organization exists in a letter of invitation written November 2, 1829, by Dr. Augustine Smith (a Lunch member) to Albert Gallatin:

Nearly two years ago some of the literary men of the city, feeling severely the almost total want of intercourse among themselves, determined to establish an association which should bring them more frequently into contact. Accordingly they founded the "Club" as it is commonly called, and which I believe I mentioned to you when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Bond Street. Into this "Club" twelve persons only are admitted, and there are at present three gentlemen of the bar, Chancellor Kent, Messrs. Johnston and Jay; three professors of Columbia College, Messrs. McVickar, Moore, and Renwick; the Rev. Drs. Wainwright and Mathews, the former of the Episcopal, the latter of the Presbyterian Church; two merchants, Messrs. Bosworth and Goodhue; and I have the honor to represent the medical faculty. Our twelfth associate was Mr. Morse of the National Academy of Design, of which he was president, and his departure for Europe has caused a vacancy.³¹

This statement, like those by Bryant and Prime, again intimates that in 1827 there was no opportunity for literary or intellectual contacts. This is difficult to comprehend in the face of Harvey's statement in a letter to Cooper, May 14, 1827, "The Lunch, on the whole, was well attended during the winter,"³² which was corroborated by Mrs. Mary Rutherford Jay, "The Lunch is still maintained with spirit."³³ Moreover, Cooper on January 15, 1828 wrote to Charles Wilkes, "I am glad, however, to hear it [the Lunch] is prosperous and hope it may survive till I can once more fill its chair."³⁴

³⁰ Philip Hone, *Diary, 1828-1851*, ed. B. Tuckerman (New York, 1889), I, 143-144.

³¹ James G. Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New-York* (New York, 1892), III, 356.

³² Cooper, *Correspondence*, I, 133.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 118.

³⁴ Boynton, *Cooper*, p. 172.

The problem becomes one of reconciling satisfactory evidence of the club's existence until 1831 with statements that it disbanded soon after its founder's departure for Europe. Since these statements are made in connection with the formation of new or substitute organizations it is not unreasonable to assume that such organizations may have arisen out of some kind of dissatisfaction with the Bread and Cheese Club.

Such a dissatisfaction could have come from either of two sources. That the Lunch contained both a liberal and a conservative element has already been pointed out, and it is quite likely that differences in temperament may have increased to the point of annoyance now that the brilliant and dynamic Cooper was gone. There is another possible reason for a break-up or at least for the formation of the new organizations. Both of them were, at the beginning, limited to a small number of members. The Literary Club contained only twelve until about 1833, and the Sketch Club was limited to twenty-one. On the other hand, the Lunch was three times the size of the Literary Club. It is conceivable, then, that Cooper's club may have grown so large that some of its members felt it was no longer a meeting ground for a few individuals with common interests. These disaffected groups may have dropped the Lunch altogether, and our evidence of the existence of an organization until 1831 may apply only to a remaining nucleus. Some few members, notably Morse, Halleck, and Verplanck, found a congenial atmosphere both in the Bohemian Sketch Club and the more decorous Book or Literary Club.

This collection and reinterpretation of all the available primary evidence as to the membership and existence of the Bread and Cheese Club have resulted, then, first of all in pointing toward 1822 instead of 1824 as a possible date of organization. A provisional club roster of approximately thirty-five members has been compiled; and as this list is analyzed one must feel, more than ever before, the vital force of Cooper's personality in holding together such a diverse group. This same diversity has helped to explain the gradual dissolution of the club, a process which possibly began a year after Cooper's departure for Europe, but which evidently did not succeed in completely disrupting the organization for a number of years.

"NO NAMES" AND "ROUND ROBINS"

AUBREY STARKE

Centralia, Illinois

EVEN the casual investigator of nineteenth-century English and American literature must be struck by the great number of books, now accepted as classics, originally published in series¹ and by the vogue, throughout the century, of anonymous and pseudonymous literature.² No study of the numerous and varied series published has, so far as I have been able to discover, been made; and Halkett's and Laing's monumental *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature*³ contains certain errors in the identifications of authors. The following paper is offered merely as a listing of two once well-known and popular series of novels published in Boston in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and—in part—as a supplement to and a correction of the Halkett and Laing *Dictionary*.

I

Whence Thomas Niles, Jr., head of Roberts Brothers, publishers of Boston,⁴ derived his idea of issuing a "No Name" series of anonymous novels, is uncertain. The title of the series was obviously derived from Wilkie Collins's popular novel, and the scheme of the series—as well as the size of the volumes—may have been copied from the "Wayside" series of Lockwood, Brook & Company

¹ Wiley & Putnam's "Library of American Books," as listed by Dr. Randall Stewart in *American Literature*, V, 328-329, n. 8 (Jan., 1934), included Poe's *Tales* and *The Raven and Other Poems*, Melville's *Typee*, and Hawthorne's *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Henry James's *Daisy Miller* was originally published in Harper's "Half-Hour" series, at a retail price of 20 cents.

² In *The Library Journal*, XV, 94 (March, 1890), appears this quotation from Bok's *Literary Leaves*: "Authors are realizing more and more that with two names they have two reputations to make, and, in these days of literary competition, it fills the hands of any ordinary man to succeed in making one. . . . Writers are daily becoming more convinced that the strength of one's personality in his work is an essential of success. . . . Publishers are more reluctant to place pseudonyms on title pages than they were fifteen years ago. And thus are our methods changing, in literature as well as everything else."

³ A new and enlarged edition, ed. James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson (Edinburgh, 1932).

⁴ Roberts Brothers was actually the name of a bookbinding concern which backed the publishing house and later came into possession. For a portrait and an account of Niles, and some interesting references to the "No Name" series, see *Invincible Louisa*, by Cornelia Meigs (Boston, 1933), pp. 198-200, 236.

of Boston, inaugurated in 1877 with E. L. Bynner's novel *Nimport*, but apparently not carried beyond a second volume. The publishers' advertisement stated:

These novels are to be written by eminent authors, and in each case the authorship of the work is to remain an inviolable secret. . . . No name will help the novel, or story, to success. Its success will depend solely on the writer's ability to catch and retain the reader's interest. Several of the most distinguished writers of American fiction have agreed to contribute to the Series.⁵

The initial volume of the series was *Mercy Philbrick's Choice*, by Helen Hunt Jackson, a volume which has enjoyed some recent fame because of its supposed connection with Emily Dickinson. Other volumes followed: in all three separate "No Name" series of 16 mo. volumes, differing in format only in the study of binding, were issued; and the grand total of thirty-seven anonymous volumes (thirty-five novels, two volumes of verse) was reached before the series was discontinued in May, 1887.

No complete list of the series has previously been published. Seventeen of the titles do not appear in the Halkett and Laing *Dictionary*; the names of two authors are there given erroneously, and the names of four authors are not given at all in the Library of Congress catalogue. But as information concerning many of the authors correctly identified in standard catalogues and lists is found only with difficulty, brief biographical references are added to the identification in the case of all authors not listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.⁶

The first "No Name" series⁷ consists of fourteen volumes, bound in black, stamped in red, with gold bands, and with designs of

⁵ This announcement—"From the Boston Daily Advertiser"—is printed on the front end-paper of most volumes in the series. Other end-papers carry excerpts from press notices of various volumes in the series, notices which afford ample proof of the success of Niles's idea.

⁶ The same procedure is followed also in the list of "Round Robin" novels, which constitutes the second part of this paper.

⁷ These lists, with dates of publication and the names of the authors, were furnished me by Mr. H. G. Halladay of Little, Brown & Company (successors to Roberts Brothers, and owners of the Roberts Brothers record books), whose helpfulness I gratefully acknowledge. I have of course checked Mr. Halladay's identifications against the Halkett and Laing *Dictionary*, the Library of Congress catalogue, the *American Catalogue of Books in Print*, and other standard works of reference, but only in cases in which Mr. Halladay's identification is to be questioned, is the identification followed by any discussion.

horseshoes and four-leaf clovers. The volumes, in order of publication, are:

1. *Mercy Philbrick's Choice*. Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885). September, 1876.
2. *Deirdrè*. Robert D. Joyce (1836-1883). September, 1876.
Joyce was an Irish physician, for a time (after 1866) resident in Boston. See the *Encyclopedia Americana*, XVI, 226.
3. *Is That All?* Harriet Waters Preston (1836-1911). September, 1876.
Miss Preston, once well known as a poet and translator (of Vergil and Sainte-Beuve and of Provençal poetry) is accorded notice in the *Americana*, XXII, 559.
4. *Kismet*. Julia Constance Fletcher (1858-). January, 1877.
For Miss Fletcher, an English writer of American birth, who made the dramatization of Kipling's *The Light That Failed*, see the *Americana*, XI, 349, the British *Who's Who*, and especially *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, by Gertrude Stein (New York, 1933), pp. 158-161. Miss Fletcher used the pseudonym "George Fleming."
- * 5. *The Great Match*. John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916). February, 1877.
Trowbridge used the pseudonym "Paul Creyton." See the *Americana*, XXVII, 98.
6. *A Modern Mephistopheles*. Louisa May Alcott (1832-1888). March, 1877.
There are several interesting references to this volume, and the enjoyment Miss Alcott found in disguising her style (to enter more completely into the spirit of the series) in Ednah D. Cheney's volume *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters and Journals* (Boston, 1889).
7. *Afterglow*. George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898). May, 1877.
8. *Hetty's Strange History*. Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885). July, 1877.
- * 9. *Will Denbigh, Nobleman*. Annette Calthorpe? October, 1877.
Though the publishers' records ascribe this novel to Annette Calthorpe (to whom I have found no printed references whatsoever), Halkett and Laing ascribe it to Miss Mulock (the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*), later Mrs. Craik, but note that it is also ascribed (as in the *American Catalogue of Books in Print, 1876-1884*) to Mrs. Emily Fox, a writer concerning whom I have learned

* An asterisk is used throughout this article to indicate novels not listed in Halkett and Laing, or novels the authors of which are there erroneously identified. A question mark following the name of the author indicates that the identification as made by Mr. Halladay is questioned.

nothing except that she used the pseudonym "Toler King." It is probably by Mrs. Fox.

10. *The Wolf at the Door*. Lucretia P. Hale (1820-1900)? November, 1877.

It is hardly likely that this novel is by the author of *The Peterkin Papers*. Halkett and Laing ascribe it to an English writer, "Florence Warden," i.e. Florence Alice Price (1857-), later Mrs. George E. James. For Mrs. James, see the *Americana*, XV, 604. The Library of Congress catalogue gives no information concerning the authorship of the book. Miss Hale, to whom payment of royalties was evidently made, may have acted as agent for Miss Price, but the publishers' records do not indicate that agents acted for any of the contributors to the "No Name" series.

11. *Marmorne*. Philip Gilbert Hamerton (1834-1894). January, 1878. For Hamerton, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement II, p. 380.

12. *Mirage*. Julia Constance Fletcher (1858-). January, 1878.

13. *Gemini*. Laura D. Nichols? March, 1878.

Halkett and Laing, the Library of Congress catalogue, and the *American Catalogue of Books in Print* ascribe this novel to Mrs. Emily Fox, but the publishers' records show that the royalty payment was made to Mrs. Nichols (née Bolles?).

14. *A Masque of Poets*. Edited by George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898). November, 1878.

This interesting volume, made up of seventy short poems by fifty different authors, and a long "novelette in verse" by J. T. Trowbridge, has recently become much sought after by book collectors, chiefly because it marks the first publication in a book of a poem by Emily Dickinson. I have discussed it, and various problems connected with it, at considerable length in an article called "An Omnibus of Poets."⁸ The list of authors, drawn from Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton's copy in the Boston Public Library, checked against various partial lists in other association copies, and against other evidence, is reprinted here for the completeness of this record of the "No Name" series. (The absence of dates after an author's name indicates the lack of biographical information concerning the author.) Some of the poems first printed in this volume—such as Lanier's, Lowell's, Miss Alcott's, and Austin Dobson's—have been

⁸ *The Colophon*, Part XVI (March, 1934). See also John T. Winterich, "Good Second-Hand Condition," *The Publishers Weekly*, CXVIII, 2311-2313 (Nov. 15, 1930), and my own article, "Emily Dickinson as a Great Unknown," *The American Book Collector*, V, 245-250 (Aug.-Sept., 1934).

reprinted with the collected poems of the authors, and so are known to scholars; but one at least—George Henry Boker's "Song Before Singing"—has not been reprinted over the author's name, and is unknown to the recognized authority on that poet.⁹ The anthology as a whole is not as well known to bibliographers and students of American literature as it should be.

- P. [9]. [Quatrain]. Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907).
 P. 11. "A Song Before Singing." George Henry Boker (1823-1890).
 P. 13. "If Only We Had Time to Spare." Lady Currie (1843-1905).
 P. 14. "Lalage." Robert Edward Francillon (1841-1919).
 P. 15. "Awakening." Celia Thaxter (1836-1894).
 P. 17. "Benedicam Domino." "Susan Coolidge" (Sarah Chauncey Woolsey, 1835-1905).
 P. 19. "Provençal Lovers." Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833-1908).
 P. 22. "My Lady's Voice." Richard Rogers Bowker (1848-1933).
 P. 23. "Through a Window Pane." John James Piatt (1835-1917).
 P. 24. "A Mood of Cleopatra." Edgar Fawcett (1847-1904).
 P. 32. "Love and Fate." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
 P. 33. "Carpe Diem." Théophile Marzials (1850-).
 P. 34. "Youthful Love." Franklin Benjamin Sanborn (1831-1917).
 P. 36. "Sunset-Song." Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-1895).
 P. 38. "To Alma." Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-1895).
 P. 41. "The Pine-Tree." M. S. Walker.
 P. 42. "Husband and Wife." Christina Georgina Rossetti (1830-1894).
 P. 45. "This Life of Ours." Rose Hawthorne Lathrop (1852-1926).
 P. 47. "Question and No Answer." Lord Houghton (1809-1885).
 P. 48. "Quatrains." Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885).
 P. 50. "On Appledore." Oscar Laighton (1839-).
 P. 52. "Jasper Oakes." Elizabeth Akers Allen (1832-1911).
 P. 58. "Starlight." Edgar Fawcett (1847-1904).
 P. 59. "The Bunch of Wild Flowers." Robert Dwyer Joyce (1813-1883).
 P. 66. "Yachting." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
 P. 67. "A Quandary." Mary Mapes Dodge (1831-1905).
 P. 68. "Don't Overdo It." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
 P. 70. "Love's Day." Théophile Marzials (1850-).
 P. 72. "Garden Peril." John Weiss (1818-1879).
 P. 74. "A Woman's Death Wound." Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885).

⁹ Dr. E. S. Bradley, who made this statement in a recent letter to me.

- P. 75. "A Lover's Tests." Bayard Taylor (1825-1878).
- P. 77. "Her Word of Reproach." Sarah M. B. Piatt (1836-1912).
- P. 79. "Forgiven." Philip Bourke Marston (1850-1887).
- P. 83. "We Twain." Amanda T. Jones (1835-1914).
- P. 85. "A Fallen House." Louise Chandler Moulton (1835-1908).
- P. 86. "The Wanderer." Austin Dobson (1840-1921).
- P. 87. "At Twilight." Théophile Marzials (1850-).
- P. 88. "The Marshes of Glynn." Sidney Lanier (1842-1881).
- P. 95. "Ballad of the Wicked Nephew." James T. Fields (1817-1881).
- P. 99. "The Angler." James Phinney Baxter (1831-1921).
- P. 100. "The Rebel Flower." Norah Perry (1841-1896).
- P. 104. "The Bride of War." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
- P. 114. "From Herzegovina." Théophile Marzials (1850-).
- P. 119. "Running the Blockade." Will Wallace Harney (1831-).
- P. 129. "The Rhone Cradle." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
- P. 131. "John Carman." Richard Watson Gilder (1844-1909).
- P. 135. "A Preacher." Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907).
- P. 136. "October Sunday." John Weiss (1818-1879).
- P. 138. "The Unseen Preacher." Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911).
- P. 140. "Children's Song." William Ellery Channing (1818-1901).
- P. 141. "Amy Margaret." William Allingham (1824-1889).
- P. 142. "'My Heart, I Cannot Still It'." James Russell Lowell (1819-1891).
- P. 143. "The Robin's Song." John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916).
- P. 145. "Theocritus." Annie Adams Fields (1834-1915).
- P. 147. "Medallion Heads." Margaret Junkin Preston (1820-1897).
- P. 153. "Red Tape." James Russell Lowell (1819-1891).
- P. 154. "I Love to Dine." Henry Cuyler Bunner (1855-1896).
- P. 155. "The Beau of the Town." Nathan Haskell Dole (1852-).
- P. 157. "Eumenides." Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888).
- P. 158. "Eld." Aubrey De Vere (1814-1902).
- P. 159. "Horizon." Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885).
- P. 160. "One Hundred and One."¹⁰ Harriet Waters Preston (1843-1911).

¹⁰ Mr. Charles R. Anderson has recently called to my attention a letter from Miss Preston to Hayne, of Dec. 22, 1878 (holograph manuscript, Duke University Library), in which she states that she was paid \$12.50 for her contribution to *A Masque of Poets* by Lathrop, the editor. Publishers' records show that the royalties on the sale of the book went to Trowbridge, whose "novelette" occupies almost one half of the volume.

- P. 162. "The Search." James T. Fields (1817-1881).
 P. 163. "Not Lost." T. Stephens Collyer (1842-1893).
 P. 164. "Transfiguration." Louisa May Alcott (1832-1888).
 P. 167. "Immortal Clouds." George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898).
 P. 168. "Pilgrims." Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862).
 P. 170. "Avallon." C. S. Gage.^{10a}
 P. 174. "Success." Emily Dickinson (1830-1886).
 P. 175. "Guy Vernon" (A Novelette in Verse). John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916).
 P. [302]. [Quatrain.] Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907).

The second "No Name" series consists of twelve volumes bound in green, stamped with gold. They are:

1. *Signor Monaldini's Niece*. Mary Agnes Tincker (1833-). January, 1879.
 For Miss Tincker, see the *Americana*, XXVI, 640.
- * 2. *The Colonel's Opera Cloak*. Mrs. Christine Chaplin Brush (1842-1892). May, 1879.
 For Mrs. Brush, see *Lippincott's Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology* (any edition).
3. *His Majesty, Myself*. Rev. William Mumford Baker (1825-1883). November, 1879.
 Baker also used the pseudonym "G. F. Harrington."
4. *Mrs. Beauchamp Brown*. Mrs. Jane Goodwin Austin (1831-1894). April, 1880.
- * 5. *Salvage*. Mrs. Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer (1822-1904). July, 1880.
- * 6. *Don John*. Jean Ingelow (1820-1897). January, 1881.
 For Miss Ingelow, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement III, p. 31. *Don John* was reprinted in 1891 in the binding and format of the "No Name" series, but with the author's name on the title-page.
- * 7. *The Tsar's Window*. Mrs. Lucy Hamilton Hooper (1835-1893). March, 1881.
- * 8. *Manuela Paredes*. William Mellen Chamberlain (1821-1900). March 1881.
 For Chamberlain, librarian of the Boston Public Library, 1878-1890, see *A Catalogue of Authors Whose Works are Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company* (Boston, 1899), p. 20.
- * 9. *Baby Rue*. Mrs. Charlotte Moon Clarke (183-1895). May, 1881.
 This novel was reviewed in *The Atlantic*, XLVIII, 564-567 (Oct.,

^{10a} Probably Charles Sibley Gage (d. 1920), a graduate of Harvard College, 1867.

1881). For an interesting account of Mrs. Clarke, a Southern sympathizer, during the Civil War, see *The Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII, 296-297 (Aug., 1929). Mrs. Clarke used the pseudonym "Charles M. Clay."

- *10. *My Wife and My Wife's Sister*. Mrs. Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer (1822-1904). October, 1881.
- 11. *Her Picture*. Olba Grant de Longueil? March, 1882.
This novel is ascribed—and probably correctly—to Philip Gilbert Hamerton (author of *Marmorne*, volume 11 of the first "No Name" series) by Halkett and Laing, the Library of Congress catalogue, and the *American Catalogue of Books in Print*.
- *12. *Aschenbroedel*. Kate Carrington. May, 1882.
Concerning the author of this book I have no biographical information.

The third "No Name" series consists of eleven volumes bound in brown, stamped with gold. They are:

- * 1. *Her Crime*. Mrs. Edith Berdan. October, 1882.
I have learned nothing concerning Mrs. Berdan and have found no substantiating proof of the identification of her as author of this book. The Library of Congress catalogue offers no assistance.
- * 2. *Little Sister*. Mrs. Jane Woolsey Yardley. October, 1882.
I have learned nothing concerning Mrs. Yardley.
- * 3. *Barrington's Fate*. Mrs. Margaret Raine Hunt (1831-1912). January, 1883.
For the author of this novel, the translator of Grimms' *Fairy Tales* and the wife of Alfred William Hunt, the landscape painter, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement III, p. 13.
- 4. *A Daughter of the Philistines*. Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-1895). March, 1883.
- * 5. *Princess Amélie*. Mrs. Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer (1822-1904). June, 1883.
Louisa May Alcott was a keen enough student of style to guess that *Princess Amélie* was by the author of *My Wife and My Wife's Sister*. See her letter to Niles of June 23, 1883, quoted by Mrs. Cheney in her biography, p. 292 (edition of 1928).
- * 6. *Diane Coryval*. Kathleen O'Meara (1839-1888). December, 1883.
For Miss O'Meara (pseudonym: "Grace Ramsey"), see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLII, 172.
- * 7. *Almost a Duchess*. Olga Grant de Longueil. September, 1884.
The only information I have concerning Miss de Longueil comes

from the Library of Congress files. I am informed by the Superintendent of the Reading Room that the statement (in the catalogue) of her authorship of this volume "is based on information supplied by the author's uncle, Mr. W. J. A. Allen, to Mr. David Hutcheson of the Library staff, January 25, 1887."

* 8. *A Superior Woman*. Mrs. Jane Woolsey Yardley. May, 1885.

* 9. *Justina*. Mrs. Sophie Winthrop Weitzel. June, 1886.

The following note appeared in *The Library Journal*, XV, 95 (March, 1890): "'Justina,' Boston, 1886, is by Mrs. S. W. Weitzel of Santa Barbara, California, not by A[rthur] S[herburne] Hardy as stated in Cushing's *Anonyms*, p. 345.—The Publishers."

10. *A Question of Identity*. Harriet Waters Preston? December, 1886.

The identification of the author of this volume as Miss Preston must be rejected in face of the fact that Halkett and Laing, the Library of Congress catalogue, and other standard lists ascribe the novel to Miss Louise Dodge (concerning whom I have no biographical information). The confusion is probably to be traced to the fact that *The Guardians* (Boston, 1888) was published as "By the Authors of 'A Year in Eden' and 'A Question of Identity'." Miss Preston wrote *A Year in Eden*.

* 11. *Cracker Joe*. Mrs. Mary Andrews Denison (1826-1911). May, 1887.

The Library of Congress catalogue does not identify the author of this novel, and no information concerning her has been found.

II

The commercial success of the "No Name" series is attested by the fact that publication of the volumes was continued over a period of eleven years, and—indirectly—by the fact that another publisher imitated Niles's idea. The imitating series was the "Round Robin" series begun by James R. Osgood & Company, and continued by the successors to Osgood & Company: Ticknor & Co., and later Houghton & Mifflin. The "Round Robin" volumes were of the same size as the "No Name" volumes. They were bound in olive green cloth, stamped in brown and black, with a band of gold across the spine, and the end-papers were covered with advertisements. The superficial observer might easily mistake a volume of the later series for one of the earlier, in spite of the large design of a wheel on the title-page.¹¹

¹¹ "No Name" volumes bore on the title-page the motto (from George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*): "Is the Gentleman anonymous? Is he a Great Unknown?" "Round Robin" volumes carried the suggestion (around the wheel): "Perhaps it may turn out a song. Perhaps a sermon."

The publishers' advertisement, reproduced in each volume, was also similar to that of Roberts Brothers, though perhaps somewhat more modest. The volumes, it was stated, would be "chiefly by American writers, and chosen with great care." "The names of the writers will be withheld from public announcement, that each novel may depend for its success on its own unaided merit, and its appeal to the curiosity and analysis of its readers."

There were in all sixteen "Round Robins." The series, begun in the spring of 1881, lasted only two years. But perhaps changes in ownership and direction of the publishing firm issuing the series, rather than lack of popularity or success, is the explanation of the early demise of the series. The volumes, in order of publication, are:¹²

1. *A Nameless Nobleman*. Mrs. Jane Goodwin Austin (1831-1894). 1881.
Mrs. Austin was the only author who contributed to both series, the "No Name" and the "Round Robin."
- * 2. *A Lesson in Love*. Mrs. Ellen Warner Olney Kirk (1842-). 1881.
This title appears in the Halkett and Laing *Dictionary* as *Lessons in Love*. Mrs. Kirk, the wife of John Foster Kirk, longtime editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, used the pseudonym "Henry Hayes." See *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary*.
3. *The Georgians*. Mrs. Henrietta Hardy Hammond (1854-1883). 1881.
For Mrs. Hammond (pseudonyms: "Henri Daugé," "Lou Capsadel"), see *The Library of Southern Literature*, XV, 179.
4. *Patty's Perversities*. Arlo Bates (1850-1918). 1881.
5. *Homoselle*. Mrs. Mary Spear Tiernan (1836-1891). 1881.
For Mrs. Tiernan (née Nicholas), see *The Library of Southern Literature*, XV, 436.
6. *Damen's Ghost*. Edwin Lasseter Bynner (1842-1893). 1881.
Bynner had in 1877 contributed the initial volume to the short-lived "Wayside" series of anonymous novels. I have no other information concerning him except that he received a Bachelor of Laws degree from Harvard in 1865, and was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
- * 7. *Rosemary and Rue*. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams Champney (1850-1922). 1882.

¹² The list of volumes—with names of authors—is drawn from the *American Catalogue of Books in Print 1876-1884* (New York, 1885), and authorship was established by checking against the Library of Congress catalogue and various standard works.

For Mrs. Champney, wife of James Wills Champney, the artist (for whom see the *Dictionary of American Biography*), see *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary*.

- * 8. *Madame Lucas*. Mrs. Eleanor P. Bell Wells. 1882.
For Mrs. Wells, wife of Erastus Wells of St. Louis, see Scharf's *History of St. Louis*, II, 1612, and Hyde's *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, IV, 2489. Her authorship of this volume, concealed in the *American Catalogue of Books in Print*, is stated in these two locally published volumes.
- 9. *A Tallahassee Girl*. James Maurice Thompson (1844-1901). 1882.
For Thompson see the *Americana*, *The Library of Southern Literature*, and other standard works.
- *10. *Dorothea*. Louise Stockton (1842-). 1882.
For Miss Stockton, the sister of F. R. Stockton, see the *Catalogue of Authors Whose Works are Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company* (Boston, 1899), p. 125. In Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms* (second series: New York, 1888), the author of *Dorothea* is identified as Mrs. Calistor Halsey Patchkin, of Des Moines, Iowa.
- *11. *The Desmond Hundred*. Mrs. Jane Goodwin Austin (1831-1894). 1882.
- *12. *Leone*. Luigi Monti (1830-). 1882.
For Monti (pseudonym: "S. Sampleton"), see *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary*. An Italian exile, he lived for a long time in Boston, and served as Instructor in Italian at Harvard, 1854-1859. He is the Sicilian of Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.
- 13. *Doctor Ben*. Rev. Orlando Witherspoon. 1882.
I have no reference to the Rev. Mr. Witherspoon, who used Burton's pseudonym of "Democritus, Junior."
- 14. *Rachel's Share in the Road*. Kate Waterman Hamilton. (1841-). 1882.
For Miss Hamilton, see the *Americana*, XIII, 659.
- 15. *Fanchette*. John Esten Cooke (1830-1886). 1883.
- 16. *His Second Campaign*. James Maurice Thompson (1844-1901). 1883.

III

Two titles sometimes appearing in library lists as volumes of the "Round Robin" series are **An Earnest Trifler* (1880) and **The Strike in B-Mill* (1887). The inclusion is probably to be explained by the fact that both books were issued anonymously and by the firm that became the final publishers of the "Round Robin" series. (The first bears the imprint of Houghton, Osgood, and Company;

the latter that of Houghton, Mifflin & Company.) The author of *An Earnest Trifler* was Mary Aplin Sprague (born 1849), concerning whom biographical information is lacking. The author of the latter book has never been identified, and is not known to the present Houghton Mifflin Company.

The titles of books in both "No Name" and Round Robin" series have been published here with a minimum of information concerning titles and authors. Each title may be said to present a topic for separate research, which in some cases the prominence of the author would justify. Many of the fifty-three volumes of the two series were reprinted later, under the author's names, sometimes even in new editions, from new plates.¹³ And fully half of the volumes seem to have been reprinted in England, without reference to the series in which they first appeared.

The series present various problems of interest to collectors of first editions. For instance, *A Masque of Poets* was, according to Mr. Merle Johnson,¹⁴ issued in a "Red Line" edition as well as in the "No Name" edition in 1878, 2,000 copies of the latter, 500 of the former being printed. And Mr. Maurice Firuski¹⁵ has called attention to an apparently unique copy of a large paper edition, once owned by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who wrote on page 174 (the page on which Emily Dickinson's "Success" appears): "Emily Dickinson, altered probably by Mrs. Helen Hunt," and corrected the fourth and last lines of the poem as printed. Various bindings of the "Red Line" edition have also been noted.

The student of literature may well give attention to the two series here listed for reasons not solely connected with the fame of the authors who contributed. Although only *A Modern Mephistopheles* and *A Masque of Poets* are listed in Merle Johnson's *American First Editions*, a volume of bibliographic check lists of one hundred and forty-six American authors "whose works are today (1932) being collected," and were chosen for bibliographic honor by Mr. Johnson; in Baker's and Packman's useful and standard library

¹³ Several of the "Round Robin" series were reissued thus in 1909, among them *Patty's Perversities* and *A Lesson in Love* (imprint of Houghton, Mifflin Company). *The Colonel's Opera Cloak*, by Christine C. Brush, was issued by Little, Brown and Company in 1904, in an illustrated edition, and by the same company in 1905 in the format of the old "No Name" series.

¹⁴ *American First Editions* (New York, 1932), p. 102.

¹⁵ *A Catalogue . . . of the Stock of the Housatonuc Bookshop* (Salisbury, Conn., No. 1, 1930) pp. viii-x.

Guide to the Best Fiction,¹⁶ published in the same year as Mr. Johnson's check lists, summaries of four novels from the two series are included: Miss Fletcher's *Kismet* (from the "No Name" series) and Mrs. Austin's *Nameless Nobleman*, Mrs. Kirk's *Lesson in Love*, and Mrs. Tiernan's *Homoselle* (from the "Round Robin" series). Of the four books only one, Mrs. Austin's, could be said to survive because of the reputation of the author. I have somewhere seen it stated that R. D. Joyce's *Deirdrè* (in the "No Name" series) is the first modern treatment of an Irish legend since treated by numerous Celtic poets, dramatists, and novelists.

Not all the contributors to the two series were professional writers. Mrs. Wells, author of *Madame Lucas*, was certainly an amateur, undoubtedly like others whose names do not appear with their books in the *American Catalogue of Books in Print* and concerning whom no biographical information appears in any of numerous standard works of reference. The very fact that they contributed to the series for which those popular professional writers, Miss Alcott, Maurice Thompson, John Esten Cooke, Helen Hunt Jackson, and Mrs. Jane Austin wrote, is, however, significant. I know of no history of American literature which includes discussion or even mention of these two series, but the presence of the titles in the printed catalogues of public libraries and the disappearance of the books from library shelves¹⁷ testify to the former popularity of these novels. When the history of the literature of the American people, with chapters entitled "The Gift-Book Era," "The Feminine Fifties," etc., for which Professor Pattee has called,¹⁸ appears, must it not include also a chapter on popular anonymous fiction of the 1870's and 80's?¹⁹

¹⁶ New and enlarged edition, New York, 1932.

¹⁷ I imply, and have (as a result of inquiry and investigation in numerous large and small libraries) some evidence for stating that the books were discarded only after being read and worn beyond further use. Many libraries still have, of course, sound copies of a number of books of both series. The St. Louis (Mo.) Public Library has, for instance, twenty-nine of the "No Name" novels, and thirteen of the "Round Robin." But the card catalogue calls for numerous others. In the St. Louis Public Library, as in the Cleveland (Ohio) Public Library, and elsewhere the volumes are catalogued under the title of the series, as well as by separate title, and by author—when known. (In the latter case, often incorrectly.)

¹⁸ *American Literature*, V, 380 (Jan., 1934).

¹⁹ Thirteen titles from the "No Name" series appear in the *Check List of the Paul Hamilton Hayne Library* (Duke University Library Bulletin, No. 2, July, 1930). Hayne's was probably a typical "gentleman's library" of the period. Eleven "No Name" novels make up one-twentieth of the section devoted to prose fiction.

THE DATE, THE SOURCE, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COTTON MATHER'S INTEREST IN SCIENCE

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THANKS to the work of Professors Kittredge and Murdock, nearly everyone is now convinced that a significant phase of Cotton Mather's intellectual life is represented by his relations with the Royal Society of London after 1712,¹ his leading part in the inoculation controversy of 1721,² and his keen interest in scientific matters of all descriptions.³ It is generally recognized, moreover, that this "scientific" phase is best exemplified by *The Christian Philosopher* (London, 1721). Professor Murdock's statement regarding that book is probably the best available summary of the meaning of Mather's interest in, and relation to, contemporary science. It was planned, he says,

as a sort of summary of scientific knowledge, and as an argument for religion based on the facts of science. . . . Generally speaking, if one reads Mather's book with Ray's *Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*, and his *Physico-Theological Discourses*, William Derham's *Physico-Theology*, Dr. Cheyne's *Philosophical Principles of Religion*, and Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra*, open before him, he will discover that almost all Mather says, almost all his quotations and references, are drawn from these books, or from a few others like them. . . . The book was an attempt to reconcile religion and science. . . . It argues that the world is so wonderful and so beautiful a place that its very existence and nature are proof enough that an all-powerful and benevolent Creator

¹ See G. L. Kittredge, "Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIV, 81-114 (Dec. 1911); "Further Notes on Cotton Mather and the Royal Society," *ibid.*, pp. 281-292 (April, 1912); and "Cotton Mather's Scientific Communications to the Royal Society," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, XXVI, 18-57 (April, 1917).

² See Kittredge, "Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV, 418-479 (Feb., 1912).

³ See K. B. Murdock, introduction to *Selections from Cotton Mather* (New York, 1926), and "Cotton Mather, Parson, Scholar, and Man of Affairs," in *The Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1927), II, 323-354.

exists, and scientific research is held up as the source of man's knowledge of its wonder and beauty. . . . From Calvinism America reacted sharply to the deism of Thomas Paine, and Professor Riley shows that *The Christian Philosopher* is representative of the first stage in this reaction.⁴ Its point of view is that the world is well planned and well ordered, that it is beautiful, that to study nature is to realize God's goodness, and, therefore, that man can appreciate God by the exercise of observation and reason. This is a far cry from Mather's own earlier position, and it is proof positive of his intellectual development.⁵

It would seem fair to say that the available information on Cotton Mather's interest in science points to four conclusions: 1. That he sought to use contemporary science for a religious purpose; 2. That he derived much of his scientific information from a series of religio-scientific books on natural theology, the lineal ancestors of William Paley's famous work on that subject; 3. That his emphasis upon the wonders and the beauty of the world revealed by science was deistic in tendency; 4. That the attitude of *The Christian Philosopher* was arrived at only relatively late in his career.

The purpose of the present article is to corroborate the first three of these conclusions and to call into question the fourth. It is the opinion of the present writer that all the characteristic features of Mather's interest in science—its religious application, its derivative nature, and its deistic trend—may be observed in books which he wrote at the very beginning of his long career as author. It is desired to call particular attention to two somewhat obscure Mather titles: *The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated* (Boston, 1690)⁶ and *Winter-Meditations* (Boston, 1693).⁷

Let us look briefly at these two Mather books alongside two important seventeenth-century works: Robert Boyle's *Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy* (London, 1663),⁸ and John Ray's *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*

⁴ See the references to *The Christian Philosopher* in Woodbridge Riley, *American Thought* (New York, 1923), and the same author's *American Philosophy—The Early Schools* (New York, 1907)—Professor Murdock's note.

⁵ *Selections from Cotton Mather*, pp. xlix-li.

⁶ I have used the copy in the Boston Public Library.

⁷ I have used the copy owned by Mr. William Gwinn Mather of Cleveland, through the courtesy of Mr. Mather and his librarian, Mr. Thomas J. Holmes.

⁸ Reprinted in *The Works of Robert Boyle* (London, 1744), I, 420-583. Page numbers cited hereinafter are to this edition.

(London, 1691).⁹ Boyle and Ray, both of them still famous in the annals of science, were the first writers to give new impetus to natural theology in England, through their efforts to turn to the use of religion the new discoveries of seventeenth-century science.¹⁰ Followed by William Derham, George Cheyne, Theophilus Grew, and many others, these men were able to make great use of the new knowledge in re-statements of the argument for theism from the design of the universe.¹¹ Their books are filled with enthusiasm for the new facts being established by their fellow-scientists, and by pious wonder at the complexity and immensity of the world thus revealed.

The age of discovery, for instance, revealed to Europeans almost innumerable new species, which upset both the prevailing notions of the Deluge and the authority of Aristotle.¹² The books by Mather, Boyle, and Ray reflect the discussion of this matter. Boyle writes, in 1663:

Botanists have, a pretty while since, reckoned up near 6000 subjects of the vegetable kingdom. . . . And yet, *Pyrophilus*, this great variety of simples could not deter either ancient or modern inquirer from writing entire treatises of some particular ones (I, 426-427).

Mather says, in 1690:

There are above six thousand *plants* growing on this little Spot of the World, which we tread upon; and yet a Learned Man, has more than once, found *one* Vegetable enough to make the Subject for a *Treatise* on it. What might then be said of the Hundred and fifty *Quadrupeds*, the Hundred and fifty *Volatils*, the five and Twenty *Reptiles*, besides the vast multitudes of *Aquatils*, added unto the rich variety of *Gems* and *Minerals*, in our World? (p. 25).

⁹ Page numbers cited hereinafter are to "The Fourth Edition, Corrected, and very much Enlarg'd" (London, 1704). It is said that the substance of Ray's book was preached as college exercises before his ordination in 1660. See Ellison Hawks, *Pioneers of Plant Study* (New York, 1928), pp. 204-205.

¹⁰ See John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England* (London, 1871), II, 179-183, 272-273, and the articles by Miss A. M. Clerke and G. S. Boulger, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹¹ See, for a somewhat inadequate account of their place in the history of teleology, L. E. Hicks, *A Critique of Design-Arguments* (New York, 1883).

¹² See A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York, 1932), I, 44-49.

Ray, in 1691, puts the matter in this way:

The *Species* of *Beasts*, including also *Serpents*, are not very numerous; . . . I dare say not above 150. . . . The Number of *Birds* known and describ'd may be near 500; and the Number of *Fishes*, secluding Shell-fish as many; but if the Shell-fish be taken in, more than six times the number. . . . The number of Plants contain'd in *C. Bauhin's Pinax*, is about 6000 (pp. 22-25).

Mather, in 1693, has somewhat changed his opinion, and accepts more species of birds than he did in 1690:

Of *Beasts*, including *Serpents*, we may reckon about an Hundred and Fifty *Species*. The *Volatils*, or Birds, have been reckoned about Five Hundred; The *Aquatils*, or Fish, have also been reckoned about Five Hundred. The *Shell Fish* more than as many more. The Vegetables or Plants, of our Universe have been counted about Six thousand (p. 19).

Even more typical of the age than the question of the number of species was the enthusiastic reception of the discoveries of the microscope, which gave men a new conception of the delicate structure of minute forms of life. Boyle, in 1663, speaks of a whale "one hundred foot long" and goes on to remark:

And though the omnipotent Creator be able to make swimming creatures of such prodigious bigness, that the ocean itself may seem to be but a proportionate pond for such fishes; yet is the same omniscient continuer as able to make a swimming engine more slender than a cheese-mite, and so little, that the small part of a grain may outweigh divers of them (I, 436).

Mather writes, in 1690:

There is not a Fly, but what would confute an *Atheist*. And the *Little Things* which our Naked Eyes cannot penetrate into, have in them a *Greatness* not to be seen without Astonishment. By the Assistance of Microscopes, have I seen *Animals* of which many Hundreds would not Aequal a Grain of Sand. How Exquisite, How Stupendous must the Structure of them be! The *Whales* that are sometimes found more than an *Hundred Foot* in Length, methinks those *moving Islands*, are not such *Wonders*, as these Minute Fishes are (pp. 25-26).

Ray, in 1691, speaks of

those *Animalcula*, not long since discovered in *Pepper-water*, by Mr. *Leuwenhoek*, . . . if a larger Grain of Sand were broken into 8000000, or

equal Parts, one of these would not exceed the bigness of one of those Creatures (pp. 194-195).

Mather, in 1693, announces that

The *Whales*, those moving Islands of more than an Hundred Foot in Length, are not of a Structure so Exquisite, so Stupendous, as those *Animals*, whereof our Microscopes [*sic*] infallibly assure us, that many Thousands together would not equal the least Grain of our Common Sand (p. 19).

The imagination of the seventeenth century was most aroused, however, by the new astronomical knowledge, gained by means of the telescope. By far the most lyrical passages in what may be called the religio-scientific literature of the time are those which deal with the solar system. Here Mather, Boyle, and Ray reveal most clearly the point of view that "the world is well planned and well ordered, that it is beautiful, that to study nature is to realize God's goodness, and therefore, that man can appreciate God by the exercise of observation and reason." Here appears the theistic argument from design in its characteristic modern form. For instance, Boyle writes in 1663 of the immensity of the universe:

that whereas the common account makes the circuit of this terrestrial globe to be no less than 22600 *Italian* miles . . . (which number the more recent account of the accurate *Gassendus* makes amount to 26255 miles of the same measure;) . . . astronomers teach us, that it is but a point in comparison of the immensity of heaven. . . . This may lessen our wonder at the Ptolomaeans making the sun (which seems not half a foot over) to be above a hundred sixty and six times bigger than the earth, . . . And as for the Copernicans (that growing sect of astronomers), they, as their hypothesis requires, suppose the vastness of the firmament to be exceedingly greater, than the ancients believed it (I, 433-434).

Mather, in 1690, expresses even greater wonder at the vastness of the cosmos:

But alas, All this *Globe*, is but as a Pins point, if compared with the mighty Universe. Never did any man yet make a tolerable Guess at its Dimensions; but were we among the *Stars*, we should utterly lose the sight of our Earth, although it be above twenty-six thousand *Italian* Miles in the compass of it. Look upon the Wandring Stars, and you shall see so many Worlds, that swallow up all our Conjectures at the circumstances

of them, and of their Satellites. Look upon the Fixed Stars, and what shall we say about the Bigness of them? Doubtless they many scores of times exceed the Bulk of this poor Lump of Clay, about a few Foot whereof the Inhabitants are Quarrelsome. Or, what shall we say about the *Number* of them? For though they are but a few above a Thousand, that we ever see, without a *Telescope*, yet that will tell us, that the *Six*, which we commonly call, *The Seven Stars*, have above *Sixty* among them, and the rest are like the Sand of the Sea, innumerable (pp. 26-27).

Ray, in 1691, writes in the same strain of

the *Sun*, a vast Globe of Fire, esteem'd by the ancients and most modest computation above 160 times bigger than the Earth. . . . That the fix'd Stars are innumerable, may thus be made out: Those visible to the naked Eye are by the least account acknowledg'd to be above a Thousand, excluding those toward the *South Pole*, which are not visible in our *Horizon*: Besides these, there have been incomparably more detected and brought to light by the *Telescope*; the *Milky Way* being found to be (as was formerly conjectur'd) nothing but great companies or swarms of minute Stars singly invisible, but by reason of their proximity mingling and confounding their Lights, and appearing like lucid Clouds. . . . Every fix'd Star, in the now-receiv'd *Hypothesis*, is a Sun or Sun-like body, and in like manner incircled with a *Chorus* of Planets moving about it (pp. 73, 19, 18).

By 1693 Cotton Mather adds to his facts the characteristically pious reflection that this immensity declares the glory of God to a thoughtful observer, and expresses in at least one phrase the typical eighteenth-century concept of the universe as a marvelously regulated machine:

the *Stars*, among which if we were Lodged we should quite Loose our Sight of this *Globe*; tho' it be above Twenty Six Thousand *Italian Miles*, in the compass of it. We have the fairest and fullest view of the *Stars* in the *Winter* . . . but what are those *Few*, for they are not many more than a Thousand, of the *Stars*, which we see without a *Telescope*, compared unto the innumerable *Millions* wherewith from *That*, we may justly suppose the Aether to be replenished? The *Wandering Stars*, the *Fixed Stars*, and the *Satellites* of each, how inexplicably circumstanced are they? How regular to the Hundredth part of a Minute, are they in their Motions? and how more Bulky than our Earth, an hundred times over, in their Dimensions? If at last we descend into the *Sun*, that vast Fiery

Globe, which is the *Center*, and the *Support*, of the whole Visible World besides . . . 'tis by the Ancient and Soberest Computation, at least an hundred & sixty times bigger than *That Planet* whereof we are the inhabitants. Whereas indeed such more accurate Astronomers, as the incomparable *Hevelius*, have asserted the *Sun* to be three thousand, four hundred, and sixty two times bigger than this *Earth*, which is *given to the Children of Men*; but how much does it then, *Declare the glory of God, and shew forth his Handy work?* (p. 20).

These typical passages (and there are many more which might be pointed out) suggest that Cotton Mather, as early as 1690, used the information by means of which seventeenth-century scientists were displacing older notions and hypotheses regarding the external world. They suggest that the sources of Mather's "science" in the 1690's were the same class of religio-scientific books to which he turned for much of *The Christian Philosopher* in 1721. They suggest that as early as 1693 Cotton Mather was expressing that delight in the wonder and beauty of design in the external world which Professors Murdock and Riley regard as deistic in tendency. They suggest most emphatically that much of the attitude of *The Christian Philosopher* is foreshadowed by passages in some of Mather's earliest works.

The significant point about Mather's interest in science would seem, however, to be its paradoxical character. From the very beginning of his career, his attitude towards the external world is curiously confused. On the one hand, he is notorious for his apparently consistent belief in a providential order of nature, in which God was particularly near and attentive to Cotton Mather and to New England. *The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated*, from which passages containing scientific information have been quoted, contains also page after page of incidents which purport to show the direct interference of God in the world, either to preserve New England from her Indian enemies, or to punish Virginia for her persecution of nonconformist ministers. On the other hand, Cotton Mather was able frequently to summon up ecstatic praise for the evidences of God in the design, the harmony, and the order of the universe. In *Winter-Meditations*, in 1693, and in later books,¹⁸

¹⁸ See particularly *Reasonable Religion* (Boston, 1700), *The Christian Philosopher*, and *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726).

he placed sufficient emphasis upon harmony and order to suggest that he did believe, on occasion, in a truly scientific universe, in which events invariably proceed from natural causes. His mind, like many another in the age of transition in which he lived, was unconsciously vacillating between two points of view. On the whole, the providential or theological side won out, but the strength and life-long persistence of the scientific side has perhaps been underestimated. One needs to know the scientific phase of Cotton Mather to understand how thoroughly he was a man of his age.

THE SOURCE OF ONE OF WILLIS'S SKETCHES

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IN March and April, 1842, there appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* two tales by Nathaniel P. Willis, his only essays in the field of the Oriental tale. It is with the second of these, "The Inlet of Peach Blossoms,"¹ that I am here concerned, for that sketch turns out to be a most interesting patchwork of ideas, names, and even of excerpts from Sir John Francis Davis's *The Poetry of the Chinese*.²

The plot of "The Inlet of Peach Blossoms" may conveniently be divided into the following episodes:

1. The Emperor conquers a rebel and makes him his closest friend.
2. The Emperor discovers the Inlet of Peach Blossoms and finds an old man and his daughter living there in seclusion. He takes the daughter as his wife.
3. The Emperor, his wife, and the friend live together. Discovering that the friend has been false to him, the Emperor sends him away as governor of a distant province. The friend revolts, and in the ensuing struggle is caught in camp and brought before the Emperor. Springing into the tent, he kills the wife, only to fall at the hands of the Emperor, who then pines away.

The first episode of this plot Willis takes from the first extract from *The History of the Three States*, an account of a revolt and its suppression in the second century A.D. The romantic friendship between emperor and rebel is, however, his own invention, added not only for romantic coloring but also as preparation for the third episode. The second episode comes from "The Inlet of Peach

¹ This appeared first in *Godey's Lady's Book* for March, 1842, but was reprinted in *Dashes at Life with a Free Pencil* (1845) and again in *Fun-Jottings* (1853). This last text has been used for convenience.

² *Poeseos Sinensis Commentarii, On the Poetry of the Chinese* appeared in London as early as 1829, in the *Royal Asiatic Transactions*, but it is only the revised edition of 1834, published at Macao, that contains all the material incorporated by Willis in his sketch. This edition includes not only the original treatise on Chinese poetry, but also an account of Lord Amherst's Mission of 1816, on which Sir John went as a youth, and translated *Excerpts from the History of the Three States*.

Blossoms,"³ a poem by the great T'ang poet, Letaepih.⁴ Here we have a familiar theme in Chinese literature, the discovery of a secluded retreat where the simple manners of the past are still preserved. The specifying of the inhabitants as an old man and his daughter, and the Emperor's taking the latter as his wife, are again Willis's contribution, and details necessary for the unifying of the three episodes. The third episode is borrowed from a footnote to a name (*Matuy Hill*) employed in a prose translation of an old song.⁵ There, in his description of the "tragical event" which occurred in that place in the eighth century, Davis gives almost every detail employed by Willis. Thus we find three separate sources for Willis's one short sketch, one of them an excerpt from a novel, one a poem and its explanation, and one an historical footnote, the events recounted ranging between the third century B.C. and the eighth century A.D.

But Willis is possibly more eclectic, and certainly more erratic, in his use of names. The hero, the Emperor Yuentsoong, happens also to be the hero of one of the sources, that for episode three, and his name appears again in a brief remark which the poet Letaepih makes about his own youth.⁶ But, alas, Willis places him in the Chow dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), whereas his source definitely states that he came to the throne in the T'ang dynasty (in 713 A.D.), anywhere from one to two thousand years later. The friend, who plays the villain of the piece, he calls Szema, whereas actually there were three villains in the source of episode one. It was on Ganloshan, the villain of the last two sources, that he patterned the character of Szema; but the name he took from a few short lines which tell "of a young damsel named *Wunkeum*, who being beloved by a youth called *Szema*, was serenaded by him on the lute."⁷ For the name of Yangkuei, which the heroine bears in the source, Willis substitutes Teh-Leen, a name for which he apparently had no exact original. The nearest approach to it is to be found in the words *Tuy-leen*,⁸ which mean ornamental labels to be hung in the house, a humorous touch which could hardly have been intentional.

³ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴ Willis used the spelling he found in Davis, but the recognized English form is Li T'ai Po, or more commonly Li Po. He was born about 705 A.D. and died in 762.

⁵ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

These are the major characters, but other names are of interest. Willis has Yuentsoong establish himself "in the long silent halls of his ancestor Tsinchemong." This name is unknown to history, but Tsinchehwong (using Willis's spelling) was a celebrated tyrant whose ancestry to Yuentsoong it would be difficult to establish. The heroine's father is given the honor of the name of Cho-tseen, who was an emperor, and hero of the original of the first episode;⁹ but the honor is dimmed by calling him an outlaw. That the gentleman in question lived five hundred years before his "daughter" need not trouble us. Yet another confusion of names comes in having the battle of the last episode occur at Keo-yang, where the battle of episode one actually did occur some centuries earlier.¹⁰

So far we have seen how Willis borrowed, altered, and rearranged facts and names. No less illuminating, but somewhat less edifying, is his use of his source in securing the proper atmosphere. The very first paragraph tells us that "a conspiracy was set on foot among the yellow-caps, or eunuchs, to put out his [Yuentsoong's] eyes." Unfortunately, the yellow-caps were not eunuchs, as he might have learned from his source; mention is made of the trouble caused by "wars with the revolted Hwongkin, or 'yellow-caps,' and by the machinations of the eunuchs of the palace."¹¹ This is simply a mistake. But when he says, "As this account of his exploits is only prefatory to our tale, we will simply give the reader an idea of the style of the historian, by translating literally a passage or two of his description of the battle," one wonders how many of his readers realized his indebtedness to Davis. His use of his source can best be seen by comparing the two accounts.

DAVIS

... and this leader, giving his horse the rein, charged with his spear ... and with dishevelled hair and waiving sword betook himself to magic arts. The wind arose ... and there descended from on high a black cloud, in

WILLIS

... Yuentsoong, upon his swift steed ... dashed ... with poised spear ... then, with dishevelled hair and waving sword, Szema uttered a fearful imprecation. In a moment the wind rushed, the air blackened, and ... a large cloud en-

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156. See *Encyclopedia Sinica*: "The Yellow Turban Rebels (also Yellow Caps), began about 170 A.D. as a secret sect under a Taoist leader."

which there appeared innumerable men and horses as if engaged. . . . Lew-pei . . . directed Kwon-koong and Chang-fei each with a thousand men to ascend the highest part of the mountain, supplied with the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, with other impure things. On the following day, Chang-paou with flags displayed and drums beating came to offer battle . . . but . . . before Chang-paou put his magic in exercise, the wind and thunder arose. . . . The air seemed immediately filled with paper men, and horses of straw, which fell to the earth in confusion. . . .¹²

veloped the rebel, and innumerable men and horses issued out of it. . . . Yuentsoong . . . commanded some of his most expert soldiers to scale the beetling heights of the ravine, bearing upon their backs the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, with other impure things. . . . On the following morning, Szema came forth again to offer battle, with flags displayed, drums beating, and shouts of triumph and defiance . . . the magic imprecation was again uttered, the air again filled with discordant thunder . . . and the air seemed filled with paper men, horses of straw, and phantoms dissolving in smoke.¹³

There are other interesting borrowings. When Yuentsoong's horse stumbles and he remembers "that good spirits sometimes 'knit the grass,' when other obstacles fail to bar our way into danger," Willis is thinking of the following from Davis:

'Tis said the thankful ghost did knit the grass
While deep in earth the white bones lay. . . .¹⁴

The same poem tells how "the bird brought in its grateful bill the healing flower."¹⁵ Willis uses this bird, saved by Teh-leen, to remove a lamp from the imperial tent and suspend it over hers, thus bringing the Emperor to her.

Another allusion which Willis borrows is that of the "robber-bird." When he writes that "Yuentsoong knew not that, throughout the imperial city, Szema was called '*the kieu*,' or robber-bird," he is thinking of three stanzas which Davis translates and explains as follows:

The ode has reference to the success of a rich, and powerful suitor, who carries off the bride that had already been contracted to a humble rival.

¹² Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

¹³ Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁴ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 101. For an interesting explanation of the origin of the allusion see *ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

. . . The *kieu*, or robber-bird, is constantly alluded to in modern writing, as the emblem of unjust appropriation.¹⁶

One final indebtedness on the part of Willis is of peculiar interest, for it is the only case in which he makes acknowledgment of authority or source. In a footnote describing decorative scrolls, he gives a poetical instance "recorded by Dr. Morrison."¹⁷ It is interesting, however, that he makes this acknowledgment to Morrison, in whose works the couplet does not appear, and ignores Davis, in whose book he found the verse. Davis himself says that this couplet and one other "were supplied by the kindness of Dr. Morrison: they were taken down by him, during our progress with the British embassy, in the interior of China."¹⁸ It is strange that Willis should make this reference to Morrison when he carefully avoids any mention of the real source of his sketch.

But perhaps the most striking case of verbal indebtedness appears in Willis's description of Teh-leen. He prefaces it with the remark, "A portion of an historical tale so delicate as the description of the heroine is not work for imitators, however, and we must copy *strictly* the portrait of the matchless Teh-leen, as drawn by Le-pih. . . ."¹⁹ Unfortunately, most of the description comes, as Davis states, from the romance of *The Fortunate Union*;²⁰ and this work, whose author is unknown, probably dates from the seventeenth rather than the eighth century. Be that as it may, the description is not a strict copy of the original but a hodgepodge of Davis's translation and Willis's imitation. Though there are several minor similarities, the greatest parallelism is to be seen in the following passages:

DAVIS

With the delicacy of a flower, her complexion displayed a clear brilliancy which put to shame the floating light of day. . . . Her waist, like a thread in fineness, seemed ready to break; yet was it straight and erect, and feared not the fanning

WILLIS

With the delicacy of a pale rose, her complexion put to shame the floating light of day. Her waist, like a thread in fineness, seemed ready to break; yet was it straight and erect, and feared not the fanning breeze; and her shadowy

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁸ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73. See also any history of Chinese literature.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁰ The italics are mine.

breeze: the shadowy graces of her person it was as difficult to delineate, as the form of the white bird, rising from the ground by moonlight. The natural gloss of her hair resembled the bright polish of a mirror, without the false assistance of unguents: her face was perfectly lovely in itself, and needed not paint to adorn it. The native intelligence of her mind seemed to have gathered strength from her retirement; and beholding her, you might know she was of a superior order of beings: . . .²¹

grace was as difficult to delineate, as the form of the white bird rising from the ground by moonlight. The natural gloss of her hair resembled the uncertain sheen of calm water, yet without the false aid of unguents. The native intelligence of her mind seemed to have gained strength by retirement, and he who beheld her, thought not of her as human. Of rare beauty, of rarer intellect was Teh-leen, and her heart responded to the poet's lute.²²

It would be possible to furnish still further instances of Willis's indebtedness to *The Poetry of the Chinese*, but enough has been presented to provide an interesting commentary on his manner of working. How early he may have read the book, we do not know; we can be certain only that he had it before him at the time of writing, for quite obviously his borrowing is the result not of memory but of first-hand copying. At least in this one instance he did not hesitate to appropriate not only plot and characters but also another's words without the slightest acknowledgment. In general, the method is that of the patchwork mind, the type of mind which, using borrowed materials at first hand, sometimes rearranges them but never really assimilates them.

²¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.

²² Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT AND FANNY WRIGHT

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THE appearance, in 1829, of the notorious Fanny Wright caused a sensation in New York. Though respectable members of the community, like Philip Hone, disapproved of her as a female Tom Paine who would unsettle the foundations of society and subvert the fundamental principles of morality, almost everyone of importance came to hear her lecture at Masonic Hall. To see a female preacher who attacked the holy and established tenets of religion was for the people of that day an exhibition equal in novelty to any that Barnum could offer. Bryant, who attended the first lecture she gave, was not impressed favorably with her enunciation and delivery. Nor was he any better pleased with her vehement assaults against revealed religion, against the character of the clergy, and against the gentlemen of the press. There was nothing new or profound in what she had to say, Bryant reflected; it could all be found in "the books on the subject, from Bolingbroke to Ethan Allen, and from Ethan Allen to Carlisle."¹ Her sweeping condemnation of editors he thought an ingenious stroke of policy on her part, a skilful bid for gratuitous publicity.

What curious and perverse notions the speaker had about the rights of women! How in the world, asked Bryant, could they ever hope to take part in public affairs, do the work that men do, legislate for the welfare of the people, follow the learned professions, or engage in the pursuits of trade and industry?

For ourselves, we confess that female expounders of any kind of doctrine are not to our taste. Aside from the incongruity of the practice with our notions of the proper sphere of their sex, which in our opinion is a sufficient objection; there are other circumstances which go to render them unfit for being public champions of either side of a metaphysical controversy.—The privacy and delicacy of their education, their distance from the keen disputes and controversies in which the other sex are engaged, with their natural turn for those pursuits which embellish society, and for

¹ *New-York Evening Post*, Jan. 10, 1829.

the compassionate and humane duties of life, which in them are so attractive, all tend to disqualify them for conducting public metaphysical disputes.²

When we remember that many years later the ardent reformer Greeley would oppose the movement for the rights of woman, Bryant's attitude is not surprising; he was voicing the current opinions of his age. He did not believe that Fanny Wright's ideas would be popular except with free-thinkers. But his innate tolerance, his belief in the constitutional rights of free speech compelled him to urge his readers that she be accorded courteous treatment "as long as her errors are merely speculative, and are not attended with any practical immoralities."³

Not content with this sober editorial protest against the usurpation by woman of the prerogatives that properly belonged to man, Bryant, a few days later, penned a humorous and clever satiric ode to Fanny Wright, lampooning her flagrantly "immoral" doctrines. One of the few specimens extant of Bryant's poetical ventures in the field of humor, this poem was at first thought to have been written by Halleck. In one letter Bryant comments humorously and with apparent relish upon the mistake committed by some editors who, deceived by the "Croaker" manner in which the poem was written, believed that Halleck was its author.⁴ Though it is now generally accepted that Bryant himself composed the poem, the evidence for attributing it to him, though convincing enough, proves surprisingly slight. Godwin seems to take the matter for granted. As the official biographer of his father-in-law, he had access to all the family papers and correspondence and probably knew whereof he spoke, but in this case he does not cite the source of his information. He simply declares that Bryant leveled a successful fling at Fanny Wright, whom he describes as "the forerunner of those ladies, now not so scarce, who lectured on Infidelity and Marriage, or what Miss

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* The effect of Fanny Wright's radical doctrines on the orthodox may be gauged from the communication from a horrified and irate reader of the *Evening Post*, who signed herself "Vindex": "Here then we have in the city of New York, the prostitution of the female sex, the denial of the immortality of the soul, and the disbelief in the existence of a universal Creator, taught under the very eyes of a powerful magistracy, and that by a woman" (*New-York Evening Post*, Jan. 12, 1829).

⁴ Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1883), I, 239.

Wright used to call Nolige (Knowledge)."⁵ Professor Allan Nevins ascribes the poem to Bryant, asserting that though the poet, with but one exception, wrote no signed verse for the *Evening Post*, some can be identified as his. "Bryant, as his letters show [he does not say what letters], wrote the rather scornful ode to this free-thinking disciple of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, which appeared in the issue of January 29" [*sic*].⁶ At the Bryant Celebration, held by the Chicago Literary Club, Arthur Bryant, the brother of the poet, gave his reminiscences: "Some [of his poems] have, however, been printed without his name and are not contained in any collection of his writings. Such are . . . the 'Ode to Frances Wright' published in the 'Evening Post,' when Miss Wright was lecturing in New York. The latter poem caused a considerable sensation."⁷ This explicit statement, published while the poet was still alive, together with the evidence given above, makes it clear that Bryant wrote the poem in question. An interesting sample of Bryant's versatility as an editor and as a poet, this poem has, for some reason, never before been rescued from the files of the paper in which it appeared.

ODE TO MISS FRANCES WRIGHT

Thou wonder of the age, from whom
 Religion waits her final doom,
 Her quiet death, her Euthanasia;
 Thou in whose eloquence and bloom
 The age beholds a new Aspasia!
 While, listening to thy accents sweet,
 Meek as a matron at her knitting,
 Smug Mr. Jennings, at thy feet,
 The modern Socrates, is sitting;
 Listening to strains of loftier truth
 Than erst, in Athens' olive groves,
 To earnest age and ardent youth,
 Came breathed from lips where dwell the loves.

Still bloom the bowers of Academe,
 But they who learned thy sacred lore,
 Are vanished, like a fairy dream,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post* (New York, 1929), p. 126.

⁷ *The Bryant Celebration by the Chicago Literary Club, November 3, 1875* (Chicago, 1875), pp. 12-13.

American Literature

And all who walk Ilyssus' shore,
When evening shades come stealing o'er,
Pay well for the romantic folly,
By unromantic chills and fevers,
And walk about as melancholy,
And sallow as discarded weavers.
Yet here philosophy has found
A grove—a porch—on freedom's ground;
Found them, where narrow, prim and tall,
Rises the gaunt Masonic Hall,
Ogling the neighboring Hospital;
That Hall, the tracery of whose ceiling,
Branching and carved with many a flower,
A type of Academus' bower,
Inspires a philosophic feeling.
There when thy voice like song in woods,
Thrill the cast-iron boughs and buds,
As plaintively its accents breathe
Upon the grinning crowd beneath,
We hear in thy mellifluous words
The music of Ilyssus' birds,
The murmur of Ilyssus' waters,
And see in thee the Athenian dame,
To whose levee old sages came—
Wisest of all Ceropia's daughters.
As smooth thy liquid periods flow
As warbling waves of Aganippe,
But when the priests thou hatest so,
Wake indignation's warmer glow,
To swell the memories sublime
That tell of Athens' proudest time,
Thou givest a touch of old Xantippe.
Oh 'tis a glorious sight for us,
The gaping throng, to see thee thus
The light of dawning truth dispense,
While Colonel Stone,⁸ the learn'd and brave,
The press'd Atlas, mild but grave,
Hangs on the words that leave thy mouth,
Slaking his intellectual drouth,

litor of a rival New York newspaper, the *Commercial Advertiser*, whom Bryant, his time, attacked in many a controversial editorial.

William Cullen Bryant and Fanny Wright

In that rich stream of eloquence,
And notes thy teachings, to repeat
Their wisdom in his classic sheet.

Ah, dear Miss Wright, 'twas kind of thee
To cross for us the ocean sea;
'Twas too magnanimously kind,
When the green isle thou left'st behind

Has quite as many priests as we:
While thousands, with their lawful wives,
Are leading quiet humdrum lives,
Read their old Bibles every day,
And teach their little ones to pray;

And one, at least, I'm told, in seven,
Sighs his last ignorant breath away

In wedlock and the hope of heaven:
And ruddy lips and cheeks of rose

Are never chosen to represent
The softer sex in Parliament,
And sweetly lisp the Ayes and Noes.
But all the Generals are men,

And not a woman is a sailor,
Save a bright instance now and then,
Like her who loved false Billy Taylor,
And shot him walking in the Strand
With his gay lady in his hand.

What has that hapless country done,
That thou should'st cast her off forever,
And on our own ungrateful one

Waste the bright sunshine of thy favor?
For here thou scatterest seed on rocks,

We keep our stupid English fashions,
A stiff-necked generation mocks

Thy novel doctrine of the passions;
A nation of immoral carriage
Perversely given to priests and marriage,
Where now and then a female face
Still blushes with exceeding grace,
Where even the Africans prefer
A rousing Methodist to her,
That kind and philosophic friend,

Who with our watery blood would blend
The richer blood of Congo's race;
Fair priestess of the fragrant rite
That mingles "spirits black and white!"

Then lady turn thee, yet again,
To thy own land beyond the main,
Weeping and stretching o'er the sea
Her fond imploring arms to thee.
Yes, go, as is a patron's duty,
Reform thy native country first,
Clap a cocked hat on modish beauty,
And bid the parsons do their worst.
Then haply thou may'st gain, even here,
Some followers of thy high career,
When they who bow to fashion's sway,
And chase the bubbles of the day,
Read with a simper of dismay
What code of morals is the passion
In the last *La Belle Assemblée*,
Or *Gemmen's Magazine of Fashion*.⁹

⁹ *New-York Evening Post*, Jan. 17, 1829.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HERMAN MELVILLE AND THE INTERIOR MONOLOGUE

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The first person who used that very modern method, the interior monologue, was a French writer, Edouard Dujardin, a friend of George Moore's, in a book called *Les Lauriers sont coupés*, published in 1886. The literary Dublin of the first decades of this century being as interested in French literature as in English, Dujardin's book reached the young James Joyce, who has acknowledged his indebtedness to it.¹

THE interior monologue, "that very modern method," was known to Herman Melville, who used it in *Moby Dick*, published thirty-five years before Dujardin's *Les Lauriers sont coupés*. In fact, three complete chapters in Melville's novel—XXXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX—and many other passages, are but lengthy soliloquies which, in modern parlance, we should call interior monologues, since they are not spoken but represent the thought processes of three characters. The device is reminiscent of the dramatic soliloquy made memorable, at its best, by Shakespeare; and, as Melville used it, its dramatic origin still clings to it, for each chapter is prefaced by a statement of setting and character:

SUNSET

The cabin; by the stern windows; Ahab sitting alone and gazing out.

DUSK

By the Mainmast; Starbuck leaning against it.

FIRST NIGHT-WATCH

(Stubb solus, and mending a brace.)

And interspersed within the soliloquies are parenthetical remarks which in dramatic writing we should call stage directions: "(waving his hand, he moves from the window.)"; "(a burst of revelry from the forecastle.)"; "(Aside)."

¹Mary Colum, "How Trivial Are Modern Books?" *The Forum*, V, 265 (1933).

As used by Joyce and his disciples the interior monologue is generally associated with the school of fiction which builds upon the discoveries of modern psychology—and especially psychoanalysis—and has come to be known as the “stream of consciousness” school. The thoughts of characters are expressed by the author as subconscious ruminations and impressions. Hence, frequently, their disorderliness, unreality, and symbolic implications. They remind one of dreams, which sometimes they are.² Melville’s soliloquies are just such heightened and shadowed ruminations and disclosures “as were never spoken by mortal man in his waking senses. . . .”³ Ahab, watching the carpenter changing Queequeg’s coffin into a life-buoy thinks:

There’s a sight! There’s a sound! The grey-headed wood-pecker tapping the hollow tree! Blind and dumb might well be envied now. See! that thing rests on two line-tubs, full of tow-lines. A most malicious wag, that fellow. Rat-tat! So man’s seconds tick! Oh! how immaterial are all materials! What things real are there, but imponderable thoughts? Here now’s the very dreaded symbol of grim death, by a mere hap, made the expressive sign of the help and hope of most endangered life. A life-buoy of a coffin! Does it go further? Can it be that in some spiritual sense the coffin is, after all, but an immortality-preserver! I’ll think of that. But no. So far gone am I in the dark side of earth, that its other side, the theoretic bright one, seems but uncertain twilight to me. Will ye never have done, Carpenter, with that accursed sound? I go below; let me not see that thing here when I return again. Now, then, Pip, we’ll talk this over; I do suck most wondrous philosophies from thee! Some unknown conduits from the unknown worlds must empty into thee!⁴

This harks back to Hamlet, but also announces Stephen Dedalus. It is infinitely more Melville than Ahab, just as Stephen is infinitely more Joyce than Hamlet is Shakespeare. In Melville objectivity has become a new subjectivity; the soliloquy has become the “interior monologue.”

² For good illustrations see Conrad Aiken’s *Blue Voyage* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1927), and “Mr. Arcularis” in *Twentieth Century Short Stories*, ed. Sylvia Bates (Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1933).

³ Raymond Weaver, Introduction to *Moby Dick* (Albert & Charles Boni, 1925), p. xi.

⁴ End of chap. cxxvii.

A NOTE ABOUT WHITMAN'S ESSAY ON POE

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IN "Edgar Poe's Significance,"¹ Whitman prints a report of an interview at the unveiling of the Poe monument in Baltimore. The original appearance of this interview is of unusual interest and deserves reprinting. Whitman's date of it, given in his essay, is two days earlier than the correct date, and he condensed the first two paragraphs into one paragraph. The text is reproduced here without change from the original.

Walt Whitman at the Poe Funeral²

Conspicuous Absence of the Popular Poets.—About the most significant part of the Poe re-burial ceremonies yesterday—which only a crowded and remarkably magnetic audience of the very best class of young people, women preponderating, prevented from growing tedious—was the marked absence from the spot of every popular poet and author, American and foreign. Only Walt Whitman was present.³ Being in Washington on a visit at the time, "the old gray" went over to Baltimore, and though ill from paralysis, consented to hobble up and silently take a seat on the platform, but refused to make any speech, saying, "I have felt a strong impulse to come over and be here to-day myself in memory of Poe, which I have obeyed;⁴ but not the slightest impulse to make a speech, which, my dear friends, must also be obeyed."

In an informal circle, however, in conversation after the ceremonies, Whitman said: "For a long while, and until lately, I had a distaste for Poe's writings. I wanted, and still want, for poetry, the clear sun shining, and fresh air blowing—the strength and power of health, not of delirium, even amid the stormiest passions—with always the background of the eternal moralities. Non-complying with these requirements, Poe's genius has yet conquered⁵ a special recognition for itself, and I too have come to fully admit it, and

¹ Walt Whitman, *Complete Prose Works*, hereinafter cited as *C. P. W.* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 156-158.

² *The Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), vol. XLVI, no. 7,067, p. 2, col. I (Nov. 18, 1875). It is probable, but not certain, that Whitman wrote this article. Its characteristic style is the only evidence.

³ The text to the end of this sentence is omitted in *C. P. W.*

⁴ "obey'd" in *C. P. W.*

⁵ "conquer'd" in *C. P. W.*

to⁶ appreciate it and him. Even my own objections draw me to him at last; and those very points, with his sad fate, will make him dearer to young and fervid minds.⁷

"In a dream I once had, I saw a vessel on the sea, at midnight, in a storm. It was no great full-rigged⁸ ship, nor majestic steamer, steering firmly through the gale, but seemed⁹ one of those superb little schooner-yachts I had often seen lying anchored,¹⁰ rocking so jauntily, in the waters around New York, or up Long Island sound; now flying uncontroled¹¹ [*sic*] with torn sails and broken spars through the wild sleet and winds and waves of the night. On deck¹² was a slender, slight, beautiful figure, a dim man, apparently enjoying all the terror, the murk, the wierdness [*sic*]¹³ and the dislocation of which he was the center and the victim. That figure of my lurid dream might stand for Edgar Poe, his spirit, his fortunes, and his poems—themselves all lurid dreams."

A WALT WHITMAN PARODY

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IN March, 1933, *American Literature* printed an article, "William Winter's Serious Parody of Walt Whitman," by Thomas O. Mabbott and Rollo G. Silver, which contained a full reprint, apparently for the first time, of the parody taken from the files of the *Saturday Press* for October 20, 1860.¹ Quite by accident I discovered that this parody had been reprinted earlier in a book of travel written by an Englishman, in whose *Forty Years of American Life* (London, 1864) it is given, together with a few interesting remarks about Whitman.²

The following description is written in an original American style of poetry invented by Walt Whitman, a New York poetical loafer, not destitute of genius, and patronized by Emerson.

⁶ Omitted in *C. P. W.*

⁷ This sentence is omitted in *C. P. W.*

⁸ "full-rigg'd" in *C. P. W.*

⁹ "seem'd" in *C. P. W.*

¹⁰ "anchor'd" in *C. P. W.*

¹¹ "uncontroll'd" in *C. P. W.*

¹² "On the deck" in *C. P. W.*

¹³ "the wierdness" omitted in *C. P. W.*

¹ *American Literature*, V, 63-66 (March, 1933).

² Thomas L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 2 vols. (London, 1864), I, 300-302.

The poem, by a pupil and imitator, has been thought a trifle satirical, but will, perhaps, repay a cursory glance.³

These remarks by a contemporary would seem to indicate that the parody was not as serious in intent as the writers of the article in question would have it appear.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCE OF HAWTHORNE'S "LADY
ELEANORE'S MANTLE"

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IN *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*¹ for 1836 are two articles that perhaps gave Hawthorne hints for his "Lady Eleanore's Mantle," which he published in *The Democratic Review* for December, 1838. The heroine of this story wears a rich mantle, symbolizing pride and arrogance. Jer-vase Helwyse, a young man whose love Lady Eleanore has cruelly rejected, begs her to give "the accursed garment to the flames"; but she laughs him to scorn and drapes the mantle about her, enhancing her beauty and increasing the mystery of her charm. An epidemic of smallpox breaks out. First those in the higher rank of society are stricken; but presently all classes; and eventually the source of the malady is traced to Lady Eleanore's mantle.²

The suggestion for the fatal garment in this story Hawthorne probably drew from *Three Weeks in Palestine*,³ a volume from which he quotes several times in *The American Magazine*. One

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 299.

² *The American Magazine*, a prototype of *The London Penny Magazine*, was published by the Bewick Company, at Boston; Hawthorne edited six numbers of the magazine, March to Aug., 1836.

³ "It had been traced back to a lady's luxurious chamber—to the proudest of the proud—to her that was so delicate and hardly ownself of earthly mould—to the haughty one, who took her stand above human sympathies—to Lady Eleanore! There remained no room for doubt that the contagion had lurked in that gorgeous mantle, which threw so strange a grace around her at the festival. Its fantastic splendor had been conceived in the delirious brain of a woman on her death-bed, and was the last toil of her stiffening fingers, which had interwoven fate and misery with its golden threads" (*The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Boston and New York, The Riverside Press, 1914, I, 321).

⁴ The complete title appears to be *Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon*, a volume published anonymously in London in 1833.

of these excerpts, entitled "The Plague," gives the following account of the pestilence in Syria:

The cause of the breaking out of the plague in Acre was the opening of a trunk belonging to a Franciscan monk, who had fallen a victim to it four or five years since. A new Superiour, who had but lately arrived, insisted upon its being opened, that he might take possession of the effects of the deceased. Upon the hesitation of the others, he laughed at their fears, and proceeded to open the box himself; the consequence was that he died in the course of twelve hours, and all the brethren in the convent were swept off in a very short time.⁴

In two particulars Hawthorne's story parallels the incidents related here. Lady Eleanore, laughing at the fears of her rejected lover, exposes a whole community to a garment infested with the germs of the smallpox, thereby causing a terrible outbreak of the disease; and Governor Shute, another character in the story, suggests twelve hours as the time elapsing between the infection and death of the victims of the disease.⁵

The article notes also that the pestilence usually ceases suddenly in the height of its ravages and that after death the bodies of its victims no longer communicate the disease. Each of these details appears in Hawthorne's story. The heroine's beautiful mantle is the carrier of the germ of the smallpox which devastates the town, with Lady Eleanore as its "final victim." After the death of Lady Eleanore and the burning of her "accursed mantle" the pestilence suddenly comes to an end.

Another article in *The American Magazine* which may have contributed in some measure to Hawthorne's conception of the disease-laden garment is a brief paragraph entitled "Infection." Obviously a quotation, though its source is not indicated, the passage reads as follows:

Infection.—Some people dying of the plague in England, their bodies were buried together on a hill. Nearly a hundred years afterward, five persons happened to be digging there, and uncovered some decayed fragments of linen. Recollecting the tradition that this was the burial-place

⁴ *The American Magazine*, II, 412 (June, 1836).

⁵ Governor Shute, the guardian of Lady Eleanore, tries to prevent Jervase Helwyse from entering the room where she lies dying, but he abandons the effort, saying: "Why do I waste words on the fellow? . . . What matters his miserable life, when none of us are sure of twelve hours' breath?" (*The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, I, 322).

of those who died of the pestilence, they threw the earth back into the hole, as speedily as possible. Nevertheless, they all sickened of putrid fever, and three of the number died.⁶

WASHINGTON IRVING WRITES FROM GRANADA

COLEMAN OSCAR PARSONS
American University

THE period of Washington Irving's life between February 28 and July 28, 1829—the latter being the date of his departure from the Alhambra for England on being appointed by President Jackson to the Secretaryship of Legation at the Court of St. James—is not covered by any published diary or journal. Such a record would be of considerable interest as representing the groundwork material which was later utilized in *The Alhambra* (1832). The following holograph letter (Watson Autograph Collection, No. 436, National Library of Scotland), addressed to "Monsieur P Irving chez Mons Meyer Cour St Martin à Rouen," falls in this period.

May 9th

Granada, April 9th 1829.¹

My dear Brother,

I arrived here about three days since after having made a delightful journey from Seville, in company with Prince Dolgorouki. We were five days on the road; taking the route by Ossuna, Antiquera, Archidona & Loxa. We took no escort, excepting that our muleteer had a musket, which was never loaded, and we met with nothing but good treatment throughout the journey. The Prince is an admirable travelling companion: always amiable and goodhumoured; talking with every body, and viewing every thing in an agreeable and goodnatured point of view. We made our meals merrily on the grass, looking out for pleasant places by the sides of brooks under the shade of trees. Our muleteer was a jovial little Asturian whom we always invited to partake of our repasts. He had read Don Quixote, which he believed to be a veritable history, but that the events had happened long long since, *upwards of a thousand years*, and as he was full of jokes and proverbs, took especial care that the

⁶ *The American Magazine*, II, 439 (June, 1836).

¹ This correction of an obviously misdated letter was probably made by Peter Irving.

alforjas were always well filled and was a potent trencherman, we dubbed him Sancho Panza, with which appellation he was highly delighted. Our route especially after leaving Ossuna, carried us through many very wild and beautiful scenes. I was particularly delighted with Antiquera which lies in the lap of rugged mountains with a vega below it, almost equalling the Vega of Granada, and at half a leagues distance the romantic rock called el Peñon de los Enamorados. Loxa also charmed us with its wild situation, its old Moorish castle and the windings of the Xenil through its rich and verdant though narrow valley.²

The Alhambra is now in all its glory; the groves are in full verdure and resounding with the song of the nightingale. I have found my poor devil historian of the ruins Matteo Ximenes, who tells me he has more legends to recount to me. As yet I have not had time to hear them. The Countess of St Priest (the French ambassadress) has been here with her diplomatic suite, and we have been continually in movement. Yesterday we had a brilliant dinner with the Duke De Gor, a most amiable and gentlemanlike man, who is an amateur painter and extremely well informed, and who has offered his services to shew me the place & the neighborhood. I have likewise become acquainted with the Governor of the Alhambra; a young man, the only one for many many years, who has taken a real interest in his post and who is doing every thing in his power to put the Alhambra in a state of repair & to prevent the rapid decay into which it was falling. He tells me he has collected all the scattered archives of the Alhambra, most of which lay neglected & forgotten in the hands of a notary, and he intends examining them all & putting them in order. There are many Arabian Manuscripts which in all probability would throw much light on the history of the Moors. He has promised to shew the archives to Dolgorouki and myself. I have called with the Prince upon the old Archbishop, who gave us a most cordial reception.

The ambassadress and her suite set off today on the return to

² The five-day ride from Seville to Granada, May 1 to 6, 1829, here sketchily described, is given much fuller detail in the introduction to *The Alhambra*, "The Journey," in which the muleteer is particularized as "a sturdy Biscayan lad of about twenty years of age."—For *el Peñon de los Enamorados*, see Robert Southey's ballad, "The Lover's Rock," written in 1798; Southey drew on Juan de Mariana (1536-1624) for his legend of the death of a beautiful Moorish maid and her Christian lover.

Madrid so that we shall henceforth be more tranquil. The Prince will remain here about eight Days, and then departs for Malaga, Ronda Cadix & back to Madrid. I shall remain here very probably for three or four weeks, perhaps longer if I find I can pass my time profitably. I find literary materials multiply upon me so much in this country, that I am almost bewildered, and find it difficult to extricate myself from it.

I have just received your long and most interesting letter of the 20th April. The critique from the American review is highly satisfactory, and the concurrence of various individual opinions from various quarters, make me feel here that the work will be successful. I shall take the chronicle of D. R. in hands again as soon as I have dispatched such things as belong to my local situation, and which cannot so well be done in any other place. One grand objection to my pursuing to too voluminous extent the Spanish chronicles, is that it might oblige me to remain absent from America. I have purchased however a number of chronicles in Seville, at a low rate, and may perhaps be able to pursue the plan during a residence in the United States. I feel the importance, however, and I may say the duty of producing some writings relating to our own country which would be of a decidedly national character. It is greatly desired by my friends in America, and would be at the same time very gratifying to my feelings and advantageous to my literary character at home. These matters, however, will all take their own course in defiance of plans: for I find accidental circumstances are apt to give the ultimate shape to the most matured designs.³

³ The critique Irving refers to is on his *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1828); it appeared in *The North American Review*, XXVIII, 103-134 (Jan., 1829). The reviewer considers the work, "on the whole, more honorable to the literature of the country, than any one that has hitherto appeared among us," and he looks on the author as the first American to establish "a high and undisputed reputation, founded entirely on literary talent and success." The subject of the *History* would seem to indicate "that though long a wanderer, his [Irving's] thoughts are still bent on the land of his birth," says the friendly critic, who concludes with the hope that his compatriot will return to America and apply himself to themes "of strictly native origin." While in Bordeaux, Irving noted in his diary: "This day [Nov. 16, 1825], in the midst of trouble—thought of writing a work on manners and morals as connected with manners—suited to America—the thoughts of it animated and cheered me." These *American Essays*, evidences of Irving's intention to produce "some writings relating to our own country which would be of a decidedly national character," may have been suggested to him by his reading in Adam Hodgson's *America* [either *Remarks during a Journey through North America* (New York, 1823) or *Letters from North America* (London, 1824)] on Nov. 3 and 4; however this may be, the *Essays* were never published (Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington*

Dolgorouki desires to be particularly remembered to you. He has, ever since I have known him, continued to be a most agreeable and an extremely attached friend, and the more I know of him the more I esteem and like him. Ever since I left Madrid I have continued to be in correspondence with the family of the Russian Minister Mr D'Oubril, and I receive budgets of letters from the whole household, from Madam D'Oubril down to the little Mary; with souvenirs of purses &c of their own making. I never knew a more amiable family.

I am glad to hear such favourable accounts of Mr Storrows affairs. I beg you will remember me affectionately to him & the family when you write to them. Give my kindest remembrances also to our friends at Havre—it is needless to specify their names. Continue to address to me to the care of Mr. Walsh, and believe me, most affectionately

Your brother,

W [*sic*] I.

Several persons referred to in the preceding letter should perhaps be commented on more fully: Prince Demetri Ivanovitch Dolgorouki was Secretary of the Russian embassy at Madrid, from which city he had set out late in April in the party of the French Ambassadors, the Countess of St. Priest; Mateo Ximenes was the ribbon-weaving, "ragged son of the Alhambra" who attached himself to Irving as "valet, cicerone, guide, guard, and historiographic squire" and supplied him with at least three of the tales which appeared in *The Alhambra*; the Duke de Gor was a frank prepossessing noble of Granada who placed his "curious library" at Irving's disposal and also procured him access to the old Jesuits' Library of the University;⁴ Mr. D'Oubril was Russian Minister at Madrid—his family included Mme. D'Oubril, three children, Constance, Marie, and a baby boy, and a niece, Antoinette Bolvillier; Mr. Thomas Wentworth Storrow was an American at Paris who had

Irving, New York, 1864, II, 242-252; and *The Journals of Washington Irving*, ed. W. P. Trent and G. S. Hellman, Boston, 1919, II, 171, 178 ff.). Irving refers to "the chronicle of D. R." This was published as "The Legend of Don Roderick" in his *Legends of the Conquest of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1835), pp. 11-132.

⁴ P. M. Irving, *op. cit.*, II, 392, and "The Jesuits' Library," *The Alhambra*.

suffered severe business losses in 1828;⁵ Reuben Beasley ("worthy Tom Tug"), American Consul at Havre, was the chief of Irving's friends in that city; and Don Miguel Walsh was British Consul at Seville.

IRVING'S "HAUNTED SHIP"

RALPH THOMPSON

New York City

THE business of making additions to the bibliographies and collected works of writers is a pleasant and instructive one. It is rendered perilous, however, by the fact that one sometimes learns that his "new" title was not so new after all, or that his "addition" was written by someone other than the person he had in mind. Hence in work of this sort an unusual degree of caution is indicated.

In *American Literature* for January, 1934, Mr. N. F. Adkins declares that he has found an uncollected tale by Washington Irving, and reprints the story (called "The Haunted Ship") with a brief explanatory paragraph. It is easy to agree that the tale is uncollected, but much less easy to accept the dictum that it was written by Washington Irving, since there seems to be nearly as much reason for concluding that he was not the author as for stating that he was. I realize that the story is accepted in the recent Irving bibliography compiled by Mr. W. R. Langfeld. It was I who first brought it to Mr. Langfeld's notice, and we had a brief but interesting correspondence over its authenticity.

Under what circumstances was this piece published? As Mr. Adkins shows, it appeared with the note "By the Author of 'The Sketch-Book'" in a literary annual called *Friendship's Offering* for 1849. Ordinarily the testimony of a by-line is convincing, but in this case, because of the peculiar ethics of the publishers of certain American literary annuals and gift books, it is not. Many of these gentlemen were charlatans of a sort, and one of their favorite tricks was to do what may well have been done here—to attach to a mediocre poem or story a by-line that did not belong there. I could cite a number of American gift books in which signatures are for

⁵ *Washington Irving and the Storrows*, ed. Stanley T. Williams (Harvard University Press, 1933), p. viii.

transparent reasons altered, coined, or otherwise falsified. Proof of this double-dealing is to be had, of course, only when by happy chance a particular article is found to have been printed earlier elsewhere.

Not all American literary annuals were of a deceitful cast, by any means, but that under scrutiny, *Friendship's Offering* for 1849, is one of a long series of unscrupulously prepared volumes. Some of the articles in the various issues may have been especially contributed, but none of them is by an author of standing, and the majority appear to have been stolen from other publications. The 1843 volume, for example, contained a reprinting of James Russell Lowell's "Serenade"; 1844 included Charles Lamb's famous "Superannuated Man" without signature; 1849 made an unacknowledged borrowing from Carey & Lea's *Atlantic Souvenir*; 1852 impressed three pieces from S. G. Goodrich's *The Token*; 1855 took five pieces from various British annuals; etc., etc., etc.

In other words, the publishers of *Friendship's Offering* seem to have picked up material wherever they could find it and set it in type with a breezy disregard for the proprieties of copyright. That the famous and respected Washington Irving succumbed to an "urgent request" (as Mr. Adkins thinks possible) to contribute to this fourth-rate periodical is certainly not established by the evidence at hand, and seems hardly probable. Since the story has been exhumed, should it not now be placed among items attributed to Irving, and left in that category until further evidence one way or the other is adduced?

IRVING'S "HAUNTED SHIP"—A CORRECTION

AUBREY STARKE

Centralia, Illinois

IN the January, 1934, issue of *American Literature* was reprinted an uncollected tale by Washington Irving, "The Haunted Ship," found in *Friendship's Offering: A Christmas, New Year and Birthday Present for MDCCCXLIX*, an annual published by Phillips and Sampson at Boston.¹ In an introductory note Mr. Nelson F. Ad-

¹ Nelson F. Adkins, "An Uncollected Tale by Washington Irving," *American Literature*, V, 364-366.

kins writes: "It may . . . have lain in Irving's port-folio for some years before he finally released it for publication at the urgent request of the editor of the annual for a contribution. So little of Washington Irving's work now remains uncollected that a certain interest no doubt attaches to this sketch."

Those interested in Irving, and in the sketch, should know that the tale had been published at least thirteen years before it appeared in the Boston annual for 1849. It is to be found—as "A Haunted Ship"—in *The New York Mirror* for January 9, 1836,² in a department called "Spirit of the English Annuals." The editor of *Friendship's Offering . . . for MDCCCXLIX* probably did not receive the tale from Irving but found it in the *Mirror* or in the English annual from which the editor of the *Mirror* reprinted it.

In F. W. Faxon's bibliography, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books*,³ forty-two English annuals for the year 1836 are listed. In one of these "A Haunted Ship" undoubtedly appears, but the writer of this note has lacked the opportunity to search the English annuals for it.

² XIII, 218.

³ Boston, 1912.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Early Life of Stephen Crane. Lyndon U. Pratt (Iowa).

Emerson's Judgments on English Literature. Harry Burns (Washington).

The Sources and Function of Symbolism in the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Merlin L. Neff (Washington).

The Perfectionism of John Humphrey Noyes. Russell Blankenship (Washington).

Mark Twain and the Arts. Matilda Bailey (Ohio State University).

A Study of Walt Whitman's Revisions of *Leaves of Grass*. Malcolm Brown (Washington).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

English Grammar in American Schools from 1850 to 1890. H. L. Boyd (Peabody). Mr. Boyd has given up Francis Orray Ticknor.

The Realistic Backgrounds of the Tall Tale. Mrs. Esther Shepard (Washington).

The English Novel, 1760-1800, and the American Revolution (incorrectly reported in the March, 1934, issue, as Anglo-American Literary Relations, 1870-1900). Robert B. Heilman (Harvard).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

American Literary Criticism, 1810-1835. William Charvat, Dept. of English, New York University, N. Y. (Pennsylvania, 1934). To be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

The Place of Henry James in the Development of American Realism. William Andrew Thomas, Dept. of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Pennsylvania, 1934). To be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Liberal Currents in Provincial Massachusetts. Bertrand M. Wainger (Cornell, 1934).

Harriet Prescott Spofford. Elizabeth K. Halbeisen, 1420 Bellevue Ave., Camden, N. J. (Pennsylvania, 1934). To be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Theodore Zunder (Brooklyn College) has published *The Early Days of Joel Barlow, A Connecticut Wit* (Yale University Press), a revision of his dissertation at Yale, 1927, and is engaged in a further study of Barlow's career from 1787 to 1812.

M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Boston Athenæum) is preparing a biography of John Jay Chapman.

Rollo G. Silver (Box 672, Brockton, Mass.) is editing the letters of Walt Whitman.

J. H. Shera (Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio) is compiling a concordance to the writings of Edgar Allan Poe.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

*Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.*

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has voted to extend the present arrangement of a joint subscription to *PMLA* and *American Literature* for the year 1935. Both journals may thus be obtained at a price of \$7.20 annually. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer of the Modern Language Association, 100 Washington Square East, New York City.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

[BROWN, C. B.] Marchand, Ernest. "The Literary Opinions of Charles Brockden Brown." *Stud. in Phil.*, XXXI, 541-566 (Oct., 1934).

(1) Brown's observations on various literary *genres* other than the novel are meager; (2) his comments on individual writers few, brief, and general; (3) his didacticism thoroughgoing; (4) his critical standards neo-classic and feeble.

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Houlette, William D. "William Byrd and Some of His American Descendants." *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XVI, 93-100 (Oct., 1934).

———"The Byrd Library." *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XVI, 100-109 (Oct., 1934).

[DWIGHT, TIMOTHY] Griswold, A. Whitney. "Three Puritans on Prosperity." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 475-493 (Sept., 1934).

The Puritans are Cotton Mather, Benjamin Franklin, and Timothy Dwight.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] See entry under *Dwight, Timothy*.

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Coleman, Mrs. George P. "Randolph and Tucker Letters." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLII, 317-324 (Oct., 1934).

Letters of Thomas Jefferson: to Dr. Shippen, dated May 8, 1785; to Walker Maury, dated Aug. 19, 1785; to T. M. Randolph, dated Nov. 25, 1785; to James Maury, dated Dec. 24, 1786; to T. M. Randolph, dated Feb. 28, 1788; and to a Mr. Stewart, dated 1789, all on the subject of education.

[MATHER, COTTON] See entry under *Dwight, Timothy*.

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Stead, George A. "Roger Williams and the Massachusetts-Bay." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 235-257 (June, 1934).

An analysis of the contest which led to Williams's being banished.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "William Cullen Bryant: A Re-interpretation." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 495-504 (Aug., 1934).

[COOPER, J. F.] Adkins, Nelson F. "A Glimpse of Fenimore Cooper in His Last Years," *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 96-97 (Aug. 11, 1934).

From a volume printed in 1853, author unknown.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Birss, John H. "Emerson and Poe: A Similitude." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 279 (April 21, 1934).

Roberts, Arthur J. and Weber, Carl J. "Emerson's Visits to Waterville College." *The Colby Mercury* (Waterville, Me.), V, 41-45 (April 1, 1934).

Emerson's lectures at Waterville on July 31, 1841, and on Aug. 11, 1863.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Ferguson, J. DeLancey. "Allusions in Oliver Wendell Holmes." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 297 (April 28, 1934).

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Webster, C. M. "Washington Irving as Imitator of Swift." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 295 (April 28, 1934).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Anonymous. "Longfellow's 'Wreck of the Hesperus': The Reef of Norman's Woe." *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 59 (July 28, 1934).

[LOWELL, J. R.] Golann, Ethel. "A Lowell Autobiography." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 356-364 (June, 1934).

An autobiographical sketch contributed to the Harvard class book of 1838 by James Russell Lowell.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Birss, John H. "Herman Melville and the *Atlantic Monthly*." *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 223-224 (Sept. 29, 1934).

A letter of Melville addressed to F. H. Underwood, dated Aug. 19, 1857, is reprinted. In it Melville promised to contribute to *The Atlantic* but, apparently, never actually did so.

———"Herman Melville and Blake." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 311 (May 5, 1934).

[NEAL, JOHN] Richards, Irving T. "Mary Gove Nichols and John Neal." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 335-355 (June, 1934).

"Neal and Mrs. Gove were close friends, and she looked upon him as a refuge even from her husband. . . ."

[POE, E. A.] B., F. "Placing Poe." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXVI, 12 (Nov. 19, 1934).

The Valentine Museum Letters are discussed with relation to Una Pope-Hennessy's *Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-1849: A Critical Biography*.

Cestre, Charles. "Poe et Baudelaire." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 322-330 (April, 1934).

Taylor, Bayard. "Poe's Last Manuscript." *American Clipper* (Ridley Park, Penna.), I, 64 (Nov., 1934).

Bayard Taylor's letter to Graham, dated July 29, 1850, concerning "an unpublished article by Poe, on 'The Poetic Principle'."

See entry under *Emerson, R. W.*, item by John H. Birss.

[SEDGWICK, CATHERINE] Stearns, Bertha-Monica. "Miss Sedgwick Observes Harriet Martineau." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 533-541 (Sept., 1934).

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] See entry under *Poe, E. A.*, item by Bayard Taylor.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Walt Whitman and Heinrich Zschokke." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 382-384 (June 2, 1934).

Silver, Rollo G. "A Parody on Walt Whitman." *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 150 (Sept. 1, 1934).

"Grant," by Benjamin Urner, published in *John Swinton's Paper* for Aug. 16, 1885, is a 'serious' parody.

———"Concerning Walt Whitman." *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 96 (Aug. 11, 1934).

Two articles by Whitman appeared in *Life Illustrated* . . . for April 12, 1856, and May 10, 1856.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Mordell, Albert. "Whittier and Lucy Hooper." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 316-325 (June, 1934).

Documentary evidence concerning an episode in Whittier's life.

Scott, Winfield T. "Poetry in American: a New Consideration of Whittier's Verse." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 258-275 (June, 1934).

An evaluation which takes into consideration both the good and bad qualities in Whittier's poetry.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Gafford, Lucile. "The Boston Stage and the War of 1812." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 327-335 (June, 1934).

The stage reflected the events of the period from 1811 to 1815.

Spotts, Carl Brooks. "The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860)." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 195-205 (April, 1934); XXVIII, 275-286 (July, 1934); XXIX, 17-26 (Oct., 1934).

"The purpose of this study is to determine the leading works of fiction produced in Missouri before 1860 and to trace their development as related to the main stream of American fiction of the time."

III. 1870-1900

[ALGER, HORATIO] Rugg, W. K. "A Library Exile." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXVI, 7 (Nov. 19, 1934).

Horatio Alger's once popular books are shown to be a product of the conditions of his time.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Anonymous. "Mark Twain Anticipates Roosevelt." *Word Study*, IX, 4 (April, 1934).

Mark Twain's use of "New Deal" in *A Connecticut Yankee*.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Birss, J. H. "A Letter of Stephen Crane." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 240-241 (April 7, 1934).

Previously unpublished letter written at Hartwood, New York, Sept. 9, 1894, to Messrs. Copeland and Day, Boston. This letter is quoted from *The Month at Goodspeed's* (March, 1934).

[DUNBAR, P. L.] Achille, Louis T. "Paul Laurence Dunbar: Poète Nègre." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, pp. 504-520 (Aug., 1934).

[FREDERIC, HAROLD] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Harold Frederic [1856-1898]." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 2164 (Dec. 15, 1934).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Smith, Bernard. "Howells, the Genteel Radical." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 41-43 (Aug. 11, 1934).

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Olney, Clark. "Archaisms in the Poetry of Sidney Lanier." *N. & Q.*, CLXVI, 292-294 (April 28, 1934).

Starke, Aubrey. "The Agrarians Deny a Leader." *Am. Rev.*, II, 534-553 (March, 1934).

Ransom, John Crowe. "Hearts and Heads." [A reply to the preceding article.] *Am. Rev.*, II, 554-571 (March, 1934).

Lanier as viewed by the contributors to *I'll Take My Stand*.

[MILLER, C. H.] Veach, Glen E. "The Indiana Boyhood of the Poet of the Sierras." *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, XXX, 153-160 (June, 1934).

Anecdotes of the boyhood of Joaquin Miller.

[MITCHELL, D. G.] Seyholt, Paul S. "American First Editions: Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel) [1822-1908]." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 1854-1855 (Nov. 17, 1934).

[PORTER, SYDNEY] Goerch, Carl. "O. Henry's Brother Lives in Ayden [N. C.]." *The [N. C.] State*, II, 1 and 26 (Nov. 24, 1934).

The author interviews O. Henry's brother, Shirley Worth Porter, now living in Ayden, N. C.

IV. 1900-1935

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Faÿ, Bernard. "Portrait de Sherwood Anderson, Américain." *Rev. de Paris*, pp. 886-902 (Oct. 15, 1934).

[AUSTIN, MARY] Sergeant, Elizabeth S. "Mary Austin: A Portrait." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 96 (Sept. 8, 1934).

[BEER, THOMAS] Clark, Emily. "Thomas Beer." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, X, 689 (May 12, 1934).

[BENÉT, S. V.] Daniels, S. R. "A Saga of the American Civil War." *Contemp. Rev.*, CXLVI, 466-471 (Oct., 1934).

Critical appreciation of Stephen Vincent Benét's *John Brown's Body*.

[BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Lefèvre, Frédéric. "Une heure avec Louis Bromfield." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, XII, 6 (Nov. 3, 1934).

[CALDWELL, ERSKINE] Kubie, Lawrence S. "God's Little Acre: An Analysis." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 305-306, 312 (Nov. 24, 1934).

The second of a series of analyses, by a physician and psychiatrist, of contemporary novels of horror.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Gillet, Louis. "M. T. S. Eliot et les Faux Dieux." *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, pp. 199-211 (July 1, 1934).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Kubie, Lawrence S. "William Faulkner's *Sanctuary*: An Analysis." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 218, 224, 225, 226 (Oct. 20, 1934).

The first of a series of analyses, by a physician and psychiatrist, of contemporary novels of horror.

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Faÿ, Bernard. "Portrait de Sinclair Lewis: L'Américain a Rebrousse-Poil." *Rev. de Paris*, pp. 401-416 (May 15, 1934).

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Humphries, Rolfe. "Archibald MacLeish." *Modern Month.*, VIII, 264-270, 274 (June, 1934).

Critical discussion of MacLeish's work.

[MASTERS, E. L.] Masters, E. L. "William Marion Reedy." *Am. Speech*, IX, 96-98 (April, 1934).

Editor of Reedy's *Mirror*.

[NATHAN, ROBERT] Redman, Ben Ray. "Expert in Depression: A Portrait of Robert Nathan." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 206 (Oct. 13, 1934).

[NEWTON, A. E.] Birss, John H. "American First Editions: Alfred Edward Newton [1863-]: Checklist." *Pub. Week.*, CXXVI, 1664-1665 (Nov. 3, 1934).

[PARKER, DOROTHY] Van Doren, Mark. "Dorothy Parker." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 535-543 (Sept., 1934).

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CATEL, JEAN. "La Poésie Moderne aux Etats-Unis." *Rev. des Cours et Conférences*, pp. 247-259 (May 15, 1934); pp. 341-357 (May 30, 1934).

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A plea for poetic drama to revivify the modern theater.

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The best seller is determined by people who wish to escape their problems yet feel they are really coping with them.

Jones, Howard M. "Literary Scholarship and Contemporary Criticism." *Eng. Jour.*, XXIII, 740-758 (Nov., 1934).

The primary purpose of scholarship is historical, not aesthetic.

Lenormaud, H. R. "American Literature in France." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XI, 244-245 (Oct. 27, 1934).

Chiefly on what the French are reading at present from American authors.

Lewis, Wyndham. "'Detachment' and the Fictionist." *Eng. Rev.*, LIX, 441-452 (Oct., 1934); 564-573 (Nov., 1934).

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Soupault, Philippe. "La Nouvelle Littérature Américaine." *Europe*, XXXVI, 272-279 (Oct. 15, 1934).

V. Language and Folk Literature

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Read, A. W. "Words Indicating Social Status in America in the Eighteenth Century." *Am. Speech*, IX, 204-208 (Oct., 1934).

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Spaeth, Sigmund. "'Frankie and Johnnie' Strike a Discord." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, p. 18 (Oct. 21, 1934).

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See also in Section III, entry under *Clemens, S. L.*

VI. Miscellaneous

Bulloch, J. M. "American Stage History." *N. & Q.*, CLXVII, 219 (Sept. 29, 1934).

An inventory of the "chief books which have been done on the American stage."

Damon, S. Foster. "The Negro in Early American Songsters." *Papers of Bibl. Soc. of America*, XXVIII, 132-163, Part II (1934).

"Probably every negro lyric in this country before the War of 1812 was English." The first appearance of a negro song in any of the songsters is in the year 1788. Various types are discussed and a bibliography—largely from the Harris collection—is printed.

Matthiessen, F. O. "'The Great Tradition'—A Counter-statement." *New Eng. Quart.*, VII, 223-234 (June, 1934).

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Philpott, A. J. "A Pioneer Publishing Romance." *Word Study*, VII, 5-10 (Sept., 1934).

Publishing and sale of Webster's dictionary.

Porterfield, Ruth. "Memoirs of a Wood Pulp Editor." *Am. Mercury*, XXXIII, 180-184 (Oct., 1934).

Fantastic behavior of wood pulp editors and authors.

BOOK REVIEWS

ALICE JAMES: *Her Brothers; Her Journal*. Edited, with an Introduction, by Anna Robeson Burr. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1934. 253 pp. \$2.50.

The elder Henry James begot five children: William, Henry, Wilkinson, Robertson, and Alice. In their own day, the two older sons achieved glory. Mr. Grattan's *Three Jameses* added the father to the gallery of family memorables. Making use of the letters and papers in the possession of Mrs. Vaux, daughter of Robertson James, Mrs. Burr fills out our knowledge of the middle generation with accounts of the two younger sons and the daughter.

Of 'Wilky' and 'Bob,' as they were colloquially known, it may suffice to say that they both studied at Frank Sanborn's school in Concord; that in 1863 both accepted commissions in the newly forming negro regiments, Wilky serving under Robert Gould Shaw; and that both led troubled lives, failing to marshal their undoubted talents to any sustained purpose. They possessed the family wit and imagination, and must have been men of unusual personal charm; but it must be confessed that their letters, which Mrs. Burr quotes, show them endowed with no extraordinary literary flair.

In her unsuccessful attempt to assign the two younger brothers a permanence probably impossible now that their conversation has grown silent, Mrs. Burr resorts to speculative interpretation calculated to depreciate the literarily articulate Henry. She writes long paragraphs concerning the abolitionist fervor in Concord (1859-1860) and reads into the younger Jameses the emotions such fervor *might* have evoked. She attributes the temporal failures of Wilky and Bob to their service in the War: they suffered, she would seem to suggest, the equivalent of 'shell-shock.' But she goes beyond this to interpret Henry as, under the guise of "portentous and obscure" ill health, cravenly retreating from military duty, and represents his brothers' patriotic activities as having given him a permanent shame—a sense, as we should say, of having played the 'slacker'—which initiated him upon his course of successive retreats from life, though for some reason she desists from applying the same diagnosis to William, who also did not enlist.

Indeed, Henry is the culprit of the essay. Compounded of shyness and egotism, he is an escapist, who flees the war, flees the vulgarity of America, flees marriage, flees personal responsibilities. He became, for his younger

relatives at home, the uncle who had "run away to literature"—as though that were more of an 'escape' than theology or business. Mrs. Burr's interpretation, perfectly self-consistent, is, as a judgment of character, too facile. The fashionable psychology explains too much—or too little. Any course of action—and 'action' includes contemplation—can be diagnosed as an escape from some alternative course. A bachelor escapes a family, but then a married man escapes solitude. If the philosopher escapes trade, the merchant escapes metaphysics. Every man seeks conditions favorable to the development of his especial powers. Henry James's literary province was the depiction and analysis of such long established social life, such a class of leisured persons, as scarcely existed in the land where he chanced to be born; and in seeking out his own (as distinct from his natal) terrain, he was actuated by no baser impulse than that which led the enterprising young New Englander to escape his rocky hillside and go West to more fertile acreage. With 'responsibility' it is easy, too, to juggle. A man has a responsibility to his art or his profession as well as to his family. One may be a conscientious father and a slovenly writer. Henry James, who lacked the vigor for universal responsibility, chose to devote himself, with celibate concentration, to his art.

Alice James, whose *Journal* forms the *coup* of the volume, receives scant biographical attention—partly, perhaps, because Mrs. Burr has not examined the family letters at Widener. The youngest member of the generation was not, as her editor portrays her, an invalid from the age of sixteen. After an adolescent breakdown and its accompanying suicidal impulse, deflected, with astute strategy, by her father, she suffered occasional nervous illnesses; but she was not a confirmed invalid till about four years prior to her death; and for the most part she led the life of the normal young woman. Though her friends were not so numerous as would have been hers had she gone to school, she won many; and she was particularly attracted to such men as W. D. Howells, Professor Child of Harvard, and E. L. Godkin, distinguished founder and first editor of *The Nation*. She was rarely depressed, and her intelligence steadily pursued the transmutation of experience into reflection.

In 1873 Miss Anna Ticknor of Boston established a society called "The Studies at Home," a prototype of the Chautauqua Reading Circle and the university extension courses. At one period, more than a thousand students, in all parts of the United States, were enrolled under the instruction of volunteer, unpaid teachers, who performed their tutorial functions by means of correspondence and monthly reports. For about three years Miss James thus taught history.

The *Journal* was written during the last four years of Alice James's

life and comprizes her judgments of English life as she experienced it vicariously and microscopically in the persons of her own servants and neighbors, heard of it in the anecdotes brought her, as bedside *divertissement*, by Henry, and read of it in the London newspapers. Her brother, who had no notion that she was keeping such a chronicle, read it after her death and justly pronounced it, in its "beauty and eloquence," its "rich irony and humor," to constitute "a new claim for the family renown."

Alice was the true child of her father; she saw England through his democratic spectacles; and the snobbery and Pharisaism of gentry and clergy moved her to laughter and satire, while the squalid existence of the poor, their wretchedness, dulled by whiskey but unmitigated by self-respect or hope, elicited her pity and her indignation. Unaccustomed, like the rest of her family, to ecclesiastics, she ridicules ritualist and evangelical, church and chapel—though its pretensions make the Church the really insupportable. She expresses gratitude that she has not been reared in "ignoble superstitions" and calls Anglicanism "that jerry-builder architecture of the soul." She asks, and answers, in the very idiom of her father: "What moral elevation can be brought about by a worship propped up by tortuous verbosity and emasculate evasions? Imagine a religion imposed from without—a virtue taught, not as a measure of self-respect, but as a means of propitiating a repulsive, vain-glorious, grasping deity, and purchasing from him, at a varying scale of prices, a certain moderation of temperature through the dark mystery of the future." She was a passionate American, a passionate equalitarian; and she treats distinguished persons—Matthew Arnold, Mrs. Clough, Mrs. Kingsley, the Bishop of Exeter, the Marquis of Lorne, the Prince of Wales, and the Queen—with the same almost fierce scrutiny which she metes out to basic institutions like the 'public school' and the Establishment.

But this is not all of Alice James. She treats with derision "the English pronouncement that Emily Dickinson is fifth-rate—they have such a capacity for missing quality; the robust evades them equally with the subtle." Like Emily Dickinson, whom in many and significant ways she resembles, Miss James transcended satire, which was, with her, but the indignant reverse of deeply felt affirmations. She was poetically rather than philosophically articulate of her conviction; in a supremely un-theological way, she was a woman of faith. Sharing her father's horror of proclaimed intimacy with the Eternal, she does not often presume to set down her apprehensions; but they are felt as ground-base to all that she writes.

After her death, her closest friend, the companion of her English years, Miss Katherine Loring, had printed, for distribution among the diarist's

family, four copies of the Journal. It was undoubtedly first for her own diversion and for the heightening of her experiences, then for the pleasure of her brothers and nephews, that Alice James wrote; and certainly her entries were in no sense 'intended for publication.' Nevertheless, a much wider audience is by now gratefully discovering in her another luminary in the Jamesian firmament; and no student of American letters can neglect her book without relinquishing a sure delight.

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AUSTIN WARREN.

THE ELDER HENRY JAMES. By Austin Warren. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xvi, 269 pp. \$2.50.

The elder Henry James is of interest to the Student of American literature as the father of two famous sons, as the friend and critic of Emerson, Carlyle, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and others, and perhaps as the writer of a few passages marked by a humorous perversity and a brilliant but detached iconoclasm. As a personality he was a *rara avis in terra*, an expansive man of wealth who believed in democracy and individualism to the point of intellectual anarchy—a wit who solemnly and majestically told his daughter to have the clergyman at his funeral services merely say: "Here lies a man who has thought all his life that the ceremonies attending birth, marriage, and death were all damned nonsense."

To the scholar, Henry James is important as a representative of a most interesting period in our religious and philosophical history—a period in which the fresh currents of romantic doctrines swept over the glaciers of the older order and went scurrying off in whirling gusts of enthusiasm and theory—the heyday of transcendentalism, parlor socialism, abolition, phrenology, hydropathy, vegetarianism—and Graham flour. Professor Warren realizes the intrinsic significance of James and orders his biography accordingly. He avoids the temptation of the man's wit, steers clear of detailed presentation of the facts of a somewhat ordinary life, and concentrates upon the record of his subject's mental and religious development—from the Calvinism of Princeton, which James could not stomach, to the espousal of Robert Sandeman's conception of the connection of morality and religion, to an unrequited hope of finding in Emerson "central facts" and a universality that did not impair, to a twilight of the gods of health and mind in the year 1844—a twilight suddenly illumined by one of the prophets revived for the age—Swedenborg. The body of ideas which this seer offered, James seized upon and, after his usual fashion, modified and adjusted to suit his own temperament and needs. (Strangely like Blake's is his interpretation of Swedenborg.) In social philosophy he soon found, with the Associationists of the later

Brook Farm, that another prophet of the day—Fourier—offered a seemingly ready solution for the problems which an increasingly commercial and industrial order was tumbling about the heads of thinkers—and when Swedenborg and Fourier seemed agreed upon the general solution James joined with Parke Godwin, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley, and others in reinterpreting the Frenchman's theories for American consumption. In those days the kingdom of heaven was indeed near at hand; and many a one seemed to be a John the Baptist. Indeed, such men as Orestes Brownson, whose theological career resembles that of James in its variety and succession of moves, actually believed themselves to be the very Christs of the new order that was to come. The interpretation of God as Divine Humanity and the explanation of the material world in terms of ideas were part and parcel of the reigning intellectual spirit of the times. And James, primarily theologian and seer, is an interesting example of the effects of that spirit upon an honest mind.

Of the younger Henry and William James Professor Warren has little to say. Chapter six of his volume discusses the effect of the father's educational and philosophical theories upon the sons, but, wisely, the author refuses to add to what has already been said by Mr. Grattan and others on the subject. He regards as futile the attempts to explain the artistic no-man's land of the novelist in terms of the father's theories; and as for the philosopher he observes:

The strongest resemblances between father and son were not doctrinal in an exact sense but temperamental: both were optimists, democrats, men of warm, large, generous natures. Their literary styles were extraordinarily alike [William called his father "a great writer."]: both wrote philosophy with verve and humor, with audacity of metaphor, with diction ranging from the learned to the racy (p. 161).

Chapter seven of the volume offers most to the literary-minded, for here Professor Warren presents a résumé of the chief criticisms made by James of the authors whom he knew. The passages quoted, altogether too few, illustrate the saltiness of the critic's style and at the same time present the chief features of the matter which touched the trigger of his dissenting nature. The following chapter undertakes to explain James's philosophic opinions, and succeeds admirably, being an expert analysis of the "system" of this individualist of the "Stammering Century."

The student seeking information relative to Swedenborgianism and Fourierism as a background for the literary life of the forties will profit greatly by reading this book. For the historian of American ideology it is indispensable.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

MARK TWAIN SON OF MISSOURI. By M. M. Brashear. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1934. 294 pp.

The title of this book does not adequately suggest the serious, scholarly purpose which motivated the study. Miss Brashear does not attempt, primarily, to reclaim Mark Twain for the state of Missouri, but to deal with the more significant question, "How is Mark Twain to be accounted for?" Motivated by an impression that "commentaries on Mark Twain which have pointed to his Middle West up-bringing as unfortunate, even tragic in its suppressions, are not true accounts," the author has attempted to deal with this question by investigating the formative elements in Mark Twain's inheritance and environment, particularly during the first twenty-five years of his life. Her conviction is that it is more important to know how Mark Twain "reacted to persons and objects in his environment than to theorize about how he ought to have reacted."

In a number of particulars Miss Brashear's study is unquestionably important and represents a step in a promising direction; for while Albert Bigelow Paine's total impression of Mark Twain's early years is probably accurate, Miss Brashear has been able to bring together many new facts and observations which alter the shading of the picture of those years and improve the perspective. She has done much, for example, to dispel the notion that Mark Twain's Missouri of the 1840's and 1850's was as culturally barren and suppressive as some critics have alleged. Her exposition of the public career of John Clemens, the fruit of careful search through news files and local records, helps one to understand more clearly than heretofore Mark Twain's capacity for public life, his business integrity, and his purpose "to try for a finer type of success than that which he saw about him." Important, also, is the chapter called "Sub-editor on the *Hannibal Journal*," a chapter in which the author presents four types of writing that Sam Clemens attempted while employed on his brother's newspaper in Hannibal. These items, few of which are to be found in Paine's biography of Mark Twain, are indispensable in any study which attempts to account for the emergence of Mark Twain as a man of letters.

The most important contribution of Miss Brashear's investigation, however, is to be found in chapters vi and vii. The first of these relates to Mark Twain's early reading and establishes the fact that in spite of his assertion to the contrary, Mark Twain was not ignorant of books. It is evident that young Samuel Clemens not only had access to a variety of good literature, especially the Bible, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Milton, and Goldsmith, but that he read a good many books actively enough to form definite convictions concerning them. Chapter vii, called "The Shadow of Europe," is unquestionably the most provocative and valuable in the

whole book. Here Miss Brashear advances the theory that Mark Twain's literary provenience is to be sought chiefly among the writers of the eighteenth century. She presents evidence to show that certain of Mark Twain's most characteristic types of writing derive from eighteenth- rather than from nineteenth-century forms, that his humor harks back to that of Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith, and Fielding, and that his mechanistic conception of life, essentially Newtonian, is based upon a reading of Lecky and Thomas Paine. While Miss Brashear's evidence comes short of being conclusive, it is sufficiently impressive to warrant further study in a direction that may help to account not only for Mark Twain but for some of the popular literary types and for much of the humor circulating in the American press prior to the Civil War.

Though admirable in plan and in its suggestiveness, the book is not without weaknesses and defects. In the sections where the author attempts to show how the Clemens family may have come in contact with the more definitely cultural elements of the frontier, she is obliged to depend too largely upon conjecture. Furthermore, a good many such historical details as the beginnings of towns, the location of grist mills and saw mills, the rivalry of communities, and the subdivision of large counties into smaller ones have questionable value and pertinency. More attention might have been given to such matters as music, lectures, and the beginnings of dramatic art. Particularly one wonders why, in a study of formative factors, the author failed to deal with the political influences in the early life of Mark Twain. Mark Twain's father, we know, was a prominent Whig. Orion was a Whig and ran a Whig newspaper. We are told, also, that Orion and Sam, while editing the *Hannibal Journal*, attacked the politics of Samuel Hart Benton, a staunch Democrat. While it is evident that Miss Brashear was conscious of political influence upon Sam Clemens, she does not suggest what direction his political thinking took nor how it was affected by the turmoil of the Civil War. The matter becomes more intriguing in consequence of Miss Brashear's conjectures concerning the religious influence of Thomas Paine upon Samuel Clemens. If Clemens knew Paine's *Age of Reason*, is it not likely that he also knew *The Rights of Man*?

Political expediency if not politics may have led Mark Twain to write the story of "A Campaign that Failed." While Miss Brashear is probably right in ascribing more importance to Mark Twain's brief career as a Confederate soldier than is customary, her statement that he wrote the piece "in a humorously patronizing mood toward his early self" is not convincing. It is far more likely that he wrote it to forestall embarrassment; for while the episode was disarmingly funny as Mark Twain told

it, in the politically unstable post-war period it might have become the means to damage his rapidly growing national reputation. Mark Twain lost no time in writing the story when the first danger signal appeared. In January of 1885 a correspondent in the Keokuk *Gate City* published a brief, serio-comic account of the episode, professing surprise that Mark Twain had not included it as a funny chapter in his history. It is inconceivable that Orion Clemens, then living in Keokuk, should not have sent the item to his brother. At any rate, before the year was out Mark Twain published the story.

An item of conjecture equally unconvincing is that Sam Clemens *consciously* planned the "Snodgrass" letters as the "funnier" book which he had told Ed Brownell he would write some day. It would certainly be delightful to discover that even as a very young man Mark Twain consciously planned to excel Charles Dickens in the writing of humor, but the evidence is unimpressive. Mr. Brownell's statement concerning Sam Clemens's remark was made too many years after the event to warrant unquestioned acceptance. Furthermore, it is obvious from Sam Clemens's letters, written just prior to the first letter in the "Snodgrass" series, that he was desperately trying to raise money to take him to the Amazon country. The series was planned most probably as a means to finance himself on the trip.

The book contains a number of slips. The author's knowledge of German failed her when she permitted the word "Wanderjähre" to stand not only in the text on page 194 but in the folio heading throughout chapter v. The correct form is, of course, not unlauded. She is in error also, on page 9, when she speaks of Charles Dudley Warner's collaboration in writing *The Gilded Age*. Mark Twain, whom she cites in the matter, was not accused, as she says, of attempting to deceive the public by counting on Warner's popularity with American readers to sell the book, but of using his own name, as he said, "to float it and give it currency—a currency which it could not have acquired without my name—and that this conduct of mine was a grave fraud upon the people." On page 20 a quotation from Howells contains some matter not to be found in the source cited. On page 26 F. L. Pattee is quoted as saying that Mark Twain "spent his life in such unshadowed places," that is to say, in places unshadowed by any influences from Europe. But Mr. Pattee made no such inclusive statement. What he did say is that Mark Twain "spent his life *until he was thirty* in such unshadowed places." The italics are mine. The footnote on page 42, which quotes from Mr. Blankenship, has no less than four deviations from the original text. Footnote no. 20, page 121, shows almost equal negligence. On page 77 "Miss L. E. London"

should read "Miss L. E. Landon," and on page 239 "Dan Sloat" is a slip for "Dan Slote."

The faults of Miss Brashear's book, however, do not detract from the importance of her study. She has not only made valuable additions to Mark Twain juvenilia, but pretty thoroughly demolished the old conception that Mark Twain "sprang unaccountably" from the frontier. Her investigation unquestionably indicates the direction in which future Mark Twain research will move.

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FRED W. LORCH.

WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY: *A Study*. By David D. Henry. Boston: Bruce Humphries Inc. 276 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Henry has performed in a very competent fashion a service to American letters and to a poet not too well remembered, in collecting the available material in regard to the life of William Vaughn Moody and interpreting his poetry in the light of this experience. Moody's career had something of the dramatic in the rapidity with which he placed himself at the head of American poetry in the first years of the century. "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," followed by *The Masque of Judgment* and *The Fire-Bringer* showed that he was not only master of a technique wrought carefully by study of the masters—the Greek dramatists, the medieval romancers, Shakespeare, Milton, and the moderns from Shelley to Francis Thompson—but also capable of turning his utterance to the highest themes. Richard Watson Gilder welcomed him as a new and great poet. Miss May Sinclair wrote of him as the first in rank of the three Americans whom she considered notable in poetry, Moody, Robinson, and Torrence. Scarcely was Moody's position in poetry won when he startled the public with a strong and serious prose play, which was immediately recognized as America's chief contribution to the movement hopefully entitled the renaissance of the drama. And within four years he was dead, his reputation passing into eclipse, and his work already on its way to the morgue of the anthologies.

For this withering of his laurels several reasons may be cited. Moody's art was, as has been said, scholarly and eclectic. It was in the great tradition of English poetry, and appealed especially to those readers who were brought up in that tradition. Unfortunately such readers grow fewer every year. The gold that he won from his masters was undergoing transmutation into a coinage of his own bearing the veritable image and superscription of a new Caesar, but this process became complete only in "The Death of Eve" and in the unfinished member of his trilogy which bears

that title. And within a few months of his death the storm of the new poetry was beating down the reputations founded in the old. I remember Amy Lowell once said of Moody: "I wonder if he could have held us back." The answer is that he would not have wished to. Clearly in his latest poetry there may be discerned anticipations of the school which followed him, and he would have welcomed the new poets and exulted in their success with the enthusiasm of a comrade. As for his plays, Moody in his last illness regretted that he had stolen time and energy from his true vocation, for a dramatic career which could at best have brought him only a temporary distinction. It is true, by the success of *The Great Divide* he obtained release from the poverty which had forced him to teaching and textbook making, but he would never have written plays for money.

He thought it better to be dead.

To die for beauty than to live for bread.

Mr. Henry is himself a scholar, and approaches Moody with respect for his scholarly character. He gives a chapter to Moody's work as editor and critic, which must be understood as affording not only material assistance to the meager livelihood of an instructor's salary but also training for his own higher calling. Moody had a scrupulous sense of the economy of living. He was an example of integrity. Nothing he did was without essential value. Mr. Henry's first chapter, "The Growth of a Poet," is a careful assembling of biographical detail to establish this thesis.

In dealing with the poems Mr. Henry shows discrimination and taste. He is not blind to Moody's faults, the too egregious imitation of some of his early poems, the tendency toward overdecoration, the temptation of a facile verbal imagination and a luxuriant vocabulary, which mar some passages, especially in *The Masque of Judgment*. His recognition of Moody's intellectual scope and aesthetic power is fully justified. He takes Moody's career as dramatist rather too seriously, but his careful elucidation of the problem of *The Faith Healer* is decidedly worth while. Mr. Henry tells the story of Moody's contemporary literary reputation by citing all the important criticisms which appeared. He adds a number of letters to those in the collection made by Daniel Gregory Mason, and he publishes a sheaf of Moody's early poems gleaned from *The Harvard Monthly*. Altogether his volume, the only one in the field, is indispensable. It will become more important as Moody's reputation profits by the readjustment of values which is inevitable.

The University of Chicago.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

THE EARLY DAYS OF JOEL BARLOW, A CONNECTICUT WIT: *Yale Graduate. Editor, Lawyer and Poet. Chaplain during the Revolutionary War. His Life and Works from 1754 to 1787.* By Theodore Albert Zunder. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1934. xi, 320 pp. Paper, \$2.00; Cloth, \$2.50.

An epic urge excited American poets at the commencement of the Revolution. Literary equality with England, it was believed, could be gained only by our matching Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Freneau and Brackenridge at Princeton, and Dwight and Barlow at Yale donned Icarian wings. Brackenridge never left ground; Freneau stopped in mid-flight, but the Yale poets soared aloft to an immediate, if short-lived, fame. Barlow, the most ambitious, reworked his *The Vision of Columbus* into the pompous *Columbiad*, a tin-plated epic published in a golden binding. Of all Barlow's versifying, indeed one might say of all the Connecticut Wits' poetizing, only "The Hasty Pudding" retains today a sparkle of freshness and vitality.

Barlow the poet is forgotten, and only Barlow the democrat challenges our attention. Envoy to France of the bungling Scioto Company, he became a Citizen of the Republic, and as a Minister Plenipotentiary sent by President Madison, he died pursuing Napoleon through the frozen fields of Europe. Born and educated a conservative "steady habit" son of aristocratic Connecticut, Barlow rejected the philosophy of his fathers, espoused the leveling doctrines of the French Revolution, and supported the Jeffersonian party. For this offense he forfeited the love of his old friends, John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, and Noah Webster.

Dr. Zunder evidently did not find the origins of Barlow's liberalism in the years he has so thoroughly investigated, for he nowhere mentions the later political activity of the poet. Barlow gives a clue, however, in his longest footnote to *The Vision of Columbus* (Hartford, 1787, pp. 241-244). Here, quoting from Dr. Richard Price's *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*, he approves the leading principle which will "induce all men to regard each other as brethren and friends, eradicate all kinds of literary, religious and political superstition, prepare the minds of all mankind for the rational reception of moral and religious truth. . . ." Since the poem was completed, with the exception of a portion of the seventh book, before Barlow read Price's pamphlet, he discussed this "theory so pleasing to himself" in a prose footnote. Price's *Observations* reached Barlow early in 1785. As editor of *The American Mercury*, a Hartford newspaper, he published extracts between January 17 and February 14, 1785. On April 25 he and his partner, Elisha Babcock, published an edition of it.

Something of the flamelike quality of Barlow's political thinking at this time is found in an incident not recorded by Dr. Zunder. During the tumultuous unrest in New England in 1785, wrote Noah Webster in *A Letter to General Hamilton* (1800, p. 5), "It was agreed, in case of civil convulsion, to rally the officers and soldiers of the late army, and with the help of supplies to be furnished by some rich merchants, *to give a government to this country by force*. . . . Joel Barlow, who then was ripe for the establishment of a monarchy, was sent as an agent from Connecticut to Boston, to make some arrangement with the military gentlemen in that state." On June 30, 1785, Barlow had written Louis XVI for permission to dedicate *The Vision of Columbus* to him. Neither of these acts seemed incompatible with Barlow's growing liberalism, for the leading English and French liberals, Richard Price and Abbé Raynal, remained loyal to their monarchs while espousing republican ideas.

Barlow and Noah Webster, bosom companions since their freshman days at Yale in 1774, were frequently together at this time. Barlow and Babcock published on February 7 Webster's Reader, Part III of *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*; and in the *Mercury* appeared Webster's papers on the dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the ownership of the Wyoming Valley. In 1782 and 1783 Webster had written a series of six essays under the title, "Observations on the Revolution of America," and in 1785 he brought out his *Sketches of American Policy*. Both sets of essays reflected the perfectionist philosophy of Rousseau. Curious as it may seem, I believe it was Noah Webster who first disturbed Barlow's conservative thoughts and pressed the liberal viewpoint upon him. Webster was a thoroughgoing radical in these years; his conservatism, a result of his horror at the excesses of the French Revolution, took form no earlier than 1795.

If Dr. Zunder has failed to solve the psychological problems involved in Barlow's secret marriage, poetic imitation, and late adoption of liberalism, he has given us a painstaking, detailed, accurate chronology from which the student may draw his own conclusions. New light is shed on Barlow's early poetizing, on his idyllic love for, and secret marriage with, Ruth Baldwin, on his chaplaincy during the Revolutionary War, on his early literary and publishing ventures, and on the genesis and reception of *The Vision of Columbus*.

Bucknell University.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

DEISM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA. By Herbert M. Morais. New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. 203 pp. \$3.50.

Although a thorough knowledge of Puritanism and Transcendentalism has always been considered indispensable for an adequate interpretation of the literature of their respective periods, the religious assumptions underlying the utterances of most of the literary men of the Revolutionary era have been until recently largely ignored, although I. W. Riley touched on deism from an exclusively philosophical angle. Indeed, one looks in vain for even the word "deism" in most of the earlier histories of American literature. Those, however, who think that *all* the factors, whether intellectual or physical, which motivate an author's utterance should be dispassionately studied in their genetic interrelations will welcome two able contributions to a scholarly understanding of the character and vogue and significance of deism in America. The first of these, Professor G. A. Koch's *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason* (Henry Holt & Co., 1933), I have reviewed elsewhere.¹ In brief, while it is inadequate as regards European backgrounds, the major figures, and the political, social, economic, and literary implications, it is a very useful and carefully documented survey, biographical in method, of a host of minor deists, followed by a valuable bibliography of thirty pages. This work is supplemented by Dr. Morais's *Deism in Eighteenth Century America*, which, although covering much of the same ground, has several distinctive features. He devotes more attention than Mr. Koch does to the earlier period, beginning in 1713 with Cotton Mather's *Reasonable Religion*. Whereas Mr. Koch stressed the rôle of deistic clubs, lectureships, and newspapers in the popularization of deism, Mr. Morais says he is more concerned "with deistic speculation as such, with its origins, European background and relation to other types of rationalistic expression," and with "interpreting its tenor in terms of its class support." So far as it goes, Mr. Morais's work is substantial, precise, well documented, modest, cautious, and objective. He has brought together, and packed into long footnotes, references to a mass of evidence regarding the diffusion of deism, evidence which one wishes he might more often have quoted, which will be of great use to those who may erect on this foundation much-needed further studies. I find little if anything to subtract, although much might be added. For example, the chapter on "European Background" would have profited by the use of such studies as L. I. Bredvold's "Deism before Lord Herbert," *Papers of the*

¹ *The Journal of Philosophy*, XXXI, 135-138 (March, 1934). Mr. Koch's volume belongs to the "American Religion Series" along with such able studies as H. W. Schneider's *The Puritan Mind* and Joseph Haroutunian's *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology*.

Mich. Acad., IV, 431-442 (1924); G. T. Buckley's *Rationalism in Sixteenth Century Literature*, Chicago, 1933; S. G. Hefelblower's *Relation of Locke to English Deism*, Chicago, 1918; R. S. Crane's "Anglican Apologetics and the Idea of Progress, 1699-1745," *Mod. Philology*, XXXI (Feb. and May, 1934); N. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists*, New Haven, 1925, and Herbert Drennon's various published articles based on his valuable Chicago thesis on the significance and vogue of Newtonianism. Mr. Morais's scheme calls for the minimizing of the major figures, the seminal influences, such as Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, Freneau, Barlow, and Ethan Allen. To each of these only one or two pages are devoted. It seems unfortunate, however, considering the elaborateness of the documentation in general, that specialized studies of the religion of these men should be unmentioned—studies such as E. Seipp's *Benjamin Franklin's Religion und Ethik*, Darmstadt, 1932 (a doctoral dissertation); W. D. Gould's "The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 191-209 (Sept. 1933); various studies of Paine such as "An Historical Interpretation of T. Paine's Religion," *Univ. of Calif. Chron.*, XXXV, 56-87 (Jan. 1933); the introduction to *Poems of Freneau*, New York, 1928 stressing deism (Mr. Morais practically ignores Freneau and poetry); V. Miller's *Joel Barlow, Revolutionist*, Hamburg, 1933 (mostly political, but with considerable attention to ethical ideas); and C. Gohdes's "Ethan Allen and his Magnum Opus," *Open Court*, XLIII, 129-151; not to mention more general but relevant books such as B. F. Wright's *American Interpretations of Natural Law*, Cambridge, 1927, C. F. Mullett's *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution*, New York, 1933. Practically all of these must have been available, at least for insertion in Mr. Morais's proof sheets of the bibliography, since his book did not appear until the summer of 1934. Literary students will miss, too, any consideration of the rôle of deism in modifying literary theory and practice in prose and poetry, a highly important subject.

Much remains to be done on deism. Each of the major figures deserves an elaborate book.² And surely someone should make a comprehensive interpretative study of the extent to which deistic assumptions conditioned the theory of democracy, humanitarianism, economic laissez-faire, educational stress on science rather than letters, and literary naturalism. How did deism relate to ideas of progress, natural goodness, and sentimentalism? To what extent was it reinforced by the vogue of classical ideas of Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, and others? Whereas many may regard the rehearsal of similar theological creeds detached from their con-

² Earlier studies of Franklin's religion and its implications will be superseded by forthcoming contributions by Chester E. Jorgenson.

test in their authors' minds as somewhat dull and without much significance, the subject becomes vividly dramatic when these creeds are seen as helping to motivate warmly human concerns in many directions. No doubt, however, Mr. Morais has been wise in limiting his present work to the necessary factual foundations, and leaving the interpretation of the significance of the facts for later investigations. Neither Mr. Koch nor Mr. Morais has paid much attention to deism in the South; indeed, both Southern religious theory and literary theory await scholarly study. He is wise in warning us (p. 144) that not all Jeffersonians were deists and that not all Federalists were orthodox, a simplification which historians such as the late Mr. Parrington were prone to popularize. Indeed, important as deism is, and valuable as its study is in balancing the present mania for narrow economic interpretations, those who continue studying the significance of deism will do well to follow Mr. Morais's discreet example in proceeding inductively on a factual basis, without too neat preconceived formulas, in paying due respect to motivations which are not intellectual and abstract, and in refusing to obscure the complexity of the subject in the interest of rhetorical contrasts and dramatic color. For deism is of course only one of many formative factors in the late eighteenth century, as I have already suggested.³

The University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

AMERICAN PLAYS PRINTED 1714-1830: *A Bibliographical Record*. Compiled by Frank Pierce Hill. Stanford University, California: The Stanford University Press. 1934. xi, 152 pp. \$3.50.

To students of early American drama this new bibliography will be an indispensable aid. Covering precisely the period spanned by Oscar Wegelin's *Early American Plays* (second edition, 1905), it will in many respects supplant that valued list. Perhaps not entirely, because the Hill volume is concerned only with published dramas, while Wegelin aimed to include all plays written in America whether published or not.

The superiority of the new compilation lies partly in its greater accuracy and completeness within its limits. Mr. Hill lists, with carefully quoted title-pages, 347 separate plays printed in this country by 1830, over 30 more than his predecessor included; furthermore he reports, in many instances, a larger number of editions than did Mr. Wegelin. To be sure, Mr. Hill had the advantage of being able to begin his work where Mr. Wegelin, the pioneer in the field, left off, and to incorporate the findings of that indefatigable purchaser and cataloguer of old plays, the late Dr.

* "Factors to be Investigated in American Literary History from 1787 to 1800," *The English Journal*, XXIII, 481-487 (June, 1934).

Fred W. Atkinson—debts which he acknowledges in full in his preface. But the feature of the new bibliography that especially commends it is the inclusion under each title (with the exception of a dozen plays grouped together at the end) of the principal libraries where the works can be found. That each of these institutions now possesses, in several instances by recent large acquisitions, from 125 to 244 of the items testifies to the serious and widespread attention early American drama is receiving.

A comparison of the Hill catalogue with Wegelin's index and Professor Quinn's useful table appended to his *History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (1923) fails to reveal the omission from the new book of any plays known to have been printed. In the notes (generally based upon Dr. Atkinson's manuscript catalogue) I have observed the following minor errors or doubtful statements:

1. Under Nathaniel Deering's *Carabasset* the date of first performance is given as February 22, 1831, whereas Miss Leola B. Chaplin in *The Life and Works of Nathaniel Deering* (1934) places that event six days earlier.
2. Dunlap's *Tell Truth and Shame the Devil* is described as "first played at Park Theater, New York, April 18, 1796"; the correct date is January 9, 1797, and the place the John Street Theatre, New York, the Park not being opened until January, 1798.
3. Though admitting uncertainty in the matter, the compiler lists the anonymous *Rinaldo Rinaldini; or, The Great Banditti* (1810) under Dunlap's name because that dramatist included such a title among his plays loosely catalogued in the appendix to his *History of the American Theatre* (1832). I cannot believe that Dunlap had anything to do with this wretched melodrama and should like to suggest a possible explanation of the confusion. From Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage* (II, 364) we learn that on January 25, 1811, a play called *Alberto Albertini, or the Robber King* was brought out at the Park Theatre and that the newspaper notices named Dunlap as the author. It is, therefore, entirely conceivable that when Dunlap, twenty-one years later, made up the list of his works his memory played him a trick and he confused his own unpublished robber drama with another of strikingly similar title that appeared about the same time.
4. The note on *Daranzel* by David Everett calls the première (April 16, 1798) the only performance of the play, but contemporary Boston newspapers show that it was also given January 29 and February 5, 1800, at the Federal Street Theatre.

Mr. Hill began his bibliography with the year 1714 for the obvious reason that Robert Hunter's *Androboros*, our first printed play, came out that year. In justification of his *terminus ad quem* he merely states that it was the closing date selected by Wegelin and Atkinson. He might have pointed out that 1830 marks something of a logical break in the

development of American drama. Before that time our playwrights were making efforts that can best be described as tentative and experimental. Hardly a single play mentioned in this volume has a solid claim to recognition beyond its historical importance. The majority of these writings (at least 200 out of 347) did not reach the stage at all, and of the plays other than translations that were produced, almost none except Woodworth's *The Forest Rose* (1825) and a few of John Howard Payne's (mostly written abroad) had any considerable run. In the decade of the 1830's there appeared such successful dramatists as Robert Montgomery Bird, John Augustus Stone, Robert T. Conrad, N. P. Willis, and J. S. Jones; and a more advanced era of American play-writing had begun. Nevertheless the earlier and more immature period has a value and a fascination all its own, and in providing this practical bibliography of that period Mr. Hill is deserving of warm thanks.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

A **DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN SLANG.** By Maurice H. Weseen. New York: The T. Y. Crowell Co. 1934. xiv, 543 pp. \$2.50.

A **THESAURUS OF SLANG.** By Howard N. Rose. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1934. xii, 120 pp. \$1.75.

Professor Weseen's *Dictionary* is divided into 21 sections and an index. The last section, General Slang, serves to bring together the slang words not readily classified. The other sections are devoted each to a special kind of slang: thus, Baseball Slang (sec. 14), Hoboes' and Tramps' Slang (sec. 2), Money Slang (sec. 20). In each section the words are listed alphabetically and given brief definitions. Some words appear in more sections than one. The words listed seem all to be in current use. No historical information is given about the slang included, but now and then an etymology is suggested. Reference is facilitated by an Alphabetical List of 191 Subjects (pp. xi-xiii). According to the blurb, over 15,000 expressions are classified and indexed, and the volume is "indispensable to literary workers and libraries." While one can hardly agree with this estimate of the book's usefulness, it may be granted that in the hands of the wary the *Dictionary* may prove not without utility. The student of slang, however, will find it disappointing. I have gone through the words in sec. 21 beginning with *s* (pp. 388-407) and find the list heavily padded with nonce-words like *Shakespeareolatry* 'worship of Shakespeare' and *sillycism* 'an inane remark,' literary words of a figurative kind like *spitfire*, *stiff-necked*, *skinflint* and *spineless*, and perfectly ordinary English words of long history and good standing like *spell* 'short

period,' *safe* 'refrigerator,' and *smack* 'blow.' The author is hardly warranted, moreover, in classifying as slang such well-established idioms as *smell a rat* 'become suspicious,' *show one's hand* 'reveal one's situation and attitude,' and *she would* 'that is just like her.' The inclusion of *sick as a dog* 'very sick' and *sesquipedalian* [sic] *verbiage* 'big words' shows how wide Mr. Wesen casts his net, and one may well ask what is *not* slang in this author's eyes. The definitions, too, leave much to be desired. Thus, we are told that *spill the beans* means 'to spoil a plan or an undertaking' (compare Wyld's definition in the *Universal Dictionary*: 'divulge a secret'), while a *singed cat* is explained, with even greater vagueness, as 'a person who makes a poor impression.' There are curious omissions in the book. *Shorts* is recorded in the doubtless slangy sense 'knee breeches' (a meaning unfamiliar to me), but *slacks* does not appear; *scrap of paper* is given in the sense 'treaty, promise' (rather a historical allusion than a piece of slang) but *scrap* 'fight' and *scrapper* 'fighter' are not listed under General Slang (the former word does appear, but under College Slang and Football Slang!). Another serious defect of the dictionary (from the scholar's point of view) is its dogmatic character. The definitions are not supported by quotations or references to authorities, and no bibliography is provided to enable the student to verify the statements of the author or to run down the sources of his information. In sum, the book contributes little to our knowledge of American slang, and muddies the waters through its inclusion of so much matter not pertinent to the subject.

Mr. Rose's *Thesaurus* is in every way so poor a job that a detailed notice in this journal seems needless. One can only wonder that so good a firm of publishers was induced to bring out the book.

The Johns Hopkins University.

KEMP MALONE.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AESTHETICS AND OF A PHILOSOPHY OF THE FINE ARTS FROM 1900 TO 1932. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Compiled and edited by William A. Hammond. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1934. 205 pp.

The large number of students who immediately found the first edition of this Bibliography in 1933 an indispensable work of reference will now be grateful for the one hundred and eighty-eight new titles in the revised edition. Mr. Hammond's policy of interpreting aesthetics liberally enough to cover much writing in the history and criticism of the arts and many reports from the psychological laboratory is continued and, if possible, strengthened. In his prefatory note he writes: "In my opinion, we must

look to psychological experiment, to controlled introspection, and to the scientific study of art objects for the solution of the central problems of aesthetics, if they are at all soluble. For this reason the new titles have been largely drawn from these fields of literature" (p. v).

Perhaps the most important single addition is the reference to Alois Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, with the editor's long explanatory note containing cross-references to other works by Riegl and by members of the Viennese school. Other famous German scholars have contributed numbers to the new edition: H. Wölfflin, E. Cassirer, F. Saxl. From French scholarship we have the new edition of Bergson's *Creative Evolution* containing chapters on art. To illustrate the varied usefulness of the bibliography one may mention Mr. Hammond's recommendation to our attention of a recent number of *The Architectural Review* (Nov., 1932) for its discussions of the relation of concrete and steel to architecture; also his three references to Havelock Ellis's popular discussions of the color-sense. Midway between unwearied German learning and American magazine articles stand such numbers as Frank P. Chambers's *The History of Taste* and Sir W. H. Hadow's *Collected Essays*, containing his valuable papers on the relation of poetry to music. In view of the editor's emphasis on psychological work the reviewer would like to suggest for the third edition a reference to Helge Lundholm's interesting paper, "The Affective Tone of Lines," *The Psychological Review*, XXXVIII.

Duke University.

KATHARINE GILBERT.

MATHEW CAREY: *A Study in American Economic Development*. By Kenneth Wyer Rowe. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LI. No. 4. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. 140 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Rowe's work, intended as a special study in the field of American economics of the early nineteenth century, is limited mostly to one phase of Mathew Carey's varied career. Carey's prominent position in the printing, publishing, and bookselling world of his day is well-known to historians. As a result of Dr. Rowe's careful researches Carey appears in a new rôle, as author of well over a hundred pamphlets, newspaper articles, circulars, and memorials written between 1819 and 1833 mainly in an effort to establish a national economic system that would protect home manufacturers from a repetition of the ruinous effects following the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Napoleonic wars, when the dumping of cheap European goods in the United States threatened to destroy our infant industries. Carey was also influential in the reorganization of the

second Bank of the United States and was actively concerned in furthering the construction of turnpikes, canals, and railroads to open up new areas in the middle states and to provide cheap means of conveyance. "In the movement to establish the American System, he became an untiring leader. He wrote not once but many times. He organized, promoted, and carried out a great number of activities that made him a focal point for the dissemination of 'protective' literature. In spite of many failures, his persistent and valiant efforts to establish his vision left a deep impress on America" (p. 68). Little or no claim is made for Carey as an original theorist; his great value lay in his devotion to the protectionist principles of Hamilton. The bibliography of Carey's writings, the most complete to date, includes more than two hundred items dealing with politics, banks and banking, trade and protection, internal improvements, and allied subjects. Manuscript materials are also listed. Dr. Rowe has succeeded in producing a thoroughly scholarly, well-documented, clearly written treatise that should enjoy circulation beyond the readers in his own special field. Scholars interested in the historical approach to American literature will find much suggestive material in this work, particularly in the second chapter, entitled "His Environment and Origin of His Economic Opinions."

Columbia University.

C. T. HALLENBECK.

A BACKWARD GLANCE. By Edith Wharton. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. xiv, 385 pp. \$3.00.

This book of memories is dedicated to "the friends who every year on All Souls' Night come and sit with me by the fire"; no dedication could be more fitting, for Mrs. Wharton's has been "a life bound up in a few close personal ties" (p. 375), and, with the lonely exception of Paul Bourget, all those who have been her intimates are dead. In this book, in vivid anecdotes and phrases, they live again: Edward Burlingame and W. C. Brownell, who welcomed her as a Scribner author; Walter Berry, who, in her early thirties, revealed to her what an intellectual and spiritual companionship might mean and who for almost thirty years was her *alter ego*; Paul Bourget's wife and the Comtesse de Fitzjames, who made her free of Paris; and, dear beyond the others, her master Henry James. With the death of each of them a part of the author herself perished, for "what is one's personality, detached from that of the friends with whom fate happens to have linked one?" (p. 169).

Precious as a memorial to a few exquisitely civilized beings who have left a deep impress upon Mrs. Wharton, the book is disappointing as an

account of her creative activity. Only one chapter is devoted to this; and this chapter opens with an apology for its presence, digresses at length from its true theme, and loses itself in speculation. There are indeed, here and there throughout the book, *obiter dicta* upon her own works, the circumstances under which they were written (*Ethan Frome* was begun as a French exercise, p. 295), and the way in which they were received (the popularity of *The Age of Innocence* took Mrs. Wharton completely by surprise, p. 369). The curious error of calling the heroine of *The Valley of Decision* "a humble bookseller's daughter" (p. 127), when she was in fact the daughter of a professor and man of letters, strengthens one's impression that the center of Mrs. Wharton's interest has been not in her books but in her friends. Still more curious is the conflict between her account of the renaming of *The Touchstone* and that given by the person responsible, Mr. John Murray. In a prefatory note to the English edition Mr. Murray asserts that while *The Touchstone* was passing through the press in England he "was informed that a novel of this name was already in circulation." He at once proposed to Mrs. Wharton to call the novelette *The Touch of a Vanished Hand*; this proposal Mrs. Wharton rejected in favor of a title which Mr. Murray does not record and which had also been preëempted; and Mr. Murray was at this point informed that there was already in existence a novel entitled *The Touch of a Vanished Hand*. Unable to communicate further with Mrs. Wharton, who was traveling in Italy, he adopted the title *A Gift from the Grave*. Rather ungenerously, Mrs. Wharton declares that Mr. Murray (whom in error she calls Mr. John Lane) took "care not to consult me" (p. 123), and she ascribes the change in title to the English publisher's belief that the American title was "too colorless" (*loc. cit.*).

The early chapters in which Mrs. Wharton evokes the New York of her childhood and youth give the background of *The Age of Innocence* and *Old New York*. Some traits and incidents developed in these works are here recorded in their original form. Her own mother's account of the pyramid of New York society (p. 10) closely resembles Mrs. Archer's in *The Age of Innocence*; the account of Egerton Winthrop and his circle (pp. 94-96) discloses the model of Newland Archer; the reference to William Astor's boldness in hanging a Bouguereau Venus (p. 61) recalls one of Julius Beaufort's audacities in the same novel; the stratagem employed by Mrs. Wharton's father to visit his fiancée (p. 18) is utilized in *False Dawn*. There are other less palpable examples of Mrs. Wharton's use of her milieu in her fiction.

The University of Toronto.

E. K. BROWN.

GILBERT PATTEN AND HIS FRANK MERRIWELL SAGA: *A Study in Sub-literary Fiction, 1896-1913*. University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 31. By John Levi Cutler. Orono, Maine: University [of Maine] Press. 1934. 123 pp. Paper, \$.50; Boards, \$1.00.

To make Gilbert Patten the subject of a college master's essay is like erecting on Hadleyburg Common a monument to the man that corrupted Hadleyburg. Impossible it is for the historian to avoid this outburst of mediocrity in our literary history. Back of it lies the American people who bought the books and who read them, and the historian must record this buying and this reading even though it be the holding of a candle to our shame. But it is quite another matter to treat the volumes with commendation, to make of them a "saga," an American epic, "a *magnum opus* unique in our literature."

Cutler's study is in five parts. Chapter one, leaning heavily on Pearson's excellent history of the dime novel, brings the literary debauch up to the appearance of his hero on the field. Chapters two, three, and four deal with the biography of Gilbert Patten, tracing his ancestry back to 1692. Chapter five deals with the 240 volumes that make up "The Frank Merriwell saga." A bibliography of the colossal output of the man finishes the volume.

Colossal output is not too strong a phrase. And to Cutler this voluminousness is a thing highly praiseworthy:

As to quantity, Patten need bow to no man. He is probably the most prolific writer of fiction the world has known. Forty million words stood to his credit late in 1932, a figure which no doubt has increased perceptibly since that time.

Other world-records he holds: "The Frank Merriwell saga" "is the longest epic in existence." The rise of the five-cent weekly, erected on the ruins of the Beadle yellow-backs, was Patten's work, it seems. He was the father of the pulp-paper classics, and the introducer of the stuff into the tabloids, the syndicates, and the movies.

Of the damage done by the Frank Merriwell thrillers our author says nothing. Ignorant of college life, Patten tells of the college adventures of his hero in a series of episodes that in melodrama, sensation, sentimentalism, departure from actuality, super-man exploits, are to be classified with the *Tarzan of the Apes* fantasies. To him college is merely athletics and Tarzan-like adventure. The tragedy of it! In the day when American literature was struggling for life, when Howells heroically was preaching actuality in fiction and James and a heroic few others were writing with literary art, this debauching of our youth, this dragging of our fiction in the mud of ignorance and cheap slap-stick sensation! And

to treat this as a "saga," a colossal "American epic." Soon we shall be reading of the "Mutt and Jeff saga" and the "Andy Gump epic."

Rollins College.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

THE CITY IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL, 1789-1900. By George Arthur Dunlap. Philadelphia. 1934. 187 pp. (Privately printed.) \$1.00.

Dr. Dunlap's illuminating study of the city in native fiction (1789-1900) should prove of definite value to those interested in literary interpretations of American community life, be they concerned with rural backgrounds, the frequently delineated small town, or the larger centers. Although certain other larger cities, such as Chicago, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Washington, have been variously pictured in fiction, Mr. Dunlap has chosen as most representative of the urban life under review three historic and geographically contiguous cities: New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. He has written with the twofold purpose of tracing "chronologically the facts about the various phases of life in the city which contemporary novels record" and of determining "whether the same novels have qualities that make them of permanent value." Beginning, therefore, with a detailed examination of representative early novels, the author demonstrates the ever increasing growth of interest in the city on the part of American novelists from the period of the feeble delineations of *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) to the individualized and realistic portrayals of *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and later works. The scope of the dissertation is further kept in hand by the author's consideration of only those customs and characters which represent distinctive features of city life.

The fact that the city has both long offered the greatest possibilities to the literary artist and, like the frontier, the prairies, and other recently investigated fields, has attracted numerous interpreters, is fully substantiated in the six major themes of this research. These are the struggle for success in the city; the disasters of city life, such as plagues, duelling, intemperance, poverty, and villainy; the religious life of the city; social affairs; literary and artistic interests; and political activities. The trends in popular characterization are illustrated in the following recurring types: young art, law, medical, and journalistic aspirants who come seeking fortune in the city, city-wide bosses and muckrakers, beggars, Bohemian types, social climbers of every description, ministers to fashionable congregations, successful bankers and other magnates, and newspaper editors. In the discussion of poverty, especially in connection with the review of Edward W. Townsend's *A Daughter of the Tenements* (1895),

one questions the omission here (p. 63), though it is listed in the bibliography, of Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1896). The analysis of Howells's *The Undiscovered Country* and other novels concerning the practice of the occult in the city (p. 79) suggests analogy to Hamlin Garland's exploitation of city life in *The Tyranny of the Dark*, which appeared soon after the period of this research. Of marked value to the student of social and literary backgrounds is the bibliography, "American Novels Dealing with City Life," listing approximately two hundred and fifty novels. It is to be hoped that the author will later augment his very informative work with a discussion of the intense realism which has marked the increasingly large number of twentieth-century novels dealing with the life of our American cities, a note of fictional development which he mentions in his introduction.

Southern Methodist University.

IMA HONAKER HERRON.

SAINTS, SINNERS AND BEECHERS. By Lyman Beecher Stowe. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1934. 450 pp. \$3.75.

Mr. Stowe has done a service to American biography in bringing together a series of interesting and at times lively accounts of the three generations, beginning with David Beecher (1738-1805), the "learned blacksmith," and continuing through his son, Lyman Beecher, and Lyman's ten children. The author has done his best to prove by inference at least the truth of Theodore Parker's statement that Lyman Beecher was "the father of more brains than any other man in America," but in justice to Mr. Stowe it must be said that he never fails to criticize his ancestors and he never grows ponderous over their achievements. The best chapters are those on Lyman Beecher, on Harriet Beecher Stowe, and on Henry Ward Beecher. They are, of course, the best material, although Catharine, the eldest daughter, whose soul searchings after her lover's death became part of her sister Harriet's literary material, has a very definite interest. Mr. Stowe's contribution is not often the revelation of new material, although several letters are printed for the first time. The special student of American literature will not have his knowledge of Mrs. Stowe as a novelist much enlarged. He will recognize more clearly, perhaps, Henry Ward Beecher's contribution to the literary crusade against slavery. The lists of writings, especially of first editions of the Beechers, given in the bibliography will be of use. Perhaps the most signal service of Mr. Stowe is his restraint in declining to use the methods of psychoanalysis on his forebears! Indeed, this objectivity, hard to obtain at any time, is the outstanding quality of the book.

The University of Pennsylvania.

A. H. QUINN.

BRIEF MENTION

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF NATHANIEL DEERING (1791-1881). By Leola Bowie Chaplin. *University of Maine Studies*. Second Series, No. 32. Orono, Maine: University [of Maine] Press. 1934. 244 pp. Paper, \$.75; Boards, \$1.50.

This book, perhaps prompted by local piety, is in the nature of an official biography of a minor literary figure. Miss Chaplin treats Deering with deep respect throughout her study, and apparently he was an admirable and engaging man; but an author of merely fugitive sketches and poems and of three plays that Professor Quinn did not see fit to discuss in *A History of the American Drama* can scarcely be regarded as having more than local importance. As a member of a literary coterie that flourished in Portland during the first half of the nineteenth century, however, he is not without interest, and Miss Chaplin has thrown welcome light on a group that should not be overlooked simply because it did not inhabit one of the principal centers. Indeed her study, a master's essay, greatly exceeds the average representative of its type in its value as well as its thoroughness. She has added to the usefulness of her book by including in the appendices the complete text of two of Deering's plays, the tragedy *Carabasset* and *The Clairvoyants*, a hitherto unpublished comedy.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

WASHINGTON IRVING: *Representative Selections*. With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes. By Henry A. Pochmann. New York: American Book Company. [1934.] cxiv, 389 pp. \$1.50.

On the whole, this attractive representative of "The American Writers Series" is the most informative volume in existence concerning Washington Irving. Designed primarily for the class-room, the selections from Irving's writings range through fourteen major titles and through almost sixty years of Irving's literary life. Yet the undergraduate is unlikely to become excited about excerpts from the *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* or the *Life of George Washington*, but here they are, and they may aid in enriching his conception of Irving. The real value of so comprehensive a group of writings is in their service to the student of literary history. In fact, this double duty for amateur and professional is skilfully rendered by this book, not only through its text but through its capable Introduction.

This, too, is comprehensive, and Professor Pochmann writes at an opportune moment. Since 1915 an immense amount of investigation (biography, journal, and bibliography) has added to our knowledge of Irving. There are new facts which Mr. Pochmann uses deftly; there are controversial points of view which he adjusts; and there are new approaches which he adopts. The approach for the entire study is that of the series—the social approach. This is very interesting experimentation, this penetration into the minds of our major authors with this method applied to all types of writers. Some authors suffer it more gladly and more profitably than others, Hawthorne and Irving perhaps less fruitfully than many. A natural artist whose finest prose was, for example, sometimes inspired directly from the technique of particular paintings might pause a little at finding himself under the caption "Irving as Conditioned by His Social Milieu." Yet the method is freshening. This is one of Mr. Pochmann's best sections. Indeed, this and the study of politics make the book uniquely useful in the criticism of Irving. The volume contains an excellent bibliography.

Yale University.

S. T. W.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON: *Representative Selections*. With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes. By Frederick I. Carpenter. New York: American Book Company. [1934.] lvii, 456 pp. \$1.50.

This little volume represents a highly satisfactory selection of Emerson's prose and verse. If circumstances permitted, one might wish for more numerous excerpts from the *Journals*, but one should be thankful for the inclusion of "Fate" and "Illusions" and "Terminus," representative of Emerson's most mellowed wisdom and too frequently neglected.

The introduction suggests most of the leading aspects of Emerson's thought "in terms of the present day." Modernity, in short, is the keynote of the introduction, just as it is the purpose of the bibliography to list particularly books and articles which have been published recently. The stress upon Emerson's Americanism may seem too limiting; yet the sentiment needed to be voiced.

A number of factual errors occur in the editor's work. Emerson was no longer a boy when he first read Coleridge and Carlyle (p. xviii). It is not quite true (p. xxviii) to say that in the Lord's Supper sermon Emerson accepted the literal authority of the Scriptures. The *Journals* (II, 470, 490) show that he had already abandoned this doctrine. In the "Notes" (p. 442) is repeated Bliss Perry's erroneous offering of Lowell's retrospective approval of "The American Scholar." (See Scudder's

J. R. L., Boston, 1901, I, 57-58, and Norton's *Letters of J. R. L.*, New York, 1894, I, 27, 30.)

The physical structure of the volume makes it a pleasure to the eye and to the hand.

The State University of Iowa.

H. H. HOELTJE.

AMERICAN LIFE AND LETTERS: *A Reading List*. By J. Duncan Spaeth and Joseph E. Brown. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1934. vi, 56 pp. \$.75.

"The Reading List in American Life and Letters is intended to provide the traveller along the highways and byways of American literature with a reliable and practically useful guide that will enable him to plan a reading-journey which will both orient him as to the main features of American civilization and stimulate him to pursue his studies into the regions of his special interest." The purpose thus stated in the preface is fully accomplished. Indeed, the Princeton reading list affords an astonishing indication of the possibilities of appreciating American literature as the product of a varied and intense national life.

C. G.

PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Harvey G. Townsend. New York: The American Book Company. [1934.] v, 293 pp. \$2.00.

Students of American literature in general will probably find in *Philosophical Ideas in the United States* a book of reference which offers in its final chapters a lively discussion, slightly biased, of more recent movements in the thought of our philosophers. Of special interest is Professor Townsend's consideration of Jonathan Edwards as an aesthetic theorist and his reprinting in an appendix of one of the earliest American treatments of transcendentalism—by James Murdock. The work as a whole does not seem to supersede Woodbridge Riley's *American Thought*.

C. G.

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. New York: Wm. H. Wise and Company. [1929.] xiii, 1435 pp. \$3.50.

The Wise edition of Emerson's writings now appears in one volume. Of particular value to the student is the index, which may be used to supplement that of the Centenary Edition.

C. G.

THE LETTERS OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD, 1918-1931. Edited by Van Wyck Brooks. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1934. ix, 377 pp. \$4.50.

Although some of Bradford's early letters are available, Mr. Brooks has chosen to begin with 1918, the year in which Bradford began keeping carbon copies of his letters. A large proportion of the letters are addressed to scholars like Bliss Perry and Garland Greever and to authors as different as Robert Frost and H. L. Mencken. The letters form an admirable complement to the published *Journal*. In particular, they reveal Bradford as an excellent literary critic. Of special interest to students of American literature is the letter (pp. 348-350) addressed to V. F. Calverton, author of *The Liberation of American Literature*.

THE GEORGIAN SCENE: *A Literary Panorama*. By Frank Swinnerton. New York: Farrar and Rinehardt. [1934.] 522 pp. \$3.50.

An admirably written survey of English literature since the accession of George V. Although Swinnerton begins with Henry James and closes with T. S. Eliot, American literature falls outside the scope of the book. There are a number of useful studies of contemporary American literature but none quite comparable to this.

DISTINGUISHED WOMEN WRITERS. By Virginia Moore. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. [1934.] 253 pp. \$3.00.

These essays, which range in subject from Sappho to Katherine Mansfield, are literary rather than scholarly; and they contain some good criticism. The American writers included are Emily Dickinson and Elinor Wylie.

AFTERNOON NEIGHBORS: *Further Excerpts from a Literary Log*. By Hamlin Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xv, 589 pp. \$3.50.

Afternoon Neighbors is a more interesting book than its immediate predecessor, *My Friendly Contemporaries* (1932). There are glimpses of Barrie, Shaw, Galsworthy, and other British authors, including Thomas Hardy, who when Garland mentioned Ex-President Lowell of Harvard, inquired, "Is that a girls' school?" Some American writers who appear in the book are Robert Frost, Stuart P. Sherman, Zona Gale, Edwin Markham, Percy Mackaye, and Henry B. Fuller. The author of *Crumbling Idols* (1893) cannot find much to say for the later generation of literary rebels. He writes in his journal for January 28, 1927:

"America is full of adroit, humorous amateurs. Grace and facility are plentiful, but no strength commensurate with the place we fill as a nation. The so-called 'strong writers' are strong, as rancid butter is strong. Perhaps the same criticism can be made in the case of English writers. It may be that the failure of the artist is due to the modern public, which rewards the jester, the cynic, rather than the serious, careful workman. Our readers are content with 'jazz art' in painting as well as in music and the drama" (p. 378).

ART AND THE LIFE OF ACTION: *With Other Essays*. By Max Eastman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1934. 227, iv pp. \$2.00.

An able discussion of the relation of art to reform (or revolution). Mr. Eastman wants both art and reform, but he does not think propaganda the primary function of art.

ART IN AMERICA IN MODERN TIMES. Edited by Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. [1934.] \$1.50.

This book, which was sponsored by various art organizations, was compiled primarily as a basis for the broadcasts over station WJZ given every Saturday night. It is fully illustrated, and it includes material on painting, sculpture, stage design, photography, the motion picture, etc. The sections on painting and sculpture, both written by Mr. Cahill, seem particularly good. The authors are careful to relate the development of art to the social and cultural background.

VIRGINIA SILHOUETTES: *Contemporary Letters concerning Negro Slavery in the State of Virginia*. . . Collected and edited by Mrs. George P. Coleman. Richmond, Va.: Press of the Dietz Printing Company. 1934. vii, 59, 64 pp. \$2.50.

Most of the letters are addressed either to St. George Tucker or to his son Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. Among those addressed to the son is a long letter from Thomas Carlyle written in 1851. The latter half of the book includes a reprint of St. George Tucker's *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1796 by Mathew Carey. The essay is reprinted from a copy "containing corrections and marginal notes by the author." When Tucker's various writings (most of his poems are still in manuscript) are collected and published, it will be evident that he was both a literary figure of considerable importance in his time and the center of an interesting circle.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: *A Parcel of Reconsiderations*. By Branch Cabell. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. 1934. x, 305 pp. \$2.50.

These letters addressed to various notables of the past faintly recall Andrew Lang's *Letters to Dead Authors*, but Lang had nothing like

Cabell's cleverness and lightness of touch. The Prologue, "which treats of writing without tears," gives an unconventional view of the lot of the author in America. Cabell's estimate of American literature appears in the epistle to Edgar Allan Poe, Esq.: "It does not appear humanly possible that a country of such size and variety, and blessed with a history so eventful, should have produced during three hundred years, with the sole exception of Edgar Allan Poe, not one true literary genius." Of our American writers, says he, an adult mind can regard seriously:

A sufficing amount of Poe; and a tiny fraction of Mark Twain. All other "classic" American writers—as one should say, from Washington Irving down to Henry James—when they are considered separately, compel a common verdict. You can declare only, "The man lacked genius." A majority of these writers have been at needless pains to emphasize their defects by writing atrociously. None has mastered a really good prose style . . . (pp. 245-246).

THE SMART SET ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Burton Rascoe and Groff Conklin. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. [1934.] xlviii, 844 pp. \$3.50.

An exceptionally interesting volume of selections from *Smart Set* authors, most of which were originally published in that magazine. In an entertaining and informative introduction Burton Rascoe gives an account of the magazine under the editorship first of Willard Huntington Wright ("S. S. Van Dine") and afterward of Mencken and Nathan. Wright, he thinks, was largely responsible for the success and the high quality of the magazine.

A B C OF READING. By Ezra Pound. New Haven, Conn.: The Yale University Press. 1934. xii, 197 pp. \$2.00.

This "gradus ad Parnassum," says Pound, is "for those who might like to learn. The book is not addressed to those who have arrived at full knowledge of the subject without knowing the facts." It is a sort of laboratory manual for the study of poetry. The selections or "exhibits," as he calls them, are drawn from older British authors, Chaucer, Gavin Douglas, Arthur Golding, John Donne, Samuel Butler, George Crabbe, Landor, Browning, and a few others. There is a clever page on Walt Whitman—"Certainly the last author to be tried in a classroom"—which begins: "From an examination of Walt made twelve years ago the present writer carried away the impression that there are thirty well-written pages of Whitman; he is now unable to find them." The book is full of clever and suggestive sayings. There is a brief section entitled "The Instructor," which opens thus:

The teacher or lecturer is a danger. He very seldom recognizes his nature or his position. The lecturer is a man who must talk for an hour.

France may possibly have acquired the intellectual leadership of Europe when their academic period was cut down to 40 minutes.

I also have lectured. The lecturer's first problem is to have enough words to fill 40 to 60 minutes. The professor is paid for his time, his results are almost impossible to estimate.

I REMEMBER. By J. Henry Harper. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1934. 281 pp. \$3.00.

The author of *The House of Harper* has set down informally his reminiscences of Harper authors and editors. There are interesting glimpses of Mark Twain, Howells, Henry M. Alden, and others. The author has sometimes trusted his memory when he should have consulted some standard work of reference. For instance, on p. 40 he writes: "In the 'fifties Walter Scott was the outstanding author of the English-speaking world, and the publication of a new 'Waverly' [*sic*] novel was a literary event of the first magnitude."

TALL TALES FROM TEXAS. By Mody C. Boatright. Illustrated by Elizabeth E. Keefer. Foreword by J. Frank Dobie. Dallas, Texas: The Southwest Press. [1934.] xxiv, 100 pp.

Mr. Boatright, who knows the ranch country, has compiled a group of tall tales and presented them in a way to make clear how such tales were originally told. The last three chapters are given to Pecos Bill, who though "apparently a late development," "seems to be driving his rivals from the field, and is the most likely candidate for epic honors in the Southwest."

AMERICAN BALLADS AND FOLK SONGS. Collected and compiled by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax. With a Foreword by George Lyman Kittredge. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. xxxix, 625 pp. \$5.00.

The collection is particularly rich in negro songs, but it contains also cowboy songs, and other varieties. Some are taken from other collections, but many of the negro songs were collected by the compilers. Many of the texts are composites. Both music and words are given.

SINGERS IN THE DAWN: *A Brief Supplement to the Study of American Literature*. Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer. Atlanta, Ga.: The Conference on Education and Race Relations. [1934.] (Pamphlet.) 23 pp. \$.10.

Brief selections from American Negro poets.

A HUGUENOT EXILE IN VIRGINIA: *Or Voyages of a Frenchman Exiled for his Religion, with a Description of Virginia & Maryland*. [Translated] From the Hague Edition of 1687. With an Introduction & Notes. By Gilbert Chinard. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc. 1934. 189 pp. \$5.00. Edition Limited to 550 Copies.

An English version by Professor Chinard of *Un Français en Virginie*, also edited by him and published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1932. Durand of Dauphiné's description of Virginia social life antedates those of Robert Beverley and Hugh Jones and, as the editor points out, has been little used by American historians.

JOURNAL OF A LADY OF QUALITY: *Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*. Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews, in Collaboration with Charles McLean Andrews. New Haven, Conn.: The Yale University Press. 1934. 349 pp. \$4.00.

Professor and Mrs. Andrews have added some new notes to the entertaining and informative journal of the Scotch lady Janet Schaw which they originally brought out in 1921. Chapter III, "Residence in North Carolina," gives a sharply satiric account of the Southern Revolutionists.

AMERICAN POETRY AND PROSE. Edited by Norman Foerster. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. [1934.] xii, 1482 pp. \$4.00.

The new edition of this excellent text has been considerably enlarged and revised.

THE WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE: *His Epoch-making Writings on Religion, Government, Human Rights and International Relations*. Six Volumes in One. New York: William H. Wise and Company. 1934. ix, 1169 pp. \$2.50.

Reprint of the 1925 edition with an Introduction by Thomas A. Edison.

LITTLE JOURNEYS TO THE HOMES OF THE ELECT. By Elbert Hubbard. New York: William H. Wise and Company. [1934.] 414 pp. \$2.90. Contains sketches of John Burroughs and Joaquin Miller.

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY. By Theodore Dreiser. Two Volumes in One. [The Star Library.] Garden City, N. Y.: The Garden City Publishing Company, Inc. [1934.] 431, 409 pp.

Brief Mention

487

PORGY. By DuBose Heyward. New York: The Modern Library. [1934.]
196 pp. \$.95.

THE LIFE AND MIND OF EMILY DICKINSON. By Genevieve Taggard. The
Alblabooks Series. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1934. xi, 378, vi pp.
\$2.50.

THE BEST POEMS OF 1934. Selected by Thomas Moulton and Decorated by
Merlyn Man. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1934.]
124 pp. \$2.00.

24-362